TRADITIONAL SINGING IN WEST SHEFFIELD, 1970-2

IAN RUSSELL

VOLUME ONE

Presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies, School of English, University of Leeds, 1977.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

Traditional Singing in West Sheffield, 1970-2, Ian Russell, 3 vols (Ph.D. dissertation, School of English, University of Leeds, 1977).

The study is the result of extensive fieldwork undertaken in the suburban and village communities of the Pennine foothills on the western outskirts of the city of Sheffield. The approach is empirical such that consideration is given to the complete recorded repertoires of all the singers encountered rather than particular genres of song based on criteria imposed by the researcher. Moreover the study does not discuss these repertoires in isolation, but relates them to their setting. An understanding of the bond that exists between a singer and his songs is shown to be of great importance, and to this end eight of the major singers are discussed in depth. The importance of context is stressed and particular reference is made to the tradition of singing in local public houses. The final section details some of the most important aspects of the local tradition including an historical perspective, recognisable elements for stability and change, the interaction between participants, their style of singing, and above all their major concern as shown in the type of songs they favour. The transcriptions occupy the second and third volumes of the study and are classified in alphabetical order according to the performer. They are accompanied by a summary of the essential melodic features, including pitch, tempo, range, scale and melodic form. The transcriptions attempt to accurately represent a singer's performance, as far as this is possible within conventional staff notation. It is therefore suggested that they be examined in conjunction with the original tape recordings from which they were made.

CONTENTS

	PREFACE	iii
Part I	INTRODUCTION	
1	Traditional Singing	1
2	A Description of the Area in Which the Study Was Made	12
Part II	THE SINGERS	
3	Albert and Bernard Broadhead	28
4	Charles Green	41
5	George Hancock	54
6	Frank Hinchliffe	69
7	Stanley Marsden	91
8	The Whites of Fulwood	103
9	Pub Singing in West Sheffield	117
Part III	THE TRADITION	
10	An Historical Perspective	141
11	The Central Theme	152
12	Stability and Change	171
13	Attitudes and Relationships	186
14	Singing Style	194
15	Conclusion	205
	APPENDIXES	
	1	208
	2	210
	3	212
	4	213
	5	216
	6	218
	7	220
	8	235
	9	239
	10	243
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	246
	DISCOGRAPHY	257
	INDEX TO SONG TITLES AND FIRST LINES	259

ILLUSTRATIONS

Map: West Sheffield	facing page 12
Photographs	facing pages 21
	54
	117
	122
	186

PREFACE

The fieldwork commenced at Christmas, 1969, with a visit to the Three Merry Lads at Lodge Moor to record the "Sheffield carols". There I met John Taylor and Albert and Bernard Broadhead who were among the leading singers. In March I visited and recorded all three in their homes. One singer who was mentioned by all of them was Frank Hinchliffe and in April I made the first of many visits to his cottage at Fulwood Head. From the outset it was clear that Frank was a singer of considerable importance and yet naturally modest. It was therefore not surprising that Frank invited other singers to the earlier sessions. At these songswaps I met Grace Walton, Rhoda Dronfield, Edith Lawson and Doug Thompson. Frank was not one to miss an opportunity and it would seem that he was as curious as I was to see what songs his guests knew. For this reason he had not invited close friends or drinking companions but rather persons whom he did not have a regular opportunity of hearing sing.

In August of 1970 on Frank's recommendation, a first visit was made to the Sportsman Inn to hear the Saturday night singsong. It would appear that the modernisation of the neighbouring Three Merry Lads had driven all the local custom across the road to the Sportsman, which stimulated an upsurge of interest in singing. Frank also introduced me to George Hancock of Ringinglow, one of the few surviving singers that he had heard when he first visited the Sportsman before the Second World War. It was Grace who told me about her brother George White, whom I first recorded in October. I had already met George under other circumstances for he was known to The Survey of Language and Folklore at the University of Sheffield. The Director, John Widdowson, had introduced us at a songswap session organized by him at the Red Lion, Grenoside earlier in the year. It was after consultation with John Widdowson that I had set out to record George. Through George I met Ted Wragg and was recommended to visit Stanley Marsden, Frank's brother-in-law.

Christmas 1970 proved to be an exceptionally busy period, largely owing to my involvement in a survey of the Christmas carolling in South Yorkshire.[1] Within West Sheffield recordings were made at Lodge Moor, Crosspool, Stannington and Dungworth. In the new year, Bob Hancock, George's younger brother, was recorded as was Stanley Marsden. In March, a singsong was arranged at Frank's suggestion in the Sportsman and all the singers from Ringinglow to Stannington were invited. It

was not a great success as Frank himself was well aware; 'It's been a washout toneet, Ian.'[2] Subsequent attempts at a similar evening were scarcely more successful, although the one organized at Dungworth in May showed great promise.[3] It was in May also at Dungworth that I met Charles Green. Charlie Fretwell, one of the soloists for the Christmas carols at the Royal had told me about his father, Horace, who lived on the village green. Horace, who was bedridden and infirm, was not able to sing himself but recommended me to his brother-in-law Charles Green. Thus far the singers had all been connected as part of the same network of friendships, a fact that is reflected in the similarity of their repertoires. Charles, however, was the one singer outside this group and so it was predictable that he should demonstrate a somewhat different repertoire. In fact, Charles was the last major singer recorded for this study, and the remaining eighteen months of fieldwork were largely devoted to follow-up and consolidation without attempting to break any new ground. This proved to be most worthwhile as many local people were interviewed who were not singers but whose experience and knowledge added valuable perspective to the earlier work.

It can be seen from this outline of the fieldwork that a chain of relationships was explored, that the procedure was largely spontaneous and flexible and that an attempt was made to record more than just songs. Despite the lack of a predetermined course, a wide range of fieldwork situations were encountered and can be grouped as follows – the personal interview, the private songswap, the regular pub session and the pre-arranged pub session. At the time there was little differentiation made between these but subsequent analysis has shown that each served a different purpose and has provided valuable information in its own way. The personal interviews were unrivalled for establishing real and lasting relationships with the singers, allowing them the opportunity to talk and sing unrestrictedly. Here I was able to discover the extent of their repertoire, a knowledge of their family history as well as an insight into their attitudes and beliefs. The songswap sessions provided the opportunity for observing a fascinating interchange between different singers. There was an atmosphere of intense concentration and encouragement, with singers being egged on to perform and prompted when in difficulty. The occasions were given added interest by the rivalry that sometimes emerged between performers. They would vie with each other to see who knew a particular song or to which song a fragment belonged.[4] In their observations that another singer did not perform a song 'just

same' or 'just right', they showed an awareness of variation. For even when two singers had learnt the same song from the same source a joint performance usually resulted in some disagreement, the main areas being pitch, tempo, melodic detail within the contour and textual phraseology.[5] In such circumstances one singer would inevitably dominate the rendition.

Of the two types of session recorded in the pub the most important and successful in terms of singing were the regular Saturday night singsongs. Because these sessions were recorded in context and not prompted by my presence they provided excellent opportunities for observing the interaction between singers, their songs and their audience. Inevitably there was much repetition of songs, in fact, at least half of the songs performed at any one occasion would almost certainly be performed at many others, but this, of course, 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.[6] Unfortunately the conviviality of the pub environment was not enough to compensate for the contrived nature of the pre-arranged sessions. Perhaps it was unreasonable to expect singers to behave midweek as if it were Saturday night. This limited success was disheartening especially as these get-togethers were suggested by the singers themselves and Frank in particular.

All the sessions, as far as possible, were recorded and field notes were made. The tape recorder used for the most part was a Uher 4000 Report L with an AKG 190E microphone. A tape speed of 3¾ i.p.s. was found to be most suitable as it gave adequate recording time between reel changing, 45 minutes with long-play tape, and it produced good sound fidelity. Occasionally there were technical problems some of which were the result of inexperience — poorly-charged batteries fading, badly threaded tape snarling, false economy with tape resulting in missing the opening or ending of songs. Fortunately these have not significantly weakened the corpus of recordings. The real problem with the tape recorder was using it effectively without allowing its presence to adversely affect the singing. Hence the microphone was unobtrusively placed on the arm of a chair or on a sidetable and not in a stand. The recorder was kept at the side of my chair in its carrying case, lest the sight of the reels revolving upset the performer. Of,

course, it was not my intention to be surreptitious or secretive but rather through discretion to compensate for the obvious stress caused by recording which was for most singers a new and hopefully not unpleasant experience. For this reason also I never offered to play back a recording and on the one occasion when playback was insisted upon the resulting self-consciousness and self-criticism voiced by the singers confirmed my belief that the practice was generally undesirable and counter-productive.

The personal interview sessions were as informal as possible. My questions were kept to a minimum in order to allow the singers every opportunity to talk about what they felt important both to themselves and to their singing. Such questions were usually open-ended in the hope that they would prompt extended comments rather than a straightforward reply and only when a misunderstanding existed was a direct question put to avoid later confusion. I introduced myself as being interested in 'old songs' for this seemed the simplest approach. Although I later enquired after more modern songs, few singers professed to sing any and were often derisory as to the merits of such songs.[7] With some singers with whom I had an established relationship, I employed a finding list to prompt the singing. Such a list was based on the repertoires of other local singers but was not always helpful. It tended to prompt fragments of songs never properly learnt, as with Charles Green,[8] rather than to jog a singer's memory as to what lay in his own repertoire. The practice also suggested that the list contained the songs I wished to hear and might have proved discouraging to the singer whose repertoire contained nothing from the list.

Initial stress during the recording sessions was quickly dissipated but on some occasions the damage had already been done. For example, a singer who had spent all day in practising for the visit might exhaust both himself and his voice by evening-time.[9] To counteract this it proved helpful to occasionally visit unannounced. The presence of my wife on some of the visits was a great asset, for a man with his wife is more socially acceptable and less likely to create anxiety. Not only did she help by ensuring the evening was successful, but she provided a second opinion with which to temper my own observations and conclusions.

In a study of this nature certain weaknesses are unavoidable.

Every effort has been made to present an objective record of traditional singing in West Sheffield from 1970 to 1972, but the situation is not a static one. Subsequent meetings with singers some time after the fieldwork was concluded demonstrate some interesting shifts in repertoire.[10] New songs have been learnt, forgotten ones remembered, and favourites discarded. There is even some evidence to suggest that the order in which the singers were recorded had some bearing on the songs they performed. For example, Frank Hinchliffe was very reluctant to sing his version of The Pear Tree knowing that I had already recorded Grace Walton's version. Naturally it was difficult for him to appreciate that my concern was not simply with the songs but with their performance as well as contextual information. In fact within West Sheffield, there may well be other singers whom I have not recorded because they did not feature in any friendship or kinship groups I encountered. Nevertheless it is felt that, with these reservations in mind, the singing recorded gives a representative, detailed, and reliable picture of this tradition.

The study itself has been divided into three parts. An introductory discussion of the theoretical aspects of traditional singing precedes a consideration of the social, historical and geographical importance in this context of West Sheffield. Thence follows a series of studies dealing with individual singers as well as an account of local pub singing. The third section is devoted to a consideration of the important features of the tradition. A major discussion of the music has not been attempted because of my lack of expertise in this field. However, systematic analysis has been undertaken in the notes to the transcriptions and it is hoped that this will provide useful information for the musicologist. The transcriptions themselves occupy the second and third volumes of the dissertation.

I would like to thank Dr. John Widdowson, Director of The Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language (formerly The Survey of Language and Folklore) at the University of Sheffield, for providing the important early stimulus for my research. I would also like to thank — David Bland, Barry Callaghan, Michael Dawney, Alan Dent, David Harker, Richard Harris, Colin Howarth, Rosemary Russell, Margaret Saxby (nee Marsden), Paul Smith and Professor R.S. Thomson for their valuable help; the staff of the Sheffield Local History Library and, in particular the Librarian, Martin Olave, for their assistance; my tutor, A.E. Green,

whose long-standing patience and expert guidance has allowed me the luxury of sorting out my own thoughts; and Stewart Sanderson, Director of the Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies at the University of Leeds, who extended his most valuable support to the project. Of course, my greatest debt is to the singers themselves whose unfailing hospitality and unselfish co-operation made it all possible.

Footnotes

1. See Ian Russell, 'A Survey of a Christmas Singing Tradition in South Yorkshire — 1970', Lore and Language, 1, No.8 (January 1973), 13-25.
2. Recorded 2 March 1971.
3. Recorded 26 May 1971. See tapes S25 and S27. See Appendix 10.
4. See the interchange between Frank Hinchliffe and Grace Walton concerning The Outlandish Knight and The Highwayman Outwitted recorded 30 April 1970, tape S10.
5. For example The Irish Emigrant learnt by Frank Hinchliffe and Stanley Marsden from Stanley's father, Arthur. See transcripts Hin 28 and Mar 18. Alphabetical order is used for the transcriptions.
6. See Appendix 3.
7. Frank Hinchliffe referred to any modern or American influenced songs as 'ragtime'.
8. See for example transcripts Gre 39 and Gre 44.
9. Such was the case when I first recorded Stanley Marsden, 4 February 1971.
10. I attended a session at the Travellers' Rest, Holmesfield, 2 November 1975, at which Bernard Broadhead performed six songs, three of which I had never heard him sing before, namely Any Dirty Work Today, In Other Words and Phil the Fluter's Ball. On 5 November 1975, I travelled by car with Stanley Marsden who sang unprompted There's No Shame in an Irish Name all the way through having previously been unable to remember more than the title on 5 October 1972.

I INTRODUCTION

1 TRADITIONAL SINGING

It is the intention of this study to consider singing as it occurs among certain groups of people in certain situations. Within the region of study, such groups include the family, the regular customers at a public house, and workfellows, while the context of singing is that associated with the group — the home, the public house, and the place of work. The kind of singing that will be discussed characteristically involves the performance of such songs as have become established over a period of time by frequent repetition. For the purpose of this study it will be referred to as 'traditional' singing, and by corollary its exponents are termed 'traditional' singers and items of their repertoires 'traditional' songs.

For reasons that will later become apparent the word 'folk' has been deliberately avoided, and yet these statements contain little that has not previously been employed to define 'folk song'. For example, Phillips Barry uses the same descriptive approach to learn 'What is folksong?' by asking 'What are the folk singing?'. He concludes the answers to be the same.[1] George Herzog similarly states 'folk songs are best defined as songs which are current in the repertory of a folk group', and further adds that 'oral circulation is the best criterion'.[2] However, both these scholars represent only one trend of folk song scholarship and that predominantly American. Elsewhere the question of authenticity has been approached from a different standpoint. The emphasis has not simply been upon what the 'folk' sing but upon certain distinctive types of song within their repertoire. This approach has inevitably led to a process of selection depending upon criteria which are both subjective and essentially aesthetic. The driving force or 'inspiring ideal' as Walter Wiora saw it, behind the exponents of this process was a belief that 'true folk song is the natural and vigorous — opposed to the bombastic and sentimental. It is a symbol of primitive growth — opposed to all intellectual dry and barren paperwork. It is the singing of a sincere heart — opposed to all affectation, flatness and frivolity.'[3]

In England, that these views were held by the founders of the Folk Song Society (1898), is apparent from the material they selected for publication in their journal. Undoubtedly because many of their members were musicians, the interest in folk melody was predominant; in fact texts were often edited, abridged or simply omitted.[4] Nor was this

process of selection restricted to published material, it also operated with respect to fieldwork. For example, Lucy Broadwood proposed in a leaflet distributed by the Society (1904?) to encourage would-be collectors that they should 'give them [the singers], if possible, an example of the kind of traditional music and words that the Society wishes to procure'.[5] The most prolific fieldworker of this period was Cecil Sharp whose English Folk Song: Some Conclusions was published in 1907. His argument is threefold: in the first place Sharp provides a description of the form 'folk song' as he saw it; secondly he puts forward a theoretical framework modelled on Darwinian principles of evolution; and thirdly he promotes the cause of 'folk song' as 'a great instrument for sweetening and purifying our national life and for elevating the popular taste'.[6] 'When every English child is, as a matter of course, made acquainted with the folk-songs of his country, then, from whatever class the musician of the future may spring, he will speak in the national musical idiom.'[7] The most important section of the book is devoted to an analysis of 'folk melody', but even here his argument is circular — 'We know a folk-tune when we hear it; — or we don't.'[8]

Sharp's legacy has been substantial as can be seen from the rigid adherence of subsequent scholarship in England and elsewhere to the ideas expounded in this his only theoretical work. For example, the International Folk Music Council in 1954 drew up a definition of 'folk music' which in all its essentials —'continuity', 'selection' and 'variation'— is merely a restatement of Sharp's principles of evolution.[9] Similarly the view that 'folk music' is a form distinct from art music and recognisable on artistic grounds is still widely accepted.[10] This has perhaps led to the popular notion that any song written by an individual, containing an element of social or personal protest, performed in a certain style, and distributed on disc is therefore 'folk song'.[11]

Just as the term 'folk song' is subject to all manner of interpretations, so there is similar difference of opinion as to who constitute the 'folk'. It is generally agreed that the 'folk' are the whole society in a preliterate culture. However, when the term is applied to western Europe in the twentieth century, and more especially Britain no such consensus exists. The most widely accepted view is that the 'folk' represent the agricultural labouring classes. Sharp refers to

them as the 'non-educated' or 'a survival of the peasantry',[12] a romantic and unrealistic description.[13] More recent writers have demonstrated the untenable nature of these assertions by citing the existence of town and industrial-oriented songs in oral currency,[14] but in so doing have fallen into other pitfalls. The belief that the 'folk' are the lowest economic stratum of society, the proletariat, is as ill-conceived a generalization as any that it replaced.[15] It is unfortunate that little notice has been taken of Louise Pound's rationale. 'There is never any one folk from the point of view of folk lore, but instead many folk groups, as many as there are regional cultures or occupations or racial groups within a region.'[16] If we are to accept this statement there seems to be no justification for using the term 'folk' at all. Joseph Jacobs seemed to have understood this for as early as 1892 he observed, 'the folk is simply a name for our ignorance'.[17] Because the term is so fraught with misinterpretation and confusion, it is surely of doubtful use in a serious study and must be replaced with a more appropriate word. The two that immediately suggest themselves are 'popular' and 'traditional'. The former, because it is widely used to describe the commercial music industry, 'Tin Pan Alley', as well as loosely referring to a hypothetical populace or common people, would seem as inappropriate as the term 'folk'. 'Traditional', however, suggests just those ingredients that characterize this type of singing, e.g. 'handed down . . . long established . . . generally accepted . . . especially by word of mouth'.[18] For this reason it is employed in this study. The nature of the traditional singing will, of course, depend upon the context in which it is encountered, and one would expect considerable contrasts. For example, the highly formalized singing that exists in a cathedral choir would have little in common with that of a group of sportsmen on their way home from an engagement. Yet both have their traditions of singing and, within a field of study that considers this aspect of human behaviour, both are relevant. Furthermore the use of the term _singing_, rather than _song_ is not arbitrary, but embodies a shift of emphasis. Former scholarship in England has largely contented itself with presenting songs divorced from their social context. The present study will consider not merely the songs, but their setting, their function within the social group, the style of performance, and most important of all, the singers who perform them.

The fieldwork was conducted between 1970-2 in an area to the west

of Sheffield. Although the work was undertaken in depth, certain limitations are inherent in this type of research. It is recognised that the study is basically impressionistic, for certain aspects may have unintentionally been overlooked. For instance, the recordings themselves are in no way comprehensive and may not even be representative, although every attempt has been made to ensure that they are. With such reservations in mind we will consider those features of the tradition which would seem of local significance as well as those that might have wider application.

A consideration of the contents of a traditional singer's repertoire would seem a good starting point. He sings a wide variety of songs, and although he may show preference for a certain type, rarely does he perform such material exclusively. In published song collections the contents may be classified as 'national', 'folk', 'emigrant' 'plantation' etc.,[19] but these labels have very little meaning to the traditional singer. He may have a notion as to the age of a song but this alone is scarcely considered adequate reason for including the song in his repertoire. Essentially his tastes are catholic; songs that were popularised by the broadside press are sung alongside music hall pieces. The most highly prized item of his repertoire may be the oldest, or it might simply be the most popular among his associates. Although there is a common core of material among different singers,[20] each individual's repertory is eclectic such that the term traditional song as denoting a category is misleading. It does not represent a distinct genre but rather, as Phillips Barry suggests above, the collection of items performed by traditional singers.

Such songs are directly affected by those who perform them. A singer may preserve a song, change it or forget it. Cecil Sharp was aware of this constant pressure and comments that 'modernity is the keynote of the folk song'.[21] Although he could see that the older songs were dying, he does not seem to have realised that new songs were taking their place.[22] Perhaps the main reason for this blindness was that the newer songs differed so greatly in style from those he had chose to collect that he failed to recognise them for what they were. Songs do not live indefinitely, for just as a song must enter into traditional usage at some time, so at a later date when it is no longer meaningful it will be forgotten. Several factors will affect the length of this life cycle and some of these will be considered elsewhere.

In the vicinity of Sheffield, most traditional song is in origin

a popular form from an earlier period.[23] This would seem equally true of other parts of the country. That is not to say that the most popular songs of a period will become traditional as this has rarely happened as far as we know;[24] rather that for a song to become widespread as most traditional songs are, it must in the first place have achieved some sort of popular currency. The sources and dissemination of popular songs have changed considerably over the last five hundred years.[25] At one time songs must have been passed on almost exclusively by oral means. This would have allowed for greater variation than at any time since, for subsequent developments have worked to fix first the words and then the music of the songs. The broadside press helped to establish standard texts[26] especially in the nineteenth century, when wide scale distribution was being achieved by the larger London based printers, such as Pitts, Such, Catnach and Fortey.[27] However, it was not until the end of the century, with the advent of sheet music, that the tunes of songs were to be fixed in the same manner. One reason for the popularity of sheet music was that it reproduced the songs that were sung in the music halls and at the ballad concerts. Moreover it probably marked a rise in musical literacy reflected also in the upsurge of interest in keyboard instruments, piano, 'American organ', and harmonium, for use in the home, as well as in brass bands.[28] The nineteen hundreds saw the introduction of the gramophone disc. This has undoubtedly been the most significant advance made in the dissemination of popular music. For the first time words and tune were combined in a single performance that could be constantly repeated and was generally available. Subsequently radio and later television have helped to reinforce the position of the disc; but their main role has been to present all the different strands of culture through a single medium.

It is not surprising, in view of the changing media for popular song over the last hundred years alone, that the process of transmission of traditional songs within a literate society should have become more complex. The singers recorded for this study have by and large learnt their songs from the singing of others, i.e. by aural means, but not exclusively. Several singers have written out songs as an aid to learning or would ask others to copy the words out for them. In some cases songs have been learnt from other sources such as the radio, disc, sheet music, or song book.[29] Whereas oral transmission,

considered diachronically, is a characteristic of traditional singing, oral circulation considered synchronically, as Herzog states, is a prerequisite, for this study is concerned with performed songs. Phillips Barry came to the conclusion that performance from memory was the essential feature.[30] This is, however, not accepted here, for some singers have been encountered that regularly refresh their memories from handwritten copies while one singer performs many of his songs with such a copy before him even when he sings in the pub.[31]

A consideration of the process of oral transmission must in part draw upon past scholarship. Phillips Barry referred to the process as 'individual invention plus communal re-creation',[32] by which he means 'a collective labor "cumulative through tradition in time and space"'.[33] The amount of refashioning that any song undergoes must to some extent depend upon the length of time that the song is current in tradition. Therefore it is to be expected that among contemporary singers substantial variations can be seen in a present day version of a song that existed in the seventeenth century, while a late nineteenth century composition would scarcely have had the time for such changes to develop. However, mere passage of time alone does not necessarily involve traceable change for it is, as Cecil Sharp states, the variation of the individual that 'creates the material which renders development possible'.[34] Variation, isolated by Sharp as one of the three principles in his evolutionary theory, occurs in some form from individual to individual, from performance to performance and is to some extent a feature of all music. In this context, Sharp specifically refers to subconscious melodic alteration and lists examples of the causes, such as a singer's love of ornament or a faulty memory. Although most singers make only slight alterations he concludes that 'any change, however small, may eventually lead to results out of all proportion to the initial variation'.[35]

Both of the other two principles identified by Sharp have some relevance to the present study. 'Continuity' seems to be most apparent in performance style. Although there is no conclusive evidence for this, certain factors would seem to point to such an inference. Singers consistently perform all their songs in the same style including any new songs they may have learnt. There is also a link between different singers of an area such that many characteristics of performance are held by them in common. Thus homogeneity exists in performance style

at two levels: within the repertoire of a single singer, and among singers of the same locality. It is reasonable to expect that the link between father and son would be no less important than that between unrelated singers, and on this basis would seem to depend Sharp's principle of continuity. The principle of selection is that which determines the life span of a song. The reason why some popular songs are absorbed and accepted into tradition while others are not is obscure. Although there are exceptional cases of songs that have appealed to a vast number of people over many years and yet have remained largely unaltered, in most cases it seems that the ablility of a song to undergo some change without losing its appeal controls the length of time it will remain current in tradition. Sharp insists that 'selection is the act of the community'[36] as opposed to the act of an individual and by so doing seems to erect a non-existent barrier; for surely the material of any tradition is selected by individuals whether they act in concordance or not. The underlying motives behind a singer's choice of a song would therefore seem to be an important line of research. The tendency is for him to choose a song with which he can identify and which would seem to have some sort of special personal meaning. A song may simply remind him of the person from whom he learnt it, he may like the story or the sentiment it contains, he may identify himself with the protagonist or believe the account to be true. In fact, this 'personalization' would seem to be the essential bond between performer and song.

Directly related to the question of meaning is that of usage. Most singing is simply recreational — a singer may sing alone or in a group for his own enjoyment or that of others. At another level is the use of songs to help with the execution of certain tasks, especially where a rhythmic movement is involved such as handmilking. Finally there is singing that is basically ritual, for example the performance of carols in a public house on a particular evening before Christmas. These basic areas of usage are interrelated to the extent that a performance of a song might conceivably comply with all three. It is only by a careful examination of the usage and meaning of a song that an understanding of its function may be approached.

Of primary importance to this study is a careful consideration of the singers, especially with regard to the relevant factors of their personalities such as attitudes and beliefs. A great deal of information on the tradition can be obtained by observing the relationships

between a singer and his songs, a singer and his audience, and between different singers. There is a certain prestige attached to a person who is able to perform a song or 'do a turn', and because of this he may receive many invitations to social functions. However, to the west of Sheffield, there is no evidence of professionalism among singers, although on occasions a singer may be provided with free drinks. The following story is an indication of the close bond that exists between singers and audience. Andrew Gregory has been dead for some years and yet he is vividly remembered for such songs as The Nobleman and the Thresherman. In short, he was a noted singer, and yet when it was enquired of a man who had known him, George Hancock, whether Andrew were a good singer, the reply came back 'he were only the same as anybody else like'.[37] This does not imply a lack of respect, for whenever a song is performed that he used to sing his name is always mentioned. The example related directly to the mutual respect that exists between different singers, such that it is considered ill-mannered to perform a song for which another member of the group present is noted. This results in a certain amount of complementarity among the repertoires of singers within the same community, which may tend to emphasize personal preferences for certain types of songs. For instance, one man may be well-known for his comic songs, another for his songs about war, and so on.

Some of the consequences of the growth of mass media have already been touched on. The most drastic change would seem to be in the amount of song and musical culture available for consumption. However, two factors would seem to limit the number of songs that may become accepted into a traditional repertoire. In the first place, a singer who is exposed to vast amounts of new material quickly becomes unable to assimilate it. Secondly, such is the speed of 'turn-over' in popular songs that singers do not have the time to absorb a new song. In practice, therefore, the availability of both recorded and broadcasted music in large quantities almost certainly produces a decline in the need for singing or playing an instrument even though it may increase the desire. Furthermore, in spite of additional time being available for recreation, most of this has been absorbed by passive rather than active pursuits, with the television making the largest claim.[38] One might expect that under such circumstances traditional singing might become a forgotten form of expression and yet this does not seem to be the

case from present experience, rather that individual songs are forgotten while others take their place. Songs associated with a particular activity, for instance, might be expected to wane when the activity which they accompanied is discontinued. In many of the more tedious and repetitive agricultural jobs, in particular hand-milking which has recently been mechanised, this is happening. The songs that helped to relieve the monotony are now redundant and must either become united with a new field of activity or be forgotten.

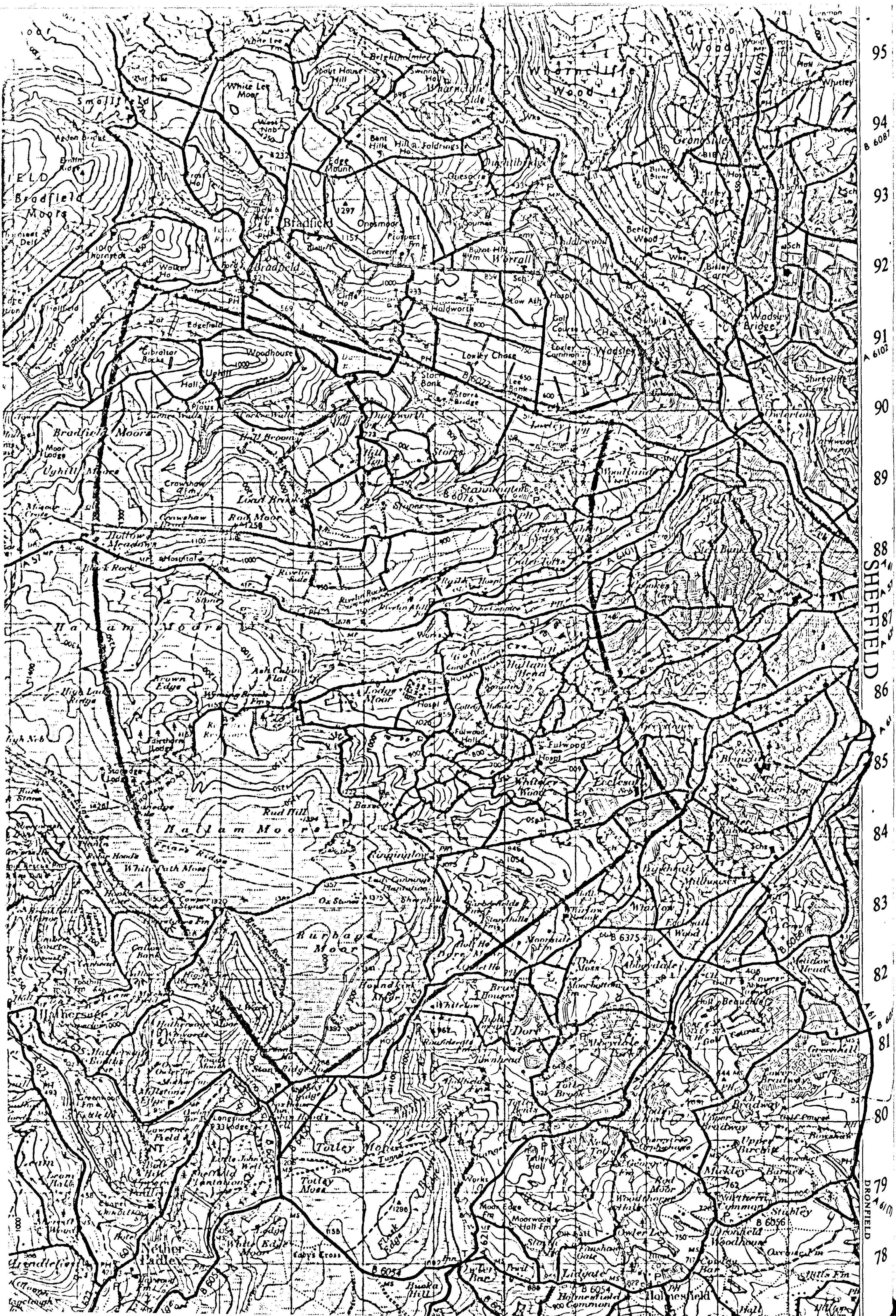
The purpose of this discussion has been to outline the relevant features of a tradition of singing to the west of Sheffield. To this end much of the original thinking that has gone into the work of such folk song scholars as Cecil Sharp has been utilised. It is only to be regretted that they considered their subject outside of time and place, a withering relic distinct from both art music and popular culture. Sharp's theory of evolution, for example, can be applied equally well to art music.[39] The present study by avoiding the term 'folk song' attempts to get away from some of the confusion that has clouded the issue in the past and to establish through the use of the term _traditional singing_ a clear understanding of the phenomenon under discussion.

Footnotes

1. Cited in D.K.Wilgus, Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898 (New Jersey, 1959), p.69.
2. George Herzog, 'Song' in Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, edited by Maria Leach and J. Fried, 2 vols (New York, 1950), II, 1033.
3. Walter Wiora, 'Concerning the Conception of Authentic Folk Music', Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 1 (1949), 17-18.
4. Wilgus, p.130.
5. Cited in Wilgus, pp.128-9.
6. Morning Post, 19 April 1906. Cited in D.Harker, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Conclusions', Folk Music Journal, 2 (1972), 240.
7. Cecil J.Sharp, English Folk Song: Some Conclusions, third edition (London, 1954), p.133.
8. Ibid., p.87.
9. Journal of IFMC, 3 (1955), 23.
10. See Maud Karpeles, 'The Distinction between Folk and Popular Music', Journal of IFMC, 20 (1968), 9-12.
11. An example of this belief can be seen in the way certain singers are titled 'folk singer', e.g. Bob Dylan.
12. Sharp, p.4.
13. Harker, op. cit., pp.227-8.
14. A.L.Lloyd, Come All Ye Bold Miners (London, 1952).
15. See A.L.Lloyd, Folk Song in England (London, 1967), p.25, and John Greenway, American Folksongs of Protest (Philadelphia, 1953).
16. 'Folklore and Dialect', California Folklore Quarterly, 4 (1945), 151. Cited in David Buchan, The Ballad and the Folk (London, 1972), p.3.
17. Folklore, 4 (1893), 234.
18. Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.
19. For example The Scottish Students Song Book, sixth edition (Glasgow, 1897).
20. See Appendix 6. For individual singers' repertoires see Appendix 7.
21. Sharp, p.124.
22. Ibid., p.119. 'In less than a decade . . . English folk singing will be extinct.'
23. There are exceptions though few in number. However, a lack of knowledge of an earlier popular form of a song does not necessarily

preclude the existence of one, nor does it rule out the possibility of an exclusively oral tradition of both composition and performance quite independent of such popular forms.

24. 'Popular' is here used objectively. Just as the popularity of a contemporary song is gauged by the number of copies of disc or sheet music sold, so in the nineteenth century some statistics are available for the number of copies sold of certain broadsides e.g. Henry Mayhew in London Labour and London Poor, gives the example of Maria Marten in the Red Barn which sold over a million and a half copies. The song has rarely been found in a traditional context.
25. The Lytel Geste of Robin Hood, a collection of ballads was printed by Wynken de Worde about 1495. See William Chappell, Popular Music of The Olden Time, reprinted edition, 2 vols (New York, 1965), II, 388. First edition (London, 1859).
26. This is not to say that all broadside versions of a song are the same.
27. Lloyd, Folk Song in England, pp.27-8.
28. These assumptions are based on observation. During the first quarter of this century many working class homes acquired pianos on which members of the family learnt to play, while a great number of men joined brass bands. Although it is certain that some learnt to play these instruments by ear, others did not.
29. For example Frank Hinchliffe learnt The Letter Edged in Black from a gramophone disc. See Transcript Hin 35.
30. Cited in Wilgus, p.225.
31. George White of Stannington.
32. Cited in Wilgus, p.69.
33. Ibid., p.120.
34. Sharp, p.29.
35. Ibid., p.28.
36. Ibid., p.30.
37. Recorded 20 January 1971.
38. My own informants most often cite this example.
39. See B.Szabolcsi, 'Folk Music — Art Music — History of Music', Studia Musicologica, 7 (1965), 171-9.



SHEFFIELD
DRONFIELD
Bradfield
Bradfield Moors
Hallam Moors
Burbage Moor
Totley Moor
Stannington
Worrall
Wadsley
Dore
Fulwood
Ecclesall
Nether Edge
Lodge Moor
Holmesfield
Dronfield Woodhouse

2 A DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA IN WHICH THE STUDY WAS MADE

The area of study lies to the west of Sheffield and falls roughly within a sector that extends as far as the River Loxley in the north and the A625 trunk road in the south. It will for convenience be designated West Sheffield. (See section of Peak District Tourist Map, one inch, Ordnance Survey (HMSO, 1963, revised 1970).) It lies within the Sheffield District of the County of South Yorkshire. The inner and outer boundaries correspond to the suburbs of Sheffield in the east and Bradfield, Hallam and Burbage Moors in the west. The area consists of a surface gently sloping from 1450 feet at Stanedge Pole to 500 feet at Loxley and Fulwood, which has been deeply incised by three streams. The rivers Loxley, Rivelin and Porter are eastward flowing tributaries of the River Don and several reservoirs have been constructed in the upper parts of their valleys. There is a close relationship between the relief features of the area and its lithology and structure, such that in the west rocks of the Millstone Grit Series outcrop to form prominent crags and edges such as Rivelin Rocks, whereas in the east the rocks are compounded of the Lower Coal Measures Series. A great contrast exists between the moorland ridges and plateaux, and the alluvial valley floors. West Sheffield is characterised by close-knit villages sited in the river valleys and upland hamlets, which until this century remained somewhat isolated from the city despite their proximity. Subsequent urban growth has encompassed the nearer settlements and yet the communities have remained distinct and their traditional culture largely intact.

There seems to have been little early settlement in the area.[1] The thickly wooded foothills which on higher ground gave way to bracken, heather and bilberry remained largely unpopulated for early man preferred to settle further west in the Peak. It was this region of gritstone moorland that was the most densely populated during the Iron Age.[2] The most distinctive features of this settlement that remain in the present landscape are the hill forts, such as the seventh century Brigantian Carl's Wark which lies three miles outside West Sheffield. These forts were probably the main strongholds of resistance to the Roman conquest in the north between A.D.71 and 74. The Long Causeway, a surviving feature of the conquest, runs from Crosspool to Stanage and was a part of the Roman road linking the forts of Brough and Templeborough. But it was as a result of late Anglo-Saxon penetration

that the first settlements originated. The area was in the border country between Northumbria and Mercia and the village of Dore which stands two miles to the south is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as a meeting place between the two kingdoms.[3] A study of place names testifies to the existence of Anglian settlements and indicates that few, if any, Danish raids were made west of the Don.[4] It is unfortunate that the records in the Domesday Book (1086) are insufficient to establish the extent of these settlements. The relevant paragraph merely states 'Manor. In Hallam with sixteen berewicks . . .' none of which are named.[5] Many scholars have argued that the Manor or Hall of Waltheof was in the Rivelin valley or at Crosspool (Hallam Head) but this is largely a matter of conjecture.[6]

During the thirteenth century the land was the property of the de Furnivals who used it for the chase. Thomas de Furnival (died 1237) granted his grange to the monks of Beauchief Abbey along with pasture throughout Fulwood and Rivelin. Similar privileges of 'herbiage and foliage' were granted by another Thomas de Furnival (died 1332) to the inhabitants of Stannington, Morewood, Hallam and Fulwood.[7] It seems that a direct policy operated to limit the number of freeholders in order to preserve the landowner's amenities especially for game.[8] As late as 1637 John Harrison records of Rivelin that

> this Mannor is not onely profitable but for pleasure alsoe, being furnished with red Deare and ffallow, with hares and some Rowes, with Phesants and great store of Partridges, and more Game in abundance both black and red, as moore Cocks, moore Hens and young pootes upon ye moores, as also Mallard, Teale, Hearnshewes and Plover, ye chiefest fishing within this Manor is in ye Rivers that passeth through the same, wherein are great store of Salmon, Trouts, Chevens [chubs], Eles and other small fish.[9]

The rivers were also the site of much industry, for as early as 1510 there were water grinding wheels at Wisewood,[10] and by 1637 Harrison is confidently able to assert of the Porter, Rivelin and Loxley that

> these Rivers are very profitable unto ye Lord in regard of the Mills and Cutler wheeles that are turned by their streames, which wheeles are imployed for the grinding of knives by four or five hundred Master Workmen that gives severall marks.[11]

Moreover he refers to a quarry at Rivelin that had been in operation in the fourteenth century.[12] 'Very good Millnstones are hewen out in Rivelin, there is likewise very good clay for pots and bricks.'[13] The picture thus far is of an area sparsely settled, with flourishing industry along the streams, but largely maintained as park land.

When the first Anglian settlers arrived they chose their sites carefully. While most of these are along the valley bottoms attention has been paid to ensure that they are in a suitable position to obtain maximum sunlight and to be clear of marshy ground. Thus the earliest settlements in Fulwood, 'a wet marshy place in a wood,'[14] were on higher ground above the Porter with a southern aspect. Perhaps because the area was reserved for game there is little evidence of the Anglo-Saxon open-field system of farming, in fact the earliest reference to the cultivation of land is about 1400.[15] Similarly almost all the building within the area is post-medieval though examples of crucks survive at Stumperlowe, Rivelin, Stannington, Dungworth and Loxley.[16] Much of the early domestic building dates from the seventeenth century and includes some fine examples of stone built country residences such as Fulwood Hall (1620), Bennett Grange, Spout House (1630), Fulwood Grange, Rivelin Lodge (1600) and Jowitt House.[17] This was also the period of much small-scale enclosure which generally took place on land close by the early settlements. These first enclosures were done piece-meal, and it was not until The Upper Hallam Enclosure Act of 1791 that the bulk of the land was enclosed on a more efficient pattern. This is illustrated in the Mayfield valley, where two distinct field patterns are evident. In the lower parts, generally below nine hundred feet, the fields are small and irregular while on the higher ground larger geometric, usually rectangular shapes are apparent.

One result of these land enclosures was the improvement of minor roads in West Sheffield which not only became straighter but uniform in width. The construction of the major roads was undertaken by turnpike trusts. The old route out into Derbyshire (Hathersage) had followed the path of the Roman road, but steep gradients rendered it impassable to all but packhorse traffic, such that a new road, via Ringinglow Toll Bar[18], was built in 1758 by the Sheffield — Chapel-en-le-Frith and Sheffield — Buxton Joint Trusts.[19] The present route (A624), via Foxhouse, dates from 1812. The other turnpike road, which links the city with Manchester and the port of Liverpool, was built in 1821 by

the Sheffield — Glossop Trust[20], and is the existing A57 trunk road which travels up the Rivelin valley to cross the Pennines at Snake Pass. Because both these routes by-passed the major settlements of Fulwood and Stannington, these villages tended to remain 'cut off' and it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century, when roads such as Fulwood Road (1878) and Rivelin Road (1907) were constructed, that direct links were established with the city.[21]

Although good east-west communication has been in existence in West Sheffield for over two hundred years, the north-south routes have always been poor on account of the relief features of the area. Even today many motorists prefer to make a detour into Sheffield and out again rather than attempt to follow the winding lanes that cut across the valleys, while public transport must also follow the same course. Thus difficulty of communication (roads are the sole means within West Sheffield) has above all else contributed to the comparative isolation of the area upon which Hunter, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, remarked:

> The manufacturers of Sheffield have extended themselves less into this than into the other townships. [He refers to Upper Hallam, which included Fulwood, Crosspool and parts of Rivelin.] A majority of the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture. They are distinguishable from their eastern neighbours as well by dialect as by employment. There are remnants of our ancient tongue remaining among the rude and simple inhabitants of this remote part of the parish which are not found and scarcely understood in the more populous parts. Both in dialect and manners they assimilate more nearly to their neighbours of the Peak than to those of the other side.[22]

There is tangible evidence of this link with Derbyshire in the number of marriages and baptisms that refer to Fulwood in Hathersage Parish Register.[23] Nor is this link completely severed for there are still those who travel over to Hathersage for social occasions such as dances.[24]

The incentive for the improvement of minor roads was provided by the extension of the Sheffield manufacturers' activities into West Sheffield. The metallurgical industry originated in the Middle Ages at stream sites.[25] Harrison, in 1637, refers to cutlers on the Loxley and five wheels in operation on the Rivelin,[26] one of which, Carr Wheel,

is mentioned in a deed dated 1549.[27] However, it was during the eighteenth century that the major phase of expansion took place during which most of the forges and grinding mills were built. The metal finishing trades, cutlery and tool-making, were to provide one of the main sources of employment up until the beginning of the twentieth century; for it was the combination of locally produced steel, the abundance of timber for charcoal, and of water power, together with the good access to material for making grindstones, that enabled the industry to achieve a pre-eminent position during this period. Just as the industry became more and more concentrated on the centre of Sheffield so elsewhere it declined, especially in the Pennine foothills, such that by 1914 most of the mills had been demolished and their reservoirs filled in. Nonetheless the industry has left a significant mark on the landscape.

The late eighteenth century witnessed the increasing importance of mining for coal, ganister and fireclay in West Sheffield. Pits were sunk in the Loxley valley, at Stannington and at Ringinglow. Because the outcrops were relatively near the surface the methods employed were often primitive, such as at Ringinglow where the Trotter family used 'Pudding Holes' (Bell Pits) to mine coal at Deep Sick and Moss Pits from about 1800.[28] The coal, of a poor quality, was unsuitable for domestic use and in 1901 the shafts were filled in. By 1939 the Stannington pits too had been closed for the same reason. Only the mining of fireclay which supplies the three refractories based in the Loxley valley continues today.[29]

The rapid expansion of the city meant greater demands for water to supply the needs of its ever-increasing population, which in 1801 was 45,755 rising to 324,291 by 1891.[30] To meet this demand the Sheffield Water Company built several reservoirs within the area, which is well suited for water conservation on account of its deeply cut valleys and heavy rainfall. These were to supply the bulk of Sheffield's needs until the end of the Second World War when the vast Ladybower reservoir came into operation.[31] The building of the reservoirs attracted a considerable number of migrant workers, 'navvies', and it was to cater for these men that several farms in the district took out licenses to sell beer. Of the ale-houses which operated in the Fulwood area only one survives - the Three Merry Lads at Lodge Moor which was named by Mr and Mrs Luke Marsden after three of their children, Richard, George and Benjamin.[32] Although in the short term the reservoirs attracted

large numbers of people into the area ultimately, they had the reverse effect. Because of the danger of pollution many cottages in the vicinity of the reservoirs were demolished; at Redmires two public houses, the Grouse and Trout and the Ocean View suffered the same fate. Sheffield Corporation in fact pursued this policy even further by purchasing many of the farms within the catchment areas and turning them over to afforestation.[33] There is evidence that this policy found much favour with the local landlords though the reason for their concern was the grouse and not public health. For example, Wilson Mappin, who owned much of Hallam Moors, was responsible for clearing the land for grouse at Lord Seat Farm in 1890, and at Fulwood Booth Farm in 1897. Also it was his influence that led to the closing of the Grouse and Trout, thereby attempting to discourage outsiders from visiting the area.[34]

Planned demolition coupled with the dwindling away of employment within the area might be expected to result in the gradual depopulation of the country districts, especially in the west. This has happened in Bradfield Parish, but elsewhere the evidence is less substantial.[35] The steady increase in the population of the other parishes has been due largely to the growth of the city from the east, and this has had little effect upon the cultural activity of the villages. City people, choosing this area by virtue of its quietness, scenic beauty, and relative convenience, do so with little desire to participate in local affairs. The inflated price of property within the district is indicative of this situation which may be advantageous to the home-owner, but must severely restrict local people, especially the 'young-married', from buying a house near where they were brought up. The fact that the population of Bradfield has decreased suggests that its remoteness has not yet recommended it to the townspeople. Today the pattern of settlement in West Sheffield shows considerable variation. Large residential areas to the east engulf the villages of Fulwood and Stannington and contrast strongly with the desolate moorland and plantations which surround the higher reservoirs to the west.

With the disappearance of small scale industrial activity over the last fifty years, agriculture now provides the major form of employment within the area.[36] The farms like the villages have been much affected by their proximity to Sheffield. In the first place the city provided them with a ready market for their produce, especially milk. Thus many farmers operated their own retail milk trade, until

recently, when the introduction of government restrictions as well as modern transportation methods have resulted in the larger combines taking over the distribution side, though the changeover is by no means complete.[37] Another consequence of urban development has been the appropriation of land for houses, schools, parks and playing fields. The siting of the reservoirs has further reduced farm land; while restrictions imposed on those farming within the gathering grounds, has led to a reduction in potential income.[38] Fortunately, such land, because of its location, is usually of poor quality and unsuitable for growing crops. Farmers have also to cope with the problem of trepass, especially the worrying of sheep. This has become so serious that farmers will shoot on sight any dogs straying on to their land.[39] It has also meant that sheep have to be kept as far as possible from residential areas.

The farms themselves are small in size, mostly between twenty and fifty acres, and tenanted, their stock consisting mainly of cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry. Drystone walls of dark grey millstone-grit are the predominant means of fencing, while most of the land is used for grazing pasture or hayfields, the more fertile land suitable for growing crops having been lost to the encroaching city. Lost with it is the notable institution of the ploughing match held at Lodge Moor together with its one-day public house. A Mrs Birks, publican of Mushroom Lane, transferred her license for the day of the match to a field at the top of Crimicar Lane. She called these temporary premises 'God Speed the Plough'.[40] The disappearance of this event intimates a far greater change that has affected the nature of farming — that is the introduction of mechanization. To the west of Sheffield this change-over consisted mainly of the replacement of the horse by the tractor as the main power source on the farm, and the substitution of machine for hand milking. The result of these changes was to free the farmer from some of the more monotonous and time consuming jobs; for example, he could now plough at least twice as much land in a day as before, and milking became the task of one man rather than a small team. The introduction of these and other innovations was not completed until the end of the first decade after the Second World War, and inevitably brought about a reduction in the number employed on the land. Nevertheless it is the farming families that have held on most firmly to the old way of life.

Nowhere is the independence of these people more apparent than in

the history of their religion. Fulwood and Stannington were among the first villages in the Sheffield region where non-conformity took a firm hold. This was hardly surprising as both these villages were cut off from their respective parish churches by several miles of difficult country. Hunter remarks about the difficulty of travelling from Stannington to Bradfield,[42] and the fact that many Fulwood people preferred to walk to Hathersage church rather than Sheffield, their parish church, is further evidence of this isolation. To counteract this, private houses in both these villages were licensed for worship. Initially these meeting houses maintained the orthodox faith, but, perhaps because of neglect by the mother church, quickly moved towards non-conformity. The remoteness of the meeting houses recommended their use to non-conformists all over the region. One of the most famous of these was the Lord's Seat 'Chapel' which stood beyond Redmires on the old Hathersage Road (The Long Causeway) a short distance before Stanedge Pole. Here dissenters came and worshipped at the time of the 'Five Mile Limit' Act (1665), which prohibited their ministers from holding a service within five miles of any place in which they had previously ministered.[43] Later the 'chapel' was reputed to have been used secretly by the earliest Unitarians who also met at Spout House in Stannington until a chapel had been constructed for their use. This is the present Underbank chapel which stands just outside Stannington and dates from 1743. Old Fulwood chapel was built some thirteen years earlier. It was not until the nineteenth century that the Church of England provided any facility for Anglicans in these two villages. Churches, along with newly formed parishes, were built in Fulwood in 1838, Stannington, 1843, and Oughtibridge, 1868. There was certainly local enthusiasm for these churches; Fulwood farmers, for instance, carted free of charge all the stone to build their church.[44] However, non-conformity still seems to hold sway in all areas excepting Bradfield. The essential distinction here between the two brands of Christianity is not one of belief but rather one of communication. Non-conformity established itself in areas where orthodox religion scarcely existed and has subsequently never relinquished its hold.

While church and chapel catered for men's spiritual needs there seems to have been ample sport and outdoor activities to occupy their leisure time. In fact the reputation for sport that West Sheffield enjoyed during the Middle Ages has not entirely been lost. Up until the

First World War, there was a considerable amount of hunting within the district both for fox and hare. Of the three local associations, The Stannington Beagles, The Hallamshire Harriers and The Oughtibridge Trail Hunt, not one survives. Some of the land is still hunted by a trail hunt from Ecclesfield, whose main prey is the white hare. While Grouse-shooting continues on the western moors among the very rich, the local man, whose connection with the sport is as beater, gamekeeper, or poacher, confines most of his shooting activity to rabbits and clay pigeons. Two games that were formerly popular in the area, 'Peggy' and 'Knur and Spell', are similar in both rules and equipment.[45] They are no longer played and their place has been taken by cricket and bowls. Furthermore, the local rivalry in sport that existed between villages has shifted in emphasis; no longer is it a case of whether or not one village will beat its neighbour in, for example, cricket; now local ambition is directed more towards the possibility of gaining the first place in the league. This change of outlook reflects two trends. At one time, isolation limited sport to a local affair between neighbouring villages, which, as a result of modern transportation is no longer the case. Secondly the amount of sporting activity within the district has decreased, hence local teams must go further afield in search of competition.

Another sporting activity that seems worthy of mention is rambling. The rambling movement got under way in Sheffield soon after the turn of the century.[46] Most of its members were working men from the city who shared a love of the countryside and wanted an inexpensive way of enjoying it. More than this, many of its members adopted, as second homes, some of the nearer places they had visited on their rambles. Inside the public houses they mixed with the local people and shared in their conversation and recreation. The relationship was one of mutual respect and exchange of ideas. In some places these ramblers have helped to keep alive interest in local traditions that might otherwise have lapsed; and occasionally they have even invigorated some aspects through their own innovations.[47] The country districts of West Sheffield have long been a favourite haunt for ramblers, and, unlike many of the occasions where town and country have come into contact, both parties seem to have benefited from the exchange.

The musical background of the district must have been fairly typical of many such areas in the North of England. Church orchestras,

LODGE MOOR

Fulwood Booth

The Three Merry Lads

consisting of players of stringed instruments, would have accounted for most of the organized music during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[48] These orchestras were usually very small with perhaps only two or three musicians. Their function, to accompany psalms, hymns and anthems in their local chapel or church, was lost in the latter half of the nineteenth century to the might of the church organ. The next few years up until 1914 saw the rise of the brass band. Bands were formed in Stannington, Oughtibridge, Fulwood and Dungworth. Today only the first two named survive. Other organised activity has been mostly choral. Bolsterstone, which stands a few miles to the north of the area, has, for many years, recruited members for its male voice choir from the surrounding villages and even from Sheffield. More recently, the Bradfield Evening Institute Choral Society has catered for local interest in this type of music, while a male voice choir has been started in Worrall. The overall picture suggests that interest has shifted away from instrumental activity towards organized choirs.

An attempt has been made to consider West Sheffield in its entirety, with reference to its location, development, and landscape. For the purpose of this study it is necessary to examine the individual settlements that comprise the area, and more especially those in which fieldwork has been undertaken.

Fulwood today is an extremely favoured suburb of Sheffield for it lies in attractive surroundings on the fringe of the city development and is relatively remote from industrial areas. On the southern edge surrounded by parkland flows the Porter Brook along which several of the buildings that once housed the mills and forges have been preserved, while to the north is Hallamshire Golf Course. The distribution of different types of dwellings gives a clear indication as to the pattern of settlement over the past five hundred years. Small, well-sheltered farms and cottages of local dark sandstone or gritstone with flagstone roofs are scattered throughout the Mayfield Valley. Built in a plain, modest, and robust style, these houses are typical of the vernacular architecture of the area. Sited on level ground, they are usually low, oblong, single-gabled constructions of two stories which often incorporate a barn in the end bay and an 'outshut' at the back. Although some of these dwellings date from the seventeenth century, most were built much later during the early part of the nineteenth century. The eastern approaches to Fulwood, being nearest to the city were first to be

developed. Here the large Victorian mansions and stone-built villas of the Sheffield manufacturers predominate. The housing in the central part of the village is less impressive and dates from the period between the two World Wars. Bungalows and semi-detached houses with their bay windows and pebbledashed exteriors stand in compact, well-kept gardens. The largest areas of housing are the private estates which were built during the last decade on higher ground to the north at Lodge Moor. Although there has been little council building, the district has long been a favoured site for hospitals, nursing homes and such like. For example the 1831 Census records that of the 6165 inhabitants of the Parish of Fulwood 919 were in hospital or similar institution.[49] To a certain extent the housing pattern also reflects a cultural division, such that the villagers and well-established families tend to occupy the older dwellings while the townspeople live in the estates.

The upland hamlet of Ringinglow stands above the Mayfield valley on the turnpike road to Hathersage. The Toll House, known locally as The Round House, was built about 1778 and occupies a striking position on the cross-roads opposite the Norfolk Arms.[50] There are few other buildings — a chapel, a farm, two rows of cottages and a row of council houses — and little evidence remains of the coal pits, wireworks and copperas works that once operated in the village.[51]

On high ground to the north between the confluence of the Rivers Loxley and Rivelin is Stannington. The old village settlement, unlike Fulwood, is closely grouped and its development began much later.[52] The steep approaches to the village from Malin Bridge are completely dominated by tower blocks of flats built by Sheffield Corporation in the 1960s. Because until 1974 the village itself lay outside the city boundary in Wortley Rural District Council, none of the council building approaches the magnitude of the City's scheme. The eastern area has been privately developed and mostly consists of bungalows and semi-detached residences, whilst the central part consists largely of terraced council houses some of which date from the Second World War. Many of the occupants of these work at Dyson's brickyard which is about half a mile to the west. The presence of local industry is in some ways reflected by the fact that, whereas Fulwood has no public houses near the centre, Stannington has four as well as a large community hall.

Two miles west of Stannington overlooking the Loxley stands the

hamlet of Dungworth. This predominantly agricultural settlement clusters around the village pub, the Royal Hotel, and the Weslyan Chapel. There is no modern building except a single row of council and private houses which stand below the green. The construction of some of the rows of cottages and farms, in following the gradient of the hill-side, has led to an interesting feature, such that between the different bays of the same building the roof is 'stepped' in a series of three or four gables.

West Sheffield is essentially an area in which suburban and rural features come into contact and intermingle. It is hoped that this study has helped to establish this essential characteristic, and in doing so provided some insight into the cultural forces that have been at work among the old established families that constitute the farming community. Essentially independent, it is their tenacity in holding on to the old way of life by not letting it become neglected or forgotten, that so distinguishes them from their neighbours of the city.

Footnotes

1. I.S.Maxwell, 'The Age of Settlement' in Sheffield and Its Region: A Scientific and Historical Survey, edited by D.L.Linton (Sheffield, 1956), pp.121-38. There is a reference to a Bronze Age Barrow in J.E.Bartlett, 'The Excavation of a Barrow at Lodge Moor, Sheffield 1954-55', in Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 7 (1957), 321-4.
2. J.E.Bartlett and F.L.Preston 'Iron Age and Roman Period' in Linton, p.111.
3. Mary Walton, Sheffield: Its Story and Its Achievement, fourth edition (Wakefield, 1968), p.15.
4. Maxwell, op. cit., pp.128-31.
5. Maxwell, op. cit., p.136.
6. Walton, p.21.
7. Joseph Hunter, Hallamshire: The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield, edited by Alfred Gatty (London, 1869), p.52.
8. Ibid., p.380.
9. John Harrison, Survey and View of the Manor of Sheffield, 1637, edited by J.G.Ronkesly (Worksop, 1908), p.4.
10. Walton, p.41.
11. Harrison, p.3. It is important to note that the lower reaches of the Porter are outside West Sheffield.
12. Walton, p.35.
13. Harrison, p.4.
14. S.O.Addy, A Glossary of Words Used in the Neighbourhood of Sheffield (London, 1886), p.83.
15. Colin Cooper, 'David Lane', in Articles on Old Fulwood, a collection of cuttings in Sheffield City Libraries [about 1960], p.14.
16. B.Bunker, Cruck Buildings (Sheffield, 1970), pp.64-9.
17. The dates in parentheses are the first references to the existence of the houses.
18. The Round House or Toll House still stands at Ringinglow.
19. A.W.Goodfellow, 'Sheffield Turnpikes in the Eighteenth Century', in Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 5 (1943), 71-90.
20. Ibid.
21. J.H.Stainton, The Making of Sheffield, 1866-1914 (Sheffield, 1924), pp.1-22.

22. Hunter, p.380.
23. H.Richardson, 'The Story of Fulwood', in Local Pamphlets, 196, No.3 (Sheffield City Libraries, 1931), 3.
24. The information is from Frank Hinchliffe of Fulwood Head.
25. Walton, pp.39-41.
26. W.T.Miller, The Water-Wheels of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1949), p.62.
27. Miller, p.85.
28. J.Matthews and D.Price, 'The Old Coal Mines and Works of Ringinglow', in Peak District Mines Historical Society Bulletin, 1, No.5 (1961), 41-5.
29. These are J. and J.Dyson Ltd., started about 1800, Thos. Marshall and Co. (Loxley) Ltd., from about 1840, and T.Wragg and Sons (Sheffield) Ltd.
30. Mary Walton, 'Population in Sheffield. 1086-1968', Local History Leaflets, 2 (Sheffield City Libraries, 1968), 5.
31. The following are dates of completion.

    Redmires Reservoirs, 1836, 1849 and 1854.

    Rivelin Reservoirs, 1848.

    Bradfield Reservoirs: Damflask, 1867.

    Agden, 1869.

    Strines, 1871.

    Dale Dyke, 1875 (rebuilt after the Sheffield Flood, 1864).

    From Helen Harris, Industrial Archaeology of the Peak District (Newton Abbot, 1971), pp.127-9.
32. This story is remembered by descendents of 'The Three Merry Lads', notably Douglas Marsden of Hope Woodlands, a grandson of Benjamin.
33. G.H.B.Ward, 'Old Fulwood Booth Farm', in Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' Handbook (1955-6), p.82.
34. Ibid., pp.74-82.
35. Two developments in particular would seem to indicate the reality of this trend throughout West Sheffield. In the first place there has been a decrease in demand for school places in the country districts. For example Mayfield School was recently closed because there was no demand for it while Dungworth School has only a third of the pupils it had in 1900. Secondly many rows of cottages that once housed several families now house only one, and others stand empty. The following figures are taken from Census of Great Britain,

HMSO.

	1801	1871	1911	1951
The Township of Upper Hallam	794	1974		
Ecclesiastical parishes of				
Fulwood	-	2131	4030	6768
Stannington	-	3502	3869	5157
Oughtibridge	-	2019	2600	3886
Bradfield	-	1845	1433	997

The Township of Upper Hallam corresponds closely to the present parish of Fulwood.

36. J.Gibbons, 'Agriculture' in Linton, p.257-60.

37. These restrictions are The Milk and Dairies (General) Regulations Act, 1959; The Milk (Special Designation) Regulations Act, 1963; The Milk (Special Designation) (Amendment) Regulations Act, 1965; cited in Kenneth Russell, The Principles of Dairy Farming, fifth edition revised (Ipswich, 1969), pp.32-3. The main implication of these restrictions is that 'Untreated' milk may only be sold from attested cattle. A few farmers still operate a milk round such as Billy Mills of Peat Farm, Lodge Moor, and Peter Hancock of Sheephill Farm, Ringinglow.

38. By an Act of 1939 Sheffield Corporation obtained 'Zone of Protection' powers in order to ensure clean watersheds for their reservoirs. These restrict development, building and use of land. The Water Supply to Sheffield and District (Sheffield, 1964), p.32.

39. This information is from Frank Hinchliffe of Fulwood Head.

40. Ibid. The last Fulwood Ploughing Match was 12 June 1947.

41. There was a non-conformist minister active in Stannington between 1690-2. See F.T.Wood , History of Underbank Chapel Stannington (Sheffield, 1944), p.24.
Fulwood Hall was licensed as a place of worship in 1714. See H.J. McLachlan, The Old Non-conformity in Fulwood (Sheffield, 1940), p.4.

42. Hunter, p.460.

43. G.H.B.Ward, 'Hallam and Ughill Moors' in Sheffield Clarion Ramblers' Handbook (1955-6), p.143.

44. This information is from Lewis Ward of Fulwood.

45. The following information is from Colin Goodison of Stannington.
In 'Knur and Spell', the object of the game is to hit the 'Pot' as far as possible. In 'Peggy', the 'Peg' is certainly hit as far as possible but this is only the opening play. The striker, after his

hit, then turns to the opposing team and announces that his shot is, let us say, 30 paces. This in effect is a challenge to the other team to test his estimate. Their best 'pacer' will attempt to stride the distance in less than the stated number of paces; if he succeeds, his team take the points for the shot, if he fails they are added on the score of the 'striking' side.

46. Sheffield Clarion Ramblers dates from 1900.

47. For example, Pratty Flowers, was introduced to Lodge Moor by ramblers, Albert and Bernard Broadhead, according to John Taylor and others.

48. Mr A.E.Dyson (born 1885) of Stannington remembers that in his boyhood there was much talk of these orchestras which had recently been disbanded.

49. Census of Great Britain, 1931.

50. Nikolaus Pevsner, Yorkshire: The West Riding, second edition revised by Enid Radcliffe (Middlesex, 1967), p.480.

51. Matthews and Price, loc. cit.

52. Joe Atkins of Stannington recalls that up until 1950 there was only one return bus a day to the village.

3 ALBERT AND BERNARD BROADHEAD

Albert and Bernard Broadhead, who are brothers from Crookes, were the two foremost singers in the Saturday night sessions held until 1973 at the Sportsman, Lodge Moor,[1] in fact, it was difficult to conceive of any session there without them. While others drank and played dominoes, Albert and Bernard got on with the singing and nearly every 'come-all-ye' was 'struck up' by one or other of them.

Albert was born at Heeley on 21 May 1905 and Bernard at Crookes on 10 June 1907. Along with an elder sister Ethel, they have lived in their present house since 1908, for none of them are married. Their father, Matthew Broadhead came from Dore and was an edge-tool grinder. He married Mary Hallas of Dronfield and Albert and Bernard are the youngest of their eight children. Their father suffered from 'Sheffield Grinders' Disease', a form of silicosis, which forced him to retire prematurely. He died in 1931 at the age of sixty-eight. 'There used to be a saying in vogue in them days "if a man lived to be forty, he were a good age for a grinder"!'[2] So under the circumstances, Matthew's age was quite substantial. However, there were not only serious health hazards involved in his occupation but also a social stigma that the grinder was the lowest form of working man. 'They used to tell a tale about a youngster, to his mother, said, "Ooh Mother! I just seen a grinder and a man goin' down t'road!".'[3] This sentiment was so common that it is even the theme of one of Bernard's songs. The Jolly Grinder was learnt from Tom Farrand, an old grinder with whom they associated in their youth.

There is a jolly grinder that I know well
An' 'e works down int' Union Wheel.
'E's a mug when 'e's paid but 'e's clever at 'is trade,
'Is blades are best shear steel.
'E can work, 'e can play, 'e can grind care away
As much as any other fella can.
'E can lend an' 'e can spend, 'e can grieve for a friend,
And still they say a grinder's not a man.[4]

Bernard stressed the fact that the 'jolly grinder' of the song was a self-employed outworker, who rented his troll [grinder's trough] on a weekly basis. Their father had at least been a cut above such men, having a regular job with Skelton's, a firm that produced garden tools.

Unlike any of the other singers discussed in this study, Albert and Bernard had a background that was predominantly urban and industrial. Crookes and neighbouring Walkley are two suburbs with an unusual history. They originated on the site of two small villages in the mid-nineteenth century and a part of their development was undertaken by the workers themselves in the form of Land Societies, a type of workers co-operative.[5] They were not only instigated by and for the working men, but sometimes built with their own hands. The atmosphere was one of self-improvement and their ideal was to build a garden suburb on the moors free from the industrial filth of the Don Valley. Much of the ethos of this working class endeavour also manifested itself in a desire for education and culture and through participation in local politics and outdoor pursuits. To a certain extent this spirit still survives among Albert and Bernard's generation.

They both went to school at Lydgate Lane and from an early age were required to do odd jobs to supplement the family's income. One of these was at the house of a rich family in neighbouring Fulwood where they would polish the cutlery with 'bath-brick and board'. 'We used to clean a stack of knives, up to seventy or eighty, not stainless . . . ordinary mild steel. Households such as we might get job every Saturday . . . Ours had to last a week; theirs had to be done every day.'[6] A second job involved fetching the coal.

> You'd climb up twenty steps to get these big coal scuttles. I don't know how we used to carry them at that age. There were five or six lined up, two or three empty, three or four with cokes from previous day. You took them to the garden and you had a grid to riddle all the cinders . . . Then you'd fetch five or six buckets and finish up with two or three buckets of clean cinders . . . They must weigh good 'alf 'undredweight. You'd take 'em to various rooms where they had fires and then clean about a dozen pair of shoes.[7]

There was, of course, a precise routine to this operation as well.

> You'd 'ave to scrape 'em, they'd been int' gardens and that. You had to scrape dry dirt off 'em an' then brush 'em. Then put your blackin' on an' polish 'em, an' then polish 'em again. Then put 'em all out in a line . . . with trees an' all, these dummy foots.[8]

And all this — for which they earned altogether two shillings — before going to school as well as helping in the garden on Saturday morning. Nor were their evenings entirely free, for their mother took in washing which they had to collect and deliver on a cart that an uncle had made to hold the two large wicker laundry baskets. 'When you saw them [clothes] soiled, you wouldn't think they'd been used.'[9]

They attended the local Baptist chapel, then a corrugated iron shed, joined the Boys' Brigade and played football in their team. In their early teens they became members, for a penny a week, of a social club which was attached to the local Wesleyan Methodist Church. Here they could meet to play draughts and billiards, and sometimes there would be a singsong. Bernard recalls that he learnt Brian O'Lynn[10] there, from George Moffat who was of Irish extraction.

At fourteen they were both apprenticed for seven years into printing, Albert to Pawson and Brailsford, and Bernard to Roddis and Haywood, and they remained in the trade until their retirement. Albert says that when they started it was the highest paid skilled work in Sheffield. The comparatively good wages enabled them to follow an active pastime, and so every Saturday lunchtime when they finished work they left the city for the weekend to go rambling in the Peak. One of their early ventures was to acquire a share in a wooden cabin near Ashopton[11] where they could sleep overnight.

> We 'ad a cabin on Win Hill for some twenty years. While there was five or six of us directly concerned in instigating it, running it, we used to get a number of friends and acquaintances come up and visit us and often stay overnight with us or just come up for the day. You get all types, you know. Mostly in them days they was self-amused people; they mostly played their own games and sang their own songs.[12]

One regular guest was Tom Farrand, ''E'd a fund of old Sheffield songs . . . uncommon songs, some of them a bit crude [which he] used to sing int' wheels'.[13] Another member of the group was 'Red' Scarlett who sang Neapolitan songs and extracts from popular operas in pidgin Italian. A third member was Reg Smith, whose Irish mother played the mouth organ. 'He were a comic . . . he were a good bass singer and very whimsical. He could sing some good comic songs, a good yodeller.'[14]

Albert and Bernard have learnt their songs from a wide variety of sources, probably because neither of their parents were singers. However, they had an elder sister who could play the piano and, together with another sister, they would often sing Albert and Bernard to sleep with popular 'community' songs. Albert stresses the haphazard way in which they learnt their songs by discussing the point in generalities. 'You met together, sang together; you picked one song up or a verse of another song . . . It went on and on without any arrangement, all automatic, you know.'[15] In fact they maintain that they learnt all their songs in this manner, without ever writing them out or referring to a printed source.[16]

When they were old enough, no weekend outing was complete without a visit to the local village pub, which became their platform for singing and absorbing new material.

> They used to sing their songs, Scarlett and Smith and these, and locals'd sing theirs. You got interchange of songs; you picked up and built up a sort of fund. Some you relinquished straight away, you had no time for; some you seemed to cotton on to and hang on.[17]

It was inevitable that two such devotees of the countryside should, like many of their contemporaries, become members of one of Sheffield's rambling clubs, the Clarion Ramblers. This, the oldest of the local clubs, was essentially a working man's organization and published its own journal.[18] After the last war a dispute over visiting pubs led to a split and the drinking faction, which included Albert and Bernard, founded a new men-only club, the Sheffield Ramblers. They had found the Clarion's policy, whereby mammoth treks left little or no time for refreshment at the end of the day, to be quite intolerable, for they believed that the social side of the club was as important as the walking. The new club's membership came from a wide cross-section of the community, and included representatives of many different trades and among them some local councillors. Many others were also actively involved in politics.[19] It is therefore not surprising to learn that the most common topic of conversation since the club began has been politics. Although Albert and Bernard have not participated much in these discussions, they have nevertheless obtained considerable insight into both the issues and the protagonists concerned.

In such a club, being an all-male preserve, one would expect a well established tradition of singing and this it certainly has. However, there is little evidence to suggest that the present repertory derives from the songs that were popular among the rambling movement at the beginning of the century.[20] Rather it appears that most of the songs in the current repertory were introduced much more recently by Albert, Bernard and others. One such item has been nick-named the 'Ramblers' Anthem', in view of its enormous popularity among their ranks. Albert recalls that he first heard Pratty Flowers, its more usual title, on a weekend outing in Derbyshire.

> First time I remember that, I don't know if you can bear me out, Bunny [Bernard], a youth came in Ashopton Inn and sung it. . . This is going back some years before last war, about 1930 or just turned. This lad come in from Holmfirth area . . . sang this song. We were immediately cottoned onto both words and air an' all — good song.[21]

For the ramblers the opening couplet, in particular,

> Abroad for pleasure as I was a-walking
> It was one summer's evening clear.[22]

was so completely in sympathy with their ethos that it was quickly adopted as their own. However, it was largely through Albert and Bernard's efforts that this happened and their importance as bearers of tradition in an active role cannot be overstressed.[23] Another example of a song that had found favour with the ramblers largely from the Broadheads' singing is Hail Smiling Morn, and this too has points of reference with which the ramblers identify, as Albert explains. 'We 'ave to 'ave that every time, 'cos its typical of rambling like, "O'er green fields" and it seems to have sunk into them [the ramblers] a bit. They just lap it up.'[24] Perhaps their most significant contribution to the club's repertoire has been the introduction of the local Christmas carols. The fact that the themes are totally out of sympathy with the views of many of the members, who hold strong atheistic convictions, gives some indication of the Broadheads' persistence. It is also clear that the carols have an aesthetic which transcends doctrine. Recently

the club's main December meeting has become focused on a carol session.[25]

Despite their involvement in the rambling club, Albert and Bernard have continued to learn songs from other sources. A spirit of wanderlust which their bachelor status enables them to indulge, has taken them during their holidays from the north of Scotland and the Shetland Isles to the west coast of Ireland. They are especially fond of Irish songs and several they learnt in Irish bars. Albert sings The Star of the County Down[26] and The Irish Rover,[27] while Bernard sings The Garden Where the Praties Grow,[28] Hooley in the Kitchen,[29] The Lark in the Clear Air,[30] Biddy Mulligan,[31] Billy McGee,[32] The Hills of Donegal[33] and 'If You Ever Go to Ireland'.[34] They seem to have chosen mainly songs that are familiar to English audiences from broadcasts on the radio, and as such, songs that are universally popular in English speaking areas. In Ireland they visited several ceilidhs and hooleys, where they came into contact with Irish music of all shades, and it is understandable that those elements that were nearest to their own aesthetic should have been readily liked while others more exotic should have seemed unattractive. Thus they saw little merit in the florid lyrical pieces of the Gaeltacht.

> In some parts of Ireland, well some of them songs, in some areas, just like these 'back-indian' dirges.[35]

> They look at floor for 'alf an hour an' go on . . . It's all same lilt, I've heard records of backpart of India on radio. You could be just in one of these Irish pubs . . . You couldn't make rhyme or reason of it. They were all, in between it, 'Good boyo! O come on! O come on!'. They seemed to get a kick out of it.[37]

Another area from which they have learnt new songs is Swale Dale in Yorkshire,[38] where a close friend, formerly from Sheffield, is a National Park Warden.

The Broadheads' introduction to Lodge Moor was the result of a migration.[39] From their late teens they had always walked to the Plough at Sandygate, just a mile from their home, to learn and sing the local carols; but after the last war when the singing stopped there, they moved on to Lodge Moor as did several other carollers. For the last twenty years they have spent the majority of their Saturday nights until 1970 in the Three Merry Lads and until 1973 in the Sportsman. During

this period they came to dominate these sessions not in an overbearing or inflexible manner, but simply to initiate and lead the singing for everyone else to join in.

As yet it has been convenient to discuss Albert and Bernard at the same time, for much of their experience has been shared. However, within the pub their roles are markedly different, Albert, a strong boisterous tenor, strikes up and leads the 'come-all-ye' items such as <u>The Old House</u> or <u>The Old Rustic Bridge</u>; Bernard, whose voice is deeper and has a more mellow tone, sings solo or supplies a bass harmony to a chorus item. His small frame and bald head give him the appearance of being much older than he is, as does the fact that he walks with a stick. The rheumatism in his legs caused him to retire three years early and would seem to be responsible for the depressions to which he is sometimes subject. On such occasions he does not feel like singing or conversing. At other times his artistic temperament would seem to prevent him from complying with a request for a particular song. He is a quiet, pensive man, and not without a sense of humour for if he makes a remark it is often very perceptive and authoritative. He sings without apparent effort in a clear open-throated and even-paced style, the main feature of which is a <u>vibrato</u> use to emphasize the climax of the phrase or its final, as in the extract below from <u>Biddy Mulligan</u>.[40]

Example 1

You can trav-el from Clare to the Coun-ty Kil-dare,
from Drog-he-da right down to Mac-room,
But where would you see a fine wid-ow like me,
Bid-dy Mul-li-gan, the pride of the Coombes, me boys,
slows
Bid-dy Mul-li-gan, the pride of the Coombes?

His recorded repertoire is not remarkably extensive but has proved a constant source of surprise. There are thirty-two items, fourteen of which are sung 'come-all-ye' or with his brother, and of the remaining fifteen, all but four have a chorus. Bernard's memory, however, is such that although he was recorded extensively on our first two meetings, subsequently he has come up with many new items, and gives the impression that he may yet know several more. On occasions his sense of pitch is weak, perhaps owing to slight deafness, which would seem also to account for the vagueness of his harmonies when he sings bass. Although he and Albert know many of each other's songs they do not sing them as a deliberate duet, with the exception of Larboard Watch,[41] which was written and is usually performed as such in any case. It would seem that Bernard is the dominant brother of the two, a situation that may have arisen from him being the youngest and possibly the most indulged in his family. Occasionally his impatience towards Albert will cause him to strike up the next song without waiting or to set off home from the pub without him. His non-committal reply to a question on the types of song he preferred shows the extent to which he considers singing to be a personal and largely unconscious expression without the need for explanations.

> I don't really 'ave anything I like more than anything else really. It's a matter of just knowing these things like, and how you're feeling about singing them. I don't favour any sort of singing really . . . If you just feel like singing something to me that's a song.[42]

Albert's reply to the same question was more explicit.

> I think a nice melody's a good thing. Most of these songs have a story, the old songs . . . in a crude form such as Blaydon Races, that Brian O'Lynn. I think we mostly go for tunes, anything that's a bit boisterous, what you can let go on, such as Cwm Rhondda and 'O'er Green Fields' [Hail Smiling Morn]. Anything that goes with a bang.[43]

In this respect Albert makes a different emphasis to most of the other singers here recorded. However, he does not only select his songs for the quality of the melody, but is also very sensitive to bawdry, and

described 'Johnnie Bugger' as being 'a bit crude . . . a bit rude'.[44] Similarly when he was talking about the songs they sang at Win Hill, he stressed with approval that there was 'nowt crude . . . nowt vulgar'.[45] In contrast to Bernard, he is a big bluff man, and an incessant talker bubbling over with enthusiasm. His voice is somewhat raucous and booming, and to describe him as a tenor is misleading for although most of his singing is pitched within this compass, it is well toward the upper limit of his own vocal range such that his more natural range would be baritone. He sings with considerable effort and concentration often until he is literally red in the face; and it is little wonder that his voice is the loudest in any session. He, like Bernard, sings seated without gesture or facial expression, and even the upheld pipe, cradled in his hand, remains motionless. Only a few items of his recorded reportoire are not sung as 'come-all-yes'; two of these are hunting songs learnt at the Plough from Wilf Ellis who had formerly hunted with the Hallamshire Harriers;[46] the other two are the Irish songs referred to above. The following example from The Rosy Morn shows the extent to which Albert uses passing notes.[47]

Example 2

There's a bright _ ros _ y _ morn - ing creeps o - ver yon hill,

With blush - es a _ dorn _ ing o'er the mead _ ows and hill ...

Perhaps because of his willingness to please by always singing the well-known songs with which everyone can join in, he has deservedly come to have a small following who doubtless would spend their Saturday nights elsewhere if it were not for the singing. In the first few months of 1973 this is exactly what happened, for with a new landlord and the threat of extensive modernization to the pub, the Broadheads stopped coming for several weeks and the Saturday night custom noticeably dwindled.[48] Moreover, when they returned so did their audience one of whom, Edith Lawson, remarked 'we heard the Broadheads were back so we thought we'd look in'.[49] However, Albert's eagerness to sing is not always so well appreciated, and he is criticised by other singers for being insensitive

both to the meaning and appropriateness of what he is singing.[50] For instance, he has often been rebuked for striking up, out of season, a Christmas carol such as Jacob's Well[51] or Hail Smiling Morn[52] even though neither item contains an explicit reference to Christmas. 'We don't know that while bonfire night!'[53] Fortunately Albert accepts such censure without taking offence.

Despite these occasional lapses of taste, Albert's importance as a performer and as the leader of the chorus must not be belittled, for it is largely through his perseverence that the opportunity to sing in the Sportsman existed at all. When Albert was asked why he took the initiative with the singing, his answer was characteristically modest.

> You're wrapt up in it. Some chaps don't mind what it is, long as you're having a go. Singing's a most enjoyable way of passing time, entertaining yourself . . . You get more pleasure out of it than watching a second-rate [television] show.[54]

For Albert and Bernard, singing is a total experience that defies analysis. They get great satisfaction out of doing it without being able to articulate their reasons. Because the main prerequisite of their type of singing is an active audience prepared to participate, the conclusion to be drawn is that their source of satisfaction is in the bond or the feeling of oneness that they establish between themselves and the rest of the company. For them it is a bond that can operate on any level. Thus they remember, with pride, the occasion in 1965 when they were invited by the Cockney artist, John Foreman, to perform Pratty Flowers for a predominantly student audience at a folk-song club on Scotland Street, Sheffield, after he had met them by chance in the Strines Inn, near Moscar Head.

Although there has been no attempt here to establish the relationship between their life and particular songs, this does not mean that no such relationship exists; rather that it is difficult to determine what it is. For instance, a performance of Beautiful Swale Dale may evoke pleasant memories of a holiday in the Dales, or an Irish song remind them of a particular singer, place or occasion. One obvious fact is that they have learnt many of their songs, not merely because they have travelled but because they enjoy travelling. However, Albert and Bernard are not explicit as to any more complex or intangible relationship, and

this is understandable for such matters are difficult to put into words, especially if it is the melody of a song and not its text that makes the fundamental appeal. Certainly singing for them is an end in itself, an activity to which they have devoted a lot of their time, both learning songs and passing them on to others through their performance. Moreover, the complementarity of their styles and repertoires have proved a most successful combination wherever they have decided to perform.

Footnotes

1. These sessions are no longer functioning. The main reason for this was the arrival of a new landlord and the subsequent alterations made to the pub.
2. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.
3. Bernard, recorded 13 May 1973.
4. Transcript BroB 14.
5. See, for example, Sheffield City Library, Miscellaneous Papers, 1838 M, Charles Hobson, 'Walkley: A Fifty Year Old Workingman's Garden Suburb'.
6. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.
7. Ibid.
8. Bernard, recorded 13 May 1973.
9. Ethel Broadhead, recorded 13 May 1973.
10. See transcript BroB 5.
11. Ashopton and Derwent were the two villages destroyed to build the Ladybower Reservoir, 1937-8.
12. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. As far as I know their only song book is Hunters' Songs (Holmfirth, 1948), and only A Fine Hunting Day (No. 34), as sung by Bernard, might possibly have come from this source. See transcript BroB 8.
17. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.
18. The Clarion Ramblers were founded by G.H.B.Ward in 1900. He was also responsible for The Clarion Ramblers' Handbook, 1901 to date.
19. An obvious example is Martin Flannery, secretary to the district Communist Party until 1956, later executive member of the National Union of Teachers, and since 1974 M.P. for Hillsborough.
20. G.H.B.Ward, Songs for Ramblers to Sing on the Moorlands (Sheffield Clarion Ramblers, 1922), includes only one song of the Broadheads' present repertoire, Passing By.
21. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.
22. See transcript BroA 8.
23. I have verified this in conversation with other members of the club.
24. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.

25. The first Sunday in December the ramblers meet at the Royal Hotel, Dungworth, for lunch and to sing carols.
26. See transcript BroA 10.
27. See transcript BroA 3.
28. See transcript BraB 9.
29. See transcript BroB 11.
30. See transcript BroB 15.
31. See transcript BroB 2.
32. See transcript BroB 3.
33. See transcript BroB 10.
34. See transcript BroB 12. For details of title conventions see p.279.
35. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.
36. Bernard, recorded 13 May 1973.
37. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.
38. The two songs learnt here were Beautiful Swale Dale and the Song of Swale Dale. See also tape B20 recorded by Wille Brunk, Reith, 1966, in the Archives of the Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies.
39. See Ian Russell, 'Carol-Singing in the Sheffield Area', *Lore and Language*, 1, No. 3 (August, 1970), 14.
40. Transcript BroB 2. For method of transcription see pp.279-283.
41. See transcript BroA 5.
42. Bernard, recorded 13 May 1973.
43. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.
44. *Ibid*.
45. *Ibid*.
46. These are 'A Few Jovial Sportsmen' and The Rosy Morn.
47. Transcript BroA 9.
48. One reason given to me by several of the regular customers was not that the landlord objected to singing, but that during the winter months the room was inadequately heated.
49. Field note, 5 May 1973.
50. See p.40.
51. Recorded 1 July 1972, S37. See transcript Chris 14.
52. See PubS 9.
53. Eric Walker, recorded 29 July 1972.
54. Albert, recorded 13 May 1973.

4 CHARLES GREEN

Charles Green is an old man who lives with his wife in a small farm below the village school on Dungworth Green. Lame all his life he is now crippled by arthritis, and has spent his last ten years confined to a chair. Despite his physical infirmities, his mind is fully alert, his sense of humour keen, and his memory especially for songs is still very good. Charles sang forty-five songs and rarely hesitated with the words of any of them. In fact, he never volunteered a song unless he knew it all the way through, and the few fragments he sang were the result of prompts made by myself.

He comes from a large family being the third youngest of twelve children, three of whom died in infancy. His father was from Grindleford.

> He were engaged at Hathersage Fair when he were twelve or thirteen. They used to have a statis, a gathering together of all boys and girls and farmers that wanted a man or a boy or a girl. They used to 'ave them separated. A chap, lived at Hathersage, engaged me father. Just gave him a shilling and tell him to work next week. That binds them for a year . . . Wa'n't much wages in it, worked from daylight to dark.[1]

His father had a variety of jobs: farm servant, helping in a corn mill, managing a farm, carting for Thomas Firth's, until he met his wife when he settled down and took over the farm on Dungworth Green from his wife's uncle. It is called St Mary's Croft, a name that indicates it was owned by the parish. The circumstances under which Charles' mother and father met are quite remarkable. It was the day after the Sheffield Flood, 12 April 1864.

> It were flood what caused him to meet me mother like. 'Er father lived just below Nag's Head, Stacey Lane [Loxley]. 'E'd a grinding wheel (six or seven sons). Flood did away with that, took it. She'd gone across to mother's Friday night, for laundry, and Sat'day. On Sat'day when me father'd done 'is 'orse up, . . . 'e came for a walk right up bottoms to see what damage'd been done. What animals were killed and people, places knocked down. . . She were stood outside when he were coming up and 'e start talking to 'er, askin'

about it like. Now, of course, that were first time and from what I can make on it, 'e bargained to come up again.[2]

Charles was born in 1885 and attended the village school. Although Dungworth was then comparatively isolated, it was in some respects a much livelier community than it is today, with two pubs where it now has one, eighty pupils at the school where now only thirty attend, and three shops where now there are none at all. Also the village was regularly visited by several hawkers and traders. These 'cheapjacks', as Charles calls them, would arrive carrying their goods on their heads and would organise a sale in the upstairs room of the pub. Here they would display their wares, which might be anything from crockery to fresh fish.

The village was predominantly but not exclusively a farming community. Some of the men worked at Marshall's brick yard or Swift's rolling mills at Loxley, and there were at least six workshops in the village. These were operated by _little mesters_, either file-cutters or knife makers, who worked free-lance travelling into Sheffield every week to sell their finished products and to collect further supplies. Often Charles or one of his two elder brothers would fetch and carry for the grinders, as they had at that time a milk round which extended from Langsett Road to the city.

Charles, in spite of his lameness, had a fairly normal childhood and joined in with nearly everything the other children did. He can vividly recall many of the games they played which included 'Rusty', 'Blackthorn', 'Kick-can', 'Peggy', 'In and In' and 'Hare and Hounds'.[3] In 'Rusty' where the best jumper usually went first so as to leave room for the others, Charles recalls that he was often picked, 'I know I were very often first to jump and I'd only one good leg but I could 'op a long way. I could 'op ont' third man many a time, plenty of room for other two to come'.[4]

For the village children, two of the most exciting times of the year were 'Caking Night' and Christmas. Caking, sometimes spelt _Kakin_, was a local house-visiting custom obviously connected with All Souls Day which took place on the first of November. Children and adults would dress up and disguise themselves, and in small groups tour the neighbourhood calling in at houses where they would normally be known. After being admitted to the house, the occupants would try to guess the

identity of the Cakers who would remain dumb, except for nodding or shaking their heads. Some would grunt a chant in a disguised voice 'Cake cake, copper copper, cake cake!'. If they were recognised the masquerade would end and they would be entertained with parkin or gingerbread, but if the occupants failed to guess their identity, the Cakers would receive some money.[5] However, this procedure was not strictly adhered to, for Charles' father would give the Cakers roast potatoes to eat as well as some money whether or not he had recognized them.

> You dressed up as owt. You didn't used to get dressed up as somebody. Dress up in some owd clothes, much as you could do. So long as you couldn't tell who it were . . . We used to get walloped an' all with these bigger lads, face blacked, didn't know who anybody were. Used to have a big stick and, by gum, you got some on if you didn't get out of way.[6]

At Christmas the children went 'Christmassing' rather than carol singing. The object according to Charles was to visit as many houses as they could in the shortest possible time, and at each to chant a rhyme and wish a merry Christmas in hope of receiving some money.

> We should be running from one door to t'next,
> 'Wish you a merry Christmas and a Happy New Year,
> Pocketful of money and a cellarful of beer,
> Apple pear plum or cherry,
> Sup of ale to make a man merry,
> Bit o' spice to fill a lad's belly',
> we were gaspin' this lot out,
> ''Oil in me stocking, 'oil in me shoe,
> If you have no copper silver'll do!'
> and we're off to next place like lightning.[7]

Today this custom has lapsed, although Caking is still practised in an altered form.[8]

Charles' father was no singer but his mother was. She sang many songs but preferred hymns or 'sermon tunes' (sacred songs). Of the songs Charles learnt from her, his favourite is The Rose of Allandale.[9]

'I like that Rose of Allandale a lot, because me mother used to sing it, because I think its a good song, tune, air if you like.'[10] The family was not exceptionally musical but Charles as a young man took a lively interest in the local brass band in which he played the cornet. However, his handicap prevented him from joining in the marches. The band broke up shortly before the outbreak of war in 1914, because of internal rivalry.

Perhaps his most important source of songs, before he was old enough to go into a pub, was an elder brother, Hedley. He and his friends would regularly visit the 'Bijoe' (Bijou) music hall on Snig Hill in the city, and many of the songs sung there he brought home printed on penny sheets.[11] The night out was good value for it cost only sixpence and it included a tram ride from Hillsborough to Snig Hill, the entrance fee, the price of a pint of beer and five 'Woodbines' with five free matches. On the following day when Charles would help Hedley deliver the milk, there was an excellent opportunity for him to learn the songs.

When the milk round was sold in 1900, Charles took a job as a private servant, an under-groom, to the Mr Swift, who owned the rolling mill at Loxley. Here he worked his way up to coachman and finally relinquished the job in 1923 to take over the running of the farm from his father. His wife too was in service in Mr Swift's household. Her home was Caunton, a small village near Newark in Nottinghamshire of which she has many vivid recollections including the visit of the mummers at Christmas, and how for her first job she was 'hired' as a maid, and the deal clinched with her parents for two shillings, which was the 'fastening penny' that bound her for twelve months. They have three children who look after them in their old age and often take them out for a drive in the car. This year they took their parents for a holiday on the Norfolks Broads.

> It's only time we've been away. I've never been away in my life. We 'ad a day at seaside, Cleethorpes, that's only place I ever went to. I've seen more of country sin' I were seventy years owd than I ever seen before.[12]

Charles was brought up fairly strictly, for instance his mother insisted that the children regularly attended the local methodist chapel.

> I went to chapel. I never missed a Sunday night while I were thirty year owd. I go into pub an' all if that's owt, but I never missed goin' to chapel, me an' friend o' mine cross road 'ere.[13]

Even though Charles takes obvious pride in this record, he makes it plain that for him the pub was equally important and on Sundays it must have seemed almost as solemn, for as was the common practise, the landlord of the Royal Hotel insisted that only hymns be sung. Charles recalls that they had a singsong nearly every night and that the very best time of year was at Christmas. 'Used to come from all o'er t'place. Had to walk an' all, there were no motor cars.'[14] Some would come from Worrall and in later years when Charles was no longer able to get to the pub, they would call in at the farm and sing carols with him and his wife in their parlour.[15] Charles himself was always asked to perform The Mistletoe Bough for which he was noted.[16] In the carols that were sung in harmony, he would usually sing treble (the melody) but could also manage the alto or tenor. The only book of carols he has ever seen is 'Goddards'[17] and he states that the Dungworth carols were all more or less in this collection. He did not know of any carols that were peculiar to the village, but thought that there were some that had died out, though he could remember none of their titles. However, he is sure that there has been little change in his lifetime. 'We know one certain lot of carols at Dungworth and I've sung 'em this last seventy year, all the same lot.'[18]

Throughout the year Charles would frequent the Royal because 'it were gainest' [nearest] and there would play dominoes, bagatelle or crib. Two nights a week, the landlord provided a supper, 'beast heart', 'leg o' mutton' or 'black pudding', and often the price of the supper (sixpence) would be the stake for the game. The pianist at the Royal was Harry Revitt.

> Good man on piano, but 'e didn't know a word of music, you know . . . 'E knew all songs we 'ad. 'Is song book, it were a piece of paper 'e 'ad in 'is pocket. 'E'd put on whose song it wor , owt that you'd want to sing.[19]

He was known as 'Whistling Harry' for whenever he heard a new tune he

would whistle it until he got home and could try it on the piano. Charles would also visit the Nag's Head at Loxley, and the Plough and the Cross at Low Bradfield. He must have had a good reputation as a singer for he was invariably asked to perform and one song in particular, The Fields of Waving Corn,[20] was much requested.

> Been on me own [to pubs] many a time, not on a purpose to sing, but always somebody wanted a song. They'd ask me and happen somebody else'd want one.[21]

He recalls with pride the following remark passed when he had just started a carol in the Shoulder of Mutton at Worrall;

> 'Wait a minute. Shall we 'ave somebody to play organ?' Landlord says ''E don't need organ, 'e's got organ inside 'im!''[22]

This was praise indeed, for Worrall had and still has a reputation for being the centre of singing in the district especially for carols, and Charles adds in recognition of this 'they've some good singers at Worrall'.[23]

Charles cannot remember where he learnt most of his songs though it would seem that he could pick up a song, if he wanted to learn it, at one hearing without ever writing it down, an ability his wife rightly describes as 'a gift'.

> They come to you, you know, songs. You only need to hear some owd un sing a song and you know it.[24]

Naturally Charles did not learn all the songs he heard, nor did he learn a cross-section, for he identified himself with a particular genre, the parlour ballad. His repertoire is devoid of any of the earlier narrative or lyrical broadside ballads which he heard sung but which he did not choose to learn. The only exceptions are The White Cockade[25] and The Lincolnshire Poacher.[26] Otherwise his songs and their themes are closely related. Many are built around the same convention, that of the dream, vision or memory of someone dear, a sweetheart or Mother, or home itself. Some of these songs centre on the emigrant who gazes longingly towards his native land such as The Miner's Dream of Home,[27]

'Dear Old Home',[28] 'Sing us a Song of Bonnie Scotland',[29] and The Song that Reached my Heart.[30] Others relate the charms of a sweetheart left behind — 'In The Valley of Switzerland',[31] When It's Springtime in the Rockies,[32] and 'There's a Picture in my Heart that Lives Forever'.[33] Three songs that romanticise the role of the soldier on the field of battle, dying or about to die and thinking of his mother are Break the News to Mother,[34] Just before the Battle Mother[35] and its sequel Just after the Battle Mother.[36] Although these songs are of the same genre as those mentioned above, Charles regards them differently because their common theme is death. He finds such experiences difficult to sing about. It was therefore significant that when he performed two of these songs he would only sing the first verse of each. In fact, it would seem that there are several songs which he knows but finds it impossible to sing for the same reason.

> I were years and donkey's years afore I could sing A Boy's Best Friend is his Mother. I couldn't do it and I've been asked for it many a time. Couldn't do it at all 'cos a lump come in my throat and tears come in my eyes. I couldn't do nowt about it.[37]

Certainly Charles was very fond of his mother, but it is not this fact alone that prevented him from performing a song, for his wife remarked that she had only heard him sing Little Sister's Gone to Sleep once. He tries to explain 'can't sing 'em at all, because I'm too — I don't know what you might call it — soft 'earted or what'.[38] Thus it would seem that although Charles prefers songs which are sentimental, he has difficulty in performing those in which the emotion for him is intense; not because he finds such songs implausible but the reverse. They are too meaningful to him to be sung in public.

Surprisingly, when asked what appealed to him in a song his reply stressed the melody; 'I like a good tune and one with a bit of variety in it like'. But he did qualify this by adding 'with a bit of pathos in it sometime'.[39] This emphasis on the tune is difficult to reconcile with the obvious enjoyment he takes in singing sentimental lyrics, an attitude that can be accounted for in more than one way. In the first place he seems to prefer the long, often modulating tunes associated with parlour ballads, to songs of a simpler melodic structure. Thus items such as Barbara Allen were passed over in favour of their Victorian

counterparts, melodically more complex though equally sentimental. A second but less likely interpretation would be that he chooses his songs primarily for their tune and only later becomes aware of the meaningfulness of the lyric. Hence he knows songs which he finds great difficulty in performing. A third interpretation would stress the inappropriateness of the question and therefore the doubtful relevance of the reply.

A few of his songs deal with themes other than those mentioned above, but their main purpose would seem to be to provide a contrast to his more sentimental material. Such items include Come Landlord Fill the Flowing Bowl[40] and Paddle Your Own Canoe,[41] which were great favourites in the local pub where they would usually have been sung in chorus.

Charles does not need the incentive of an audience to sing for he always sang about his work. His wife noted 'they [cows] seemed to let more milk down when they sang to 'em'.[42] Even when his condition confined him to the house he continued to sing; 'I can hear 'im singing many a time in the morning while I'm outside feeding pigs'.[43] And Charles himself remarks, 'I've always liked to sing if I sing by meself'.[44] It is certainly his enjoyment of singing that has kept his mind occupied over the last few years, especially when he has been alone in the house. He probably uses such occasions to perform the songs described above, those which he cannot bring himself to perform in public.

Charles' voice reflects his age for it has recently become very feeble. This was not so in 1971 when most of his songs were recorded, for he sang then with unbounded force and energy. His strictness of tempo may have developed from the habit of singing as he milked, for he says 'milk 'em on same stroke as I'm singing'.[45] He uses very little ornamentation for his style is extremely plain and straightforward. Much of the problem he has with pitching songs and keeping to the original pitch obviously derives from the deterioration of his voice and hearing with old age. Even so the following two observations can be made, that he prefers to use the upper end of his range as much as possible, although he finds it a great strain, and that he performs all his songs fortissimo with little variation except that required to accommodate the metre of the textual line. The roughness of his voice may or may not be the product of his age, though it is reasonable to suspect that it is. His delivery tends to be declamatory such that every bar receives its

full measure and almost every syllable of the line is stressed. He uses no accompanying gesture and his face remains expressionless, which together help to provide the necessary distance between himself and his audience on the one hand and himself and the song on the other.

In many ways the farmhouse reflects the qualities that exist in Charles himself, especially his resistance to change. Built in the local sandstone, it is a small squat building with compact windows and very thick walls. It stands at right angles to the road while the out-buildings run parallel, and form an el shape with the house. There is now only a small paddock attached to the farm where once there was seventeen acres. However, the house which has never been altered since it was built (sometime before 1830), is due for change. The present landlord wants to modernise the property, and the old range, the meat hooks, the stone sink, the flag floor, the massive planked back door with its latch, as well as the boxed in staircase will certainly be replaced, while new windows will be installed and a bathroom. Charles shows no enthusiasm for the plans and would prefer the alterations to be put off until his death. As if to underline his feelings on this matter he burst into the chorus of Home Sweet Home.[46]

He has led a very full and contented life to which his songs have made a significant contribution. They have not only provided him with a means of expression but have compensated for the opportunities that were in a sense denied him by his lameness. His strength of character, his will to live and enjoy himself, especially in his old age, are also embodied in his love of singing. 'I've enjoyed mesen most of me life and not because I've been about t'enjoy mesen, cos I haven't.'[47]

Footnotes

1. Recorded 12 July 1973.
2. Ibid.
3. Charles describes the games as follows.

We used to play at different games that they don't know nowt about now. Peggy for one thing. We get a broom shaft, saw it about that length [ten inches] and sharpen it at both ends. Then 'ave a part of broomshaft to tap it with you. You used to tap it then strike at it or otherwise tap it and double with it, hit twice. You had to stride, give 'em how many you thought they could do it in. If you thought they could do it in twelve you might — we used to start off at Greenfall Gate here — you'd gi' 'em ten, well they had to try but they couldn't do it. That counted to you. That's ten to you.

Then we used to play at Kickcan a lot, Whip we called it. We had old can, top of yard yonder . . . See who were goin' to be on, you know, who were last out. Him that were on were to kick 'is can as far as he could and he'd to go for it, and while he were going for it, we were playing Hidey. If he went far away from can to seek us out, somebody come out from somewhere else and kicked it again. Then he had to find you all.

Soon as we got out of school, 'Stop in last un at Blackthorn', that were a decent job. Used to have a mark across road down by't school 'ere and as far as Greenfall Gate. 'Im 'at were last in 'ad to be in for a start. 'E'd to be in t'middle between lines like, well, they could try to get past him. They'd be one goin' past one way and one goin' past other. Most of 'em 'ad got their jacket sleeves torn off. When you caught one he'd to stop in and help you.

We played at Rusty a lot you know. One stood at wall for your pillow and if there were three on you playing three more, three on you got down, got with your head down on to 'im and t'other got 'old of your jacket back. These other three used to have to jump on you and used to land on back of you, no scrawming, you used to be trying to scrawm up. But if one fell off you see they lost. They'd to get down. You had to hold 'em while you gave in like. I know I were very often first to jump and I'd only one good leg but I could 'op a long way. I could 'op onto third man many a

time, plenty of room for other two to come. It were Rusty an' all one lad got 's leg broke wi't at side of Royal.

We'd talk about playing In and In, same as Kickcan nearly. You'd to be in den, side of gate, an' they'd to go out and get Hidey like and you'd to go and find them. We used to go round top of street, there were some old places, a blacksmith's shop and two or three more places you could go. It's a long way downt' Street and I've had my knees peeled many a time. Used to be a rum road. Daren't go and find you.

Then we had sometimes, it were like a hunt. They used to go right round Hill Top, all the way round. You had to go after them like hare hunting. Hare an' Hounds, no trail. You had to shout, 'Give a Tally O!' so they'd 'Hoo-hoo!'. You had an idea which way they was. They happen weren't there when you got there, you know. Recorded 12 July 1973.

4. Recorded 12 July 1973.
5. This description of the custom is from Joe Atkins of Stannington who has researched it for the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, University of Sheffield.
6. Recorded 12 July 1973. For other examples of licensed violence among mummers see Herbert Halpert, 'A Typology of Mumming' in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, edited by Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story (University of Toronto Press for Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1969), pp.44-7; and T. Chambers, 'Further Notes on Antrobus Soulcakers and other Cheshire Souling Plays', in Lore and Language, 1, No.5 (July 1971), 13-14.
7. Recorded 10 June 1971.
8. Caking Night (November 1st) is now a fancy dress night in particular pubs with prizes for the best disguise.
9. See transcript Gre 31.
10. Recorded 12 July 1973.
11. These would seem to be a late form of broadside, being printed on one side, measuring 24" x 8" approximately and containing at least one song. It would seem probable that Charles learnt Just before the Battle Mother and Just after the Battle Mother from such a sheet. In Henry Burstow's 'List of Songs' these items also occur

consecutively (Nos.348 and 349) confirming their close association. See Reminiscences of Horsham, reprinted edition (Pennsylvania, 1975), pp.114-19. It was a fashion of broadside printers to bring out replies or sequels to successful songs which were often printed side by side on the same sheet.

12. Recorded 12 July 1973.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. These singers used to include Jack Couldwell and Walter and Douglas Colley.
16. A fact confirmed by Charles Fretwell, his nephew. See transcript Gre 26.
17. Walter Goddard's Collection of the Old Favourite Christmas Tunes. There certainly were other books in the village for Charles Fretwell recalls that his mother had her own set in manuscript.
18. Recorded 12 July 1973.
19. Recorded 12 July 1973.
20. See transcript Gre 11.
21. Recorded 12 July 1973.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. See transcript Gre 43.
26. See transcript Gre 21.
27. See transcript Gre 25.
28. See transcript Gre 6.
29. See transcript Gre 32.
30. See transcript Gre 33.
31. See transcript Gre 15.
32. See transcript Gre 41.
33. See transcript Gre 34.
34. See transcript Gre 4.
35. See transcript Gre 18.
36. See transcript Gre 17.
37. Recorded 12 July 1973. Song not recorded.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. See transcript Gre 5.

41. See transcript Gre 30.
42. Recorded 10 June 1971.
43. Recorded 12 July 1973.
44. *Ibid*.
45. Recorded 10 June 1971.
46. Field note 12 July 1973.
47. Recorded 12 July 1973.

Grace Walton

George and Edith Hancock

A song relating such a doleful incident might not be expected to produce the response it did, and yet performed by George such a reception would be well deserved. First hand experience of his rendition of this ballad can testify to its considerable impact. No doubt his audience in hospital were also impressed by the power and quality of his voice, his skilful control of the melody and above all his sincerity. Predictably, it is George's favourite song and, he believes, the oldest one he knows. 'Me father used to sing that. I don't think I know all t'verses . . . there used to be about thirteen verses but I don't know them.'[3]

It is unfortunate that with the advancement of old age some loss of memory is inevitable, and in George's case, the extent of this is apparent from his recorded repertoire, twenty-six items of which fourteen are in a fragmentary form. However, it would be misleading to imply that George had formerly been a prolific singer for he is not the sort of man to absorb great numbers of songs, but rather he prefers to be well-noted for particular items that are his specialities. Thus he recalls Christmas 1970 when his son Peter took him out to the Sportsman at Crosspool. 'I had to sing Mistletoe Bough for them there. Nobody knows it much. They knew I'd sung it a time or two.'[4] Among the twelve songs he knows completely there is considerable variety. There are two hunting songs, two 'Irish emigrant' pieces, one that relates to Christmas (The Mistletoe Bough), three broadside ballads of which one is the tragic narrative Betsy the Serving Maid, three sentimental parlour ballads and a comic song. George's fame as a singer stems from his frankness and good humour; he will always oblige anyone who asks him to sing, and is quite prepared to take the lead or strike up the first song of a session. So on our first meeting, in the company of Frank Hinchliffe, George began with,

> Friendship makes this world so happy,
> Friendship makes us all unite;
> Friendship makes us sing our ditty,
> Friendship's here with us tonight.[5]

It is not known whether the sentiment of this was consciously chosen or not, but either way it had the desired effect and a warm relationship was quickly established.

The Hancocks have been connected with Ringinglow since the settlement came into being in the eighteenth century on the crossroads of the old Hathersage turnpike road. In fact, a large part of the village was built by members of the family. Grandfather Henry Hancock had been the local 'squire', owning large portions of the village including the Norfolk Arms, Brown Edge Quarry and Sheephill Farm. George recalls with pride, 'all t' men int' village used to work for me grandfather, we didn't ought to have to work for us living at all'. But Henry's affluence was to be shortlived. ''E blewed it all in after me grandmother died.'[6] 'Peggy Leg', as he was nicknamed after he had lost his leg in a mowing machine accident, drank himself slowly to death and the only family asset that survived was the farm. George's father, Robert, took this over and although he was not as colourful a figure as 'Peggy Leg', he was much more reliable and hard-working. Like his father, he combined farming with stonemasonry. He built several cottages in the village and worked on the construction of the Dore and Totley Railway Tunnel (1894) in which he was responsible for the stone arches that provide the support. George's wife, Edith, notes that Robert was a strict master in his own house, 'they [grandchildren] were all frightened to death of him. He used to look at 'em.'.[7]

George attended elementary school up to the age of thirteen. For his first two years he went to Fulwood Church School, thence to Whitely Wood and for the last year to Dore School. Money was always short and from an early age George was expected to pull his weight on the farm.

> It were 'ard. We had to work 'ard. We used to grow fields of turnips then. We should have to hoe a couple or rows of turnips afore we went to school in the morning. When we come 'ome at night we had to get int' turnip field hoein'. He [father] were tough. He were hard as nails!.[8]

As an older child, George was also obliged to help with the housework and to look after his younger brothers and sisters.

> We used to have a rocker, t'owd credle there. I've sat hours here, foot on credle, rockin' 'em to sleep. I've sat hours there, while I've been sick to death. They wouldn't go to sleep. There's many

> a time if they were wrong road out, I used to go to bottom of stairs and shout upstairs to them — they'd be cryin' upstairs — I used to go and shout, 'me father's comin' up yard!' there wouldn't be another sound.[9]

However hard the life must have been it had its compensations, and George remembers there were happy times. In the evenings they used to gather round the fire and their mother and father would sing to them. Neither parent could read music or play an instrument and all the songs were performed from memory. Often friends from the village would call for milk and stay on to talk or play a game of darts, dominoes, or 'Ludo'. It was at these family gatherings that he learnt his first songs and among them he mentions The Garden Gate.[10]

George's mother was a Marsden, born at Carsick in Fulwood, and he was especially fond of her. On one occasion he walked to Redgates shop on Sheffield Moor (a twelve mile round trip) and spent his total savings, five shillings, on a cart to serve as a pram for his mother to push the children in. This attachment to his mother is echoed by two of his songs. The first declares,

> Dear old mother, always kind and true,
> Dear old mother, I always think of you.
> When this world departed and the time when you are old,
> 'Tis then you'll find your mother is the truest friend of all.[11]

An extreme form of the same sentiment is demonstrated by the second song, which is a great favourite with female company. George's mother-in-law used to sing it.

> I do love my mother as my life.
> Once I thought I'd like to take a wife,
> When I mentioned it to mother dear,
> In 'er eye I saw they were a tear.
> Do not leave me now I'm old, she cried.
> You've been my only pride since father died.
> Do not let another come between,
> Be to me the son you've always been.

For you know I love you more than words can say,
'Twould break my old heart if you went away,
For you and your sweetheart may fondly love each other,
You can get a sweetheart any day but not another mother.[12]

At this point it is sufficient to note that the song is well-liked; the detailed functional analysis of such songs is best undertaken in a broader context.[13]

As a child George had witnessed the last few years of his grandfather's decline, and such examples of habitual drunkenness, which were then commonplace, have left a deep impression on him. At the time, however, he and his brothers treated such characters as his grandfather as objects of amusement and fair game. Thus they would lie in wait for the drunks leaving the pub. 'We used to go tormentin' them as were canned up . . . and they'd run us and it suited us down to the ground. We 'ave 'ad some does! Course they couldn't catch us.'[14] It is understandable that George himself has never been a heavy drinker, and yet his attitude towards drunkenness is ambivalent. Although aware of the injustice perpetrated by drunkards, in that the week's wages would be selfishly squandered on beer to the neglect of the family's welfare, he does not condemn nor condone such men for their irresponsibility. Nor is he unsympathetic to their predicament but speaks affectionately of men such as Tommy Peat who regularly went 'ont' spree'.

> Old Tommy Peat he lived in first 'ouse up here. He used to work for me father. He were hard workin' chap, good stonemason . . . He were the quietest chap out, but every night, after 'e'd 'ad his tea, when he come 'ome at night, he'd take a jug and go to t'Norfolk and fetch a pint out, and drink it in t'house. After he'd had that in house he'd go in for last two or three hours[15] . . . He lived on it nearly. When he'd saved a bit of money up he'd have a week off. He'd be drinkin' all t'time.[laughs] He used to sleep rough . . . We knew when he'd finished spending his money, when he were getting to the end of his tether, he used to come 'ere early in the morning . . . Old Liza Peat, his wife, she used to be hot pot wi' 'im. Used to tan 'im like. He'd come 'ere. I've seen him come to this door early in the morning an' me mother's gone to

> t'door. He knew we'd a barrel. He'd called to see if we could let him have a drink of beer, you know, first thing. He'd have to start workin' again and savin'. He were grand chap, he were quiet chap, he were harmless but he loved his drink. I can remember hearing my mother telling him one morning. She says 'I'm just gonna mash some tea. Won't you have a cuppa tea?', 'Nayo' he says 'no, that don't quench me'. He wanted a pint of beer. He were a terror for work.[16]

George also has mixed feelings towards hunting. 'It's cruelty. I don't like it meself, not now. But we used to enjoy it them days.'[17] Whenever the Hallamshire Harriers or the Ecclesfield Beagles visited the neighbourhood everyone took a holiday to follow the hunt, and afterwards there was always a singsong at the Norfolk Arms. It was on such occasions, usually listening at the window, that George learnt his two hunting songs, The Rosy Morn[18] and 'A Few Jovial Sportsmen'.[19] A third song The Oughtibridge Trail Hunt[20] to which George remembers only the tune and the chorus was another favourite. Two of the principal singers at these sessions were Sam Ridge, the huntsman, and his brother, the 'whipper-in'.

Thus far, George's childhood had been relatively happy though hard. This security was to come to an abrupt end when he was twenty with the conscription of him and his brother Albert into the army. Even today George's single most vivid reminiscence relates to the few weeks he spent 'at the front' during the First World War. His eldest brother Maurice had volunteered in 1914, but because he was not fit he had been placed on a farm near Loughborough; and that left just George, Albert and their father to work the farm. When recruitment became difficult in early 1917, conscription was stepped up and farmers' sons were given no special consideration. First Albert received his 'call-up' papers, and then three weeks later George received his. Their father was at his wits' end, and, unsuccessfully, appealed against the decision.

> They went an' took us because they told him as he was strong enough to do work, strong chap. I shall never forget when he went to Derby. He went to appeal for me . . . an' it were beginning of 'ay time. All 'ay in t'fields and there were some good crops and was only 'orses to get it. They took me. When he come back he'd tears in 'is eyes. When they come to look round yard he were broken hearted..

> They were four of 'em to bring up besides, you know, younger than eight [years] in family.[21]

Despite their father's plight, at the time George and his brother were quite pleased to be called up as all their friends had gone, while work on the farm was harder than ever. They received only four months training and George never saw his brother again.

> I went over same ground as 'im . . . I got his address from home. Blow me, when I were in 'Landresi', we were out for a rest there, I went to look for 'im. I were goin' to take 'im by surprise. I found their batallion were out on rest same as we were. I went to their HQ in an old mill. They were billeted. You got anywhere 'cos everywhere was smashed up. You were in cellars. You'll get anywhere for cover. I got wi' 'is pals an' 'e weren't there. I sent word 'ome about 'im before War Office . . . They were in old factory there, I can remember looking through the factory an' it were at night when it were dark. You daren't show any lights, you know, and they'd just got candles. They were a lot of 'em pickin', they'd got their trousers an' that, pickin' lice off.[22]

It is no wonder that George found little to sing about from these war years; in fact, there is not one item in his repertoire that originates from his time in the army. 'They were dead all over t'place like, terrible really. Sights you never forget, you know.'[23]

After being discharged from the army, George went back to help his father on the farm. They kept a small dairy herd of about twenty to thirty short-horns, a few pigs and some poultry. The day's work began about 5.30 a.m., George says they were the first farm to be up in the neighbourhood, and finished about 6.00 p.m. It was punctuated by two milking sessions and after each a milk round. These sessions were, of course, one of the two regular occasions for singing. 'We were always singing when we were milking and doing in t'cow'ouse.'[24] The other was in the pubs.

> All t'pubs you used to go to round about they generally be a good sing. Before I were married I learnt a lot of them [songs]. Nearly all t'local places there'd be somebody who'd generally say 'who's thee mate? Get up and give a song' It's gone on for ages

> like. We used to hear some good songs. It were worth going to a pub.[25]

He also used to visit his Uncle Joe Hancock and Aunt Sebra at their cottage in Whitely Wood. They were both singers and George says that he learnt The Gallant Hussar from them.[26]

Christmas was perhaps the most musical time of the year. One evening when he was returning from the Three Merry Lads, George came across a group of carol-singers and joined up with them. It was to be a long session for they were out all night and sang to most of the neighbouring farms and cottages.

> All 'ouses we went to, they opened door. It didn't matter what time we got there. They'd get up and open door for us to go in with, have a real good sing. They'd fetch mince pies out. They were grand nights. We really enjoyed it.[27]

It was on that very night in 1925 that he met his future wife, Edith Allen, who was a member of the carol party. Later at the wedding, George sang appropriately,

> At Carsick I was bred and born.
> At Sheephill is my dwelling.
> I fell in love with a pretty fair maid,
> And 'er name were Edith Allen.[28]

For their first few years they took a cottage at Jeffrey Green, Fulwood, or 'Ratten Row' as it is known locally. Other occupiers of the seven cottages included two noted singers, Riley Marsden and 'Aunt' Jane Marsden (not related).

> It were best row there were int' country [29] . . . We'd a choir of us own . . . We were always singing . . . We used to have a piano on at night . . . They don't neighbour like we used to do then. We were all good pals, you know, always makin' fun.[30]

It was Edith who played for the singing. She was also the organist at

Mayfields Chapel. Although her mother was a singer, she herself is not but she does like to join in with George.

Their next move was to a small farm in the Peak at Litton near Tideswell. They were only there for two years but in that short period they made many new friends and George had ample opportunity both to sing and to hear songs he had never heard before.

> Some of the quarry men, used to be at Litton, they could sing some good old songs. They were, like, real songs, you know. You could understand them, you know, stories. I've forgot now . . . I used to wish I knew them too. Course I only 'eard once or twice. You couldn't learn 'em like.[31]

When he returned to Sheephill, he took over the farm and has lived there ever since. The farmhouse itself is divided into two parts and his son Noel occupies the other half, another son Peter lives in the nearby tied cottage, while the third son Roy lives in the next village, Dore. The farm is set into the side of the moors just inside the Peak District National Park, and commands a panoramic view of the city, as well as of Bolsover and Chesterfield on a clear day. The interior has changed considerably since George's childhood. The parlour for instance, which serves as kitchen, dining room and lounge is now comfortably furnished with a fitted carpet, modern tiled fireplace, comfortable three piece suite, two large dark dressers, a cooker, dining table and chairs, and the whole bestrewn with brass trinkets and photographs. Only a few features have survived that recall, for George, the room as he first knew it, namely the grandfather clock, the long shallow enamel sink, and the hooks in the ceiling which had formerly supported curing bacon, but now carry an indoor washing line. Gone is the pegged rug that stood in front of the fire, and the hopsacks which had covered up parts of the tiled floor, the Yorkshire range, the large bare wooden table, the forms and the wooden rocker. Outside, the changes on the farm have been equally substantial. Since the introduction of various regulations governing milk production,[32] as well as the modern methods of bulk collection,[33] the dairy herd has been discontinued, although the milk round is kept on. Today the farm, about forty-nine acres, grows some barley, potato and hay; and the stock includes a few young

'fat-stock' cattle, thirty pigs, some chickens, and five riding horses (pastured there). The work has changed considerably for the farm used to support three or four men full-time, but now there is not the work for one. Noel, who has managed the farm since George's retirement, works four days a week as a full-time joiner and stonemason, whereas Peter, who helps out at feeding times, spends most of his day working on a much enlarged milkround. Nevertheless, in 1974 he demonstrated the high degree of skill and craftsmanship that still exists in the family by winning the National horse-drawn ploughing championship at Ross-on-Wye. George, himself, since leaving hospital has been leading an active life, visiting Bakewell Market on Mondays, taking walks around the farm, building for himself seats and shelters at vantage points, buying himself a car, and attending social evenings at the Mayfield Community Centre. There the typical evening activities, which include whist drives, dances and illustrated talks, have appealed to George; and since his return to Sheephill his visits to pubs have become infrequent. After all, the main reason for his going was to sing, but as George notes, regretfully, pubs have changed. 'They don't listen to you now when you sing. There is nowhere now, nowhere at all.'[34] Latterly he has enjoyed the company of his grandchildren, and plays dominoes with them or sings. Keith is obviously one of his favourites.

> Before 'e started schoolin', he used to come in here and 'e could sing, really, when he were a little lad. I used to have him singin' old songs. When we'd finished cows up in the morning. Given them their 'ay. We used to sit on a truss 'ay in corner like. I should be singing these old songs to 'im, an' 'e learnt 'em off be 'eart. 'E could sing, like a little nightingale. [laughs] He always knew, I told him like, he'd remember it all his life. I bet 'e does an' all. 'E's not forgot it now.[35]

The song Keith learnt when he was only three years old from the sessions with his grandfather in the cowshed was The Rosy Morn.[36] If such songs are to be remembered, George obviously believes that his grandchildren cannot start to learn too young.

George sings without any obvious mannerisms or much physical effort. He is always sat well back in his chair, his head turned slightly upwards

with his eyes open and fixed on a point on the wall opposite him. Usually his face betrays little sign of emotion, though his brow may furrow as he struggles to remember a certain line, or the faint hint of a smile and a few tears may accompany a humorous item or one with a happy ending. He pitches his songs towards the upper limit of his range, and thereby effectively intensifies and, to a certain extent, nasalizes the tonal quality of his voice. He sings with considerable control and dignity, never hurrying or running short of breath. His sense of rhythm is good but rarely straightforward. For instance, his singing achieves an almost time-free quality by sustaining and drawing out the strong beats of a phrase especially the final note. In fact, his mastery of the musical phrase can be seen in the successful way he accommodates textual irregularities. Thus in <u>Betsy the Serving Maid</u>, the first verse is sung as a two line stanza, while the seventh has a short second line. To the casual listener such variations are almost imperceptible and only after the analysis of a recording can their extent be fully realised. Below these two variations are shown alongside a 'skeletal' representation of the tune.[37]

Example 3

skeletal tune

I. Sweet Bet-sy up to— Lon-don went

VII. In— three weeks af-ter his moth-er re-turned Wel-come wel— come said her son...

skeletal tune (cont.)

I. (cont) To— seek some ser—vice ...

George unobtrusively employs a variety of vocal techniques, including glides, passing notes, and a slight vocal shake or tremolo. His sense of pitch is fair and his most unstable tones are the final note or melodic extremities of a phrase. These he tends to sharpen marginally, and on some occasions this results in an overall raising of the pitch. One distinctive feature of his style, which also occurs among some other singers, is the introduction of an aspiration on an arbitrary basis. George does not usually sound the aitch at the beginning of those words in which it occurs but brings it in as the initial sound of other words, such as 'all' or 'over'. The effect is quite contrary; 'Young William flew into 'er (h)arms no more to part again'.[38] On other occasions the aspiration is introduced to break up a vowel sound that extends over more than one tone. The excerpt below from The Garden Gate contains examples of this and other features.[39]

Example 4

II. The day being spent, the moon shone bright, the vil_lage clo-(ho)ck struck nine,

Which made poor_ Ma-ry sigh (h)and say, Thou nev-er shalt_ be mine.

For George, singing is now entirely reserved for social occasions, such as an evening at the Community Centre or a family gathering. He does not admit to singing for his amusement. This is just one of the reasons why he knows only a few songs. Another is that, at the time he was singing regularly, most of the local song material was being performed by older singers. Thus, by and large, George seems to have kept or remembered only those songs that he would have been able to perform without offending other singers. In this respect, some of his repertoire is complementary to those belonging to other singers, now dead, but with whom he was contemporary over fifty years ago. The third reason and the most important is his failing memory, as stated above. Finally, to shed some light on George's philosophy towards singing, a remark already referred to in the 'Introduction', in a different context, which he made in connection with The Nobleman and the Thresherman should be considered.[40] 'Andrew Gregory used to sing that at Sportsman. He's

been dead a year or two like. He could sing.' When asked if George meant that Andrew had a fine singing voice he replied in the negative and added 'he were only the same as anybody else like'.[41] To be a 'good' singer in George's estimation implies a willingness to contribute to the pleasure and enjoyment of others, a fulfilment of a social obligation. Of course, this does not preclude the importance of other qualities, such as self-confidence or a good voice, nor does it outweigh the need for a good song. However, it does represent an important slant of meaning, that it is an asset to be a singer if one is to be a valued member of the community. Today, such an assertion holds no truth but in the farming community of Fulwood and Ringinglow in which George grew up, it must have seemed a reasonable proposition.

Footnotes

1. Recorded 7 August 1972.
2. See transcript HanG 3.
3. Recorded 20 January 1971.
4. Ibid.
5. See transcript HanG 9.
6. Recorded 20 January 1971.
7. Recorded 7 August 1972.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. See transcript HanG 12.
11. See transcript HanG 6.
12. See transcript HanG 13.
13. See pp.158-9.
14. Recorded 7 August 1972.
15. This would be before licensing hours were introduced. Hence we can presume that Tommy was in the Norfolk Arms approximately 9.00 - 12.00 every night.
16. Recorded 7 August 1972.
17. Recorded 20 January 1971.
18. See transcript HanG 23.
19. See transcript HanG 8.
20. See transcript HanG 19.
21. Recorded 7 August 1972.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Recorded 20 January 1971.
25. Ibid.
26. See transcript HanG 11.
27. Recorded 7 August 1972.
28. See transcript HanG 1.
29. Recorded 20 January 1971.
30. Recorded 7 August 1972.
31. Ibid.
32. See p.26 footnote 37, for details of these regulations.

33. Bulk collection is the system now employed by most dairy farmers, whereby all the milk is collected into one vast stainless steel refrigerated tank. A tanker them simply has to connect its pipe to the tank to collect the milk. George estimated that at the time, it would have cost them over £1,000 to make the necessary conversion.
34. Recorded 16 September 1970.
35. Recorded 20 January 1971.
36. See transcript HanG 23.
37. See transcript HanG 3.
38. See transcript HanG 12.
39. Ibid.
40. See transcript HanG 18.
41. Recorded 20 January 1971.

6 FRANK HINCHLIFFE

'D'you know, we could sing you old songs for a week!' Frank Hinchliffe, a native of Fulwood who has been in farming all his life, has a keen sense of humour. This he has inherited from his mother's family, the Whites, who are noted in the area for their 'comical sayings'. Yet Frank's comment was not made simply as a piece of nonsense, nor was it intended as a preposterous boast, rather it was the proverbial 'true word spoken in jest'. In short, Frank is a prodigious singer by contemporary English standards.[1] His recorded repertoire consists of about eighty items of which a third are in a fragmentary form, by which is meant that Frank considers them to be incomplete. This figure does not include the 'local' Christmas carols nor the 'well-known' songs and hymns which he sings with his fellows in the pub. Frank did not choose to perform such items at home perhaps because the original request had been for 'old songs', but also because most of these are performed in chorus and as such were unsuitable.[2] The sole criterion for what was sung was Frank's own. Equal interest was shown in every song he mentioned and all items performed were recorded.

Frank is a countryman and by nature he is retrospective. He lives among people who share his love and respect for the past. Others express this feeling through their interest in, for example, the old country crafts such as horse-drawn ploughing or dry-stone walling; or their interest may centre on genealogy, local history and anecdotes. Frank's medium is his songs, and the older they seem the more highly he prizes them. A case in point is Young Henry the Poacher,[3] a song of which Frank is justly proud. This doleful tale of poaching and subsequent transportation Frank prefaces with, 'now this is owd un, this. I'm gonna go back, it'll be fifty year sin' above me dad sung it in Bell Hagg an' it were reet owd un then, so it'll not be improved!'.[4] After the laughter had subsided, Frank began his song and the humour of his remarks threw into sharp relief the picture of misery embodied in it. More than this it focused attention on Frank's skill as a singer. Thus far we have a remarkable man; not merely a singer of a great many songs, but an expert performer with a droll sense of humour.

Frank has lived all his life in the Fulwood area. He was born in 1923 opposite the parish church, brought up at Clough Fields in Crosspool and now lives at Fulwood Head. He has rarely been away, not even at holiday time, preferring to send his wife and two children to

the seaside, whilst he himself holidays at home, free from family responsibilities. Many of his songs seem to echo his way of life; 'when a youngster at home, I vowed I'd ne'er roam'.[5] He is certainly not a complacent man nor does he lack ambition; rather, he has chosen to live his life in the same community in which he was brought up and whose values he shares. This feeling of contentment is idealised in his songs.

> I tramp with my gun in my pocket.
> My little dog trots by my side,
> And the moon shining brightly above me,
> I sing to the swing of my stride.
>
> O I wouldn't change my life for no-one,
> Not even a great millionaire.
> A great bag of gold would not tempt me,
> Nor a sweet maiden's life for to share.[6]

Frank is the optimist who is invariably delighted by any surprise, especially if it belies a suspicion or conviction he might have had. He talks about a visit he made to a neighbouring village at Christmas time.

> One night, I went across to t'Shoulder at Worrall. Mind you, there's always been some singing over there . . . I were dropped on because there were a lot of young uns in, you know in their early twenties and what not . . . Well, I thought, it'll only be a poor do in here. There were a lot on 'em. I should say half o' trade were younger end. I thought, won't be a deal in here tonight when I had a look around, but, by gum, they struck up! They all knew 'em. I was talking to one of 'em what was singing and I said 'I didn't think you'd be so much in this line'. He says 'Why? If you can't beat 'em you've got to join 'em!'.[7]

The reply was bound to please Frank, after all, he has little faith in the younger generation when it comes to singing the 'old songs'. 'They don't like 'em and that's top and bottom about job, else they'd show more interest, you'd think.'[8] Of the older generation he is less critical

and more sympathetic in any judgement he makes on them. Their reluctance to accept innovation in farming techniques provoked the following comment.

> A lot of t'owd farmers, you know, when tractors come on t'go, they were pulling 'em down. Couldn't do t'work same as 'orses. Same as milkin' machine — they couldn't milk like hand. I think they used to be a bit slow to take on. What thee father 'ad done, well, I wouldn't say good enough for them, but they were always trying to improve all t'time. And they did alter the ways, but I think like, we just happened to drop in for t'period when things have changed and changed rapid.[9]

Perhaps the changes in popular musical taste over the same period have been no less radical. The sort of music and song that Frank's parents enjoyed is far removed from the tastes of his children. Although Frank generally prefers an old song to a new one it is not age alone that determines his choice but rather its durability. 'A lot of songs that's brought out, why, you can go a twelvemonth and they're never sung again.'[10] This has always been true to some extent, but Frank's meaning is no less clear. He prefers a song that he can sing and enjoy over a great many years. Rarely are modern popular songs intended to fulfil such requirements and so they generally meet with Frank's disapproval.

Frank's father worked for the corporation as a carter, but a few years after his return from the First World War, the family moved into a small farm at Clough Fields. It was here that Frank was brought up. He went to school at Lydgate Lane in Crookes until 1937 when he was fourteen and left to help on the farm. The next few years signified Frank's development as a singer. It was during this period that he learnt most of the songs that now form his repertoire. Out of the many circumstances in which Frank encountered these songs, two in particular were to prove his main sources — the one was at his work, the other in his evenings at the pub.

Hand milking must surely have been the most tedious and monotonous of all daily tasks on the farm. Frank recalls;

> I'd only just left school. I know me brother were bad. We were

> milking sixteen at time but I couldn't do 'em in two hours. Not when you're getting towards fourteenth and fifteenth. I'd slowed down a bit. It used to take me about two hours and twenty minutes. And sometimes at neet it took me a bit longer when I was getting sick on 'em. I had about six weeks on me own, it nearly killed me. It sickened me out of milking.[11]

It is in this context that the songs had an important function. Frank states, 'when we were milking we were always singing', and adds in a lighter vein, 't'owd cows wouldn't let milk down if it weren't for singing. They'd have thought there were summat the matter'.[12] Thus it was that singing made the twice daily drudge of milking almost enjoyable, even if the task itself was no easier. Singing allowed the men to become detached from the sheer physical hard work of the situation. In this setting Frank learnt most of the songs his father sang. But the cowshed offered more than just an opportunity to hear and learn his father's songs, it also provided the privacy to practise and to try out other songs heard elsewhere and perhaps only partially memorised. As yet, such songs were not ready to be performed to a critical audience. In fact, some of them he would rarely perform outside his family until the singers from whom he had learnt the songs were either dead or too old to lay any claims.

> Old Andrew Gregory, he used to sing 'Thresherman' [The Nobleman and the Thresherman]. Course they used to tell him 'Come on Andy! Come on Andy, come on, let's have 'Thresherman'!'. Course he'd sing it for us, d'you see? It weren't cos we didn't know it, if it comes to that like, but we used to let t'owd lad have a go at it.[13]

From leaving school until he was old enough to go in a pub, was the period when Frank learnt most of the songs that his parents knew. Both his father and mother sang, though his father seems to have had the larger repertoire.[14] It was, however, in the few years following his eighteenth birthday that singing was to acquire a new significance. It was then that Frank began to spend many of his evenings in the pubs, in particular, the Plough at Sandygate, and the Sportsman at Lodge Moor. Here, he came into contact with the community at large rather than just

workfellows or family. Among them were many singers and many songs that were new to him, together with an audience that was both critical, yet indulgent, of such an inexperienced singer. Perhaps one factor in particular helped to make this initiation a little easier. Frank himself preferred the company of older men, and valued highly their wealth of experience. Furthermore, the introduction of conscription that accompanied the outbreak of the Second World War left Frank (farming was classed as a reserved occupation) with few acquaintances of his own generation. These circumstances suited him well and he looks upon those years as being the heyday for singing in the area.

> Just during war years there were more or less only old uns that were at 'ome, d'you see, more older company. I think there were more singing then like, than there's been since young uns have been knocking about.[15]

Frank tells a story that seems to crystallise so much of what had occurred during this period.

> There were some of t'songs you knew 'em by who sang 'em like — owd Riley Marsden with 'Darky Weep' [Kitty Wells]. Last time owd Riley sang that he were getting into t'last verse and owd lad he couldn't go on. He said 'Finish it, Frank'.[16]

The song had already been learnt, in fact the episode for Frank seems to mark his emergence as a performer in his own right and the end of his 'apprenticeship'. More than this, it seems to symbolise to him a bequest as if he alone had been chosen to uphold the singing traditions of his community.

It was inevitable that when Frank started to think about getting married, his visits to the pub should become less frequent. His future wife, Dorothy, was the eldest daughter of Arthur Marsden. The family was well-established in the area, in fact Frank and Dorothy were distant cousins. Moreover, Dorothy's brother, Stanley, was one of Frank's close friends, while her father, himself a singer, shared and encouraged Frank's interest. Arthur was noted for his songs about war, such as Break the News to Mother, and several of these Frank learnt from him.

All in all, the background from which Frank acquired his repertoire was considerably varied. Not only did he learn from his parents and his father-in-law, but also from his uncles Tom and Sam White, both well-known singers from his mother's family. His sources also include local singers outside the family such as Riley Marsden and Andrew Gregory mentioned above, together with one or two items that he got from itinerant workers when they were in the area. Frank remembers how he came to learn The Wild Colonial Boy.

> First time I heard it, there was a chap who sang it in Sportsman at Lodge Moor. . . Anyway he were a half-bred bloke, half Spanish and half Irish. By! He wasn't fit to know. Talk about a fiery! An' I just happened to be hummin' it like and he gave me words for it. He said, 'I'll write it you out'.[17]

Virtually all of Frank's songs have been learnt from other singers though there is one notable exception.

> I know there were one we picked up off a record, it were me and Roger [his son] had a go at it. By gum, we knew tune 'fore we got all words to it. . . I think it were a record he borrowed and it were that there Letter Edged in Black. Anyhow we'd play it through a time or two. We knew parts on it, like, but we couldn't think which verse followed which, which line. Course there were both on us at that. Switch 'im off an' have a go at it. It'd come where we were differing, we'd put 'im on again. It were rubbish what were on rest of record — they were more modern. And I was singin' it one Sunday mornin' milking int' cowshed and there was old chap used to come to trough int' yard for water for mashin' his tea. T'owd lad were a gardener. He comes to cowshed door. 'By gum! he says 'it's donkeys years since I heard that.' I said 'Why? Do you know it?'. He says 'No I don't know it, but I've heard it afore.' I'd never heard it at all.[18]

It is almost uncanny that the song Frank learnt off a disc should have been one that is widely popular among traditional singers in both this country and North America.[19] This would seem to imply that not only

does the song contain certain qualities which recommend it to Frank, but that Frank himself has much in common with the many other singers who share his liking for the song.

Of the exact source of several of his songs Frank is unsure; 'there's some of the songs I don't know where I've got 'em from if it comes to'.[20] Similarly, he cannot remember how he came to learn songs in the first place. 'I think where it were, when they had been sung a bit you sempt to pick on one that you liked.'[21] However, Frank is quite precise about the particular quality that he looks for in a song.

> I like a song wi' a meaning to it meself — a tale to run through it like. I think that's where with a lot of songs, that's the reason you can remember 'em. Because, I mean, if you miss a verse out you've missed part of tale out.[22]

Frank lays great stress upon the importance of narrative and it was perhaps for this reason that he was attracted to The Letter Edged in Black. Not surprisingly, he is critical of songs that lack this quality. Of Pratty Flowers he says 'I can't see no sense in it. There's no story'.[23] Frank is conscious of occasional inconsistencies that exist in his songs and often alludes to them. For example, the last verse of Sheffield Park causes him concern.

> There is a flower that bloometh in May,
> That's seldom seen by night or by day;
> And the leaves they'll flutter from tree to lea
> Will make a covering for me.[24]

The last couplet is repeated from the previous verse and merely serves to complete the form. At times, his concern with the sense of a song becomes obsessive. The version of Barbara Allen that Frank's father sang begins in the first person and later switches into third person narrative. Frank cannot accept this change.

> Me Dad was singing as he'd been courting Barbara Allen. But you can't sing that last verse to it, 'cos I mean he's buried, i'n't he! I'm going to condemn that altogether.[25]

Yet because of such rationalisations, on the whole, Frank's interest in the text has ensured that however inconsistent some of these songs may have been when he learnt them, while they are in his repertoire, at least, errors of this kind are kept to a minimum. Although he professes never to have altered a song knowingly, he is well aware that such variations take place. 'When it's [a song] handed down, it can vary a bit. Parts alter. They haven't nowt like original if they come to.'[26]

Most of Frank's songs have been learnt by a process of trial and error, in much the same way as The Letter Edged in Black. Tunes would be readily committed to memory, perhaps after just one hearing, while the words presented more of a problem. Frank considers the quickest way to remember them was to write the words out, preferably twice, and then to carry a copy about until there was no longer any need to refer to it. The most important factor in the learning of a song would seem to be Frank's state of mind. If he is determined to have a song, he overcomes any difficulty to learn it, but he adds 'I can't pick 'em up as fast as what I used to do, not wi'out I'm right keen on 'em'.[27] And so, to learn a song, Frank has to be highly motivated and the process requires considerable concentration. This he illustrates with a carol he learnt during the Christmas season of 1970.

> When I pick 'em like, I seem as though I concentrate ten times harder. I know that night I went to Stannington Church, it were Mrs Dyson wrote words and tune an' all to that, well, it's called Stannington, now, that Christmas carol. Mind you, choir knew it, they'd been practisin' it; but no-one else did, I don't think, in congregation, not wi' out it had been choir lot singin' a bit at 'ome. But, by gum, I liked that tune, and do you know (there were four verses to it) and I think I had tune as soon as it were o'er. I thought, by gum, that's one as I want. It sempt, you know, so nice an' it were way they sang it an' all. And by gum I know, afore Christmas were o'er, I was singin' it in turn. You'll know that one, 'Child is born'.[28]

It is an indication of the extent to which Frank identifies with his songs that, while the carol is sung by the choir, he calls it by its title Stannington, yet once in his repertoire, it is renamed 'Child is

born'. Frank has selected, not the first line, but the most meaningful to him. It serves both as a summary of the carol's theme and a cue for its opening. 'Child is born' (Mrs Dyson in fact wrote, 'For Christ is born') is the last line of the stanza and easily evokes the first. In a similar way, Frank refers to other songs, though usually he selects the first line, for example —

> 'Darky Weep' (Kitty Wells)
> 'The day being spent' (The Garden Gate)
> 'While the shot and shell were screechin'' (Break the News to Mother)[29]

For less than half of his songs, he uses a conventional title which lacks the definite article and also may be abbreviated, for example —

> 'Pear Tree' (The Pear Tree)
> 'Colonial Boy' (The Wild Colonial Boy)
> 'Thresherman' (The Nobleman and the Thresherman)[30]

In this way Frank signifies his ownership of a song, but the degree of identification with his material goes much further. Consider this criticism which he makes of another singer.

> He'll sing owt. You can choose what time of the year he's not bothered. I don't think he realises what he's singing about. When he's singing Christmas carols, he's no meaning attached to it, not to him I don't think. It's just 'cos he knows and he's singing and thats as far as it [goes].[31]

Frank's indictment says as much about himself as it does about this singer. It shows that Frank is selective; he considers very carefully what he is going to sing, taking numerous factors into account, such as the time of year, the company, and above all his own frame of mind. Having made his choice, Frank performs with a sensitivity that marks him as an artist. He goes on to explain it by analogy; 'With me, when we're singing Christmas carols, it's same as when you go to Church. . . You've that different feeling somehow.'[32] Although here this feeling is a predominantly religious one, in other songs Frank seems to show a similar level of involvement. On one occasion, he became so engrossed in his song that his guests for the evening, wishing to leave, said

goodnight and left, while Frank carried on singing. Aside from any discourtesy on the part of host or guest, the incident underlines the importance Frank attaches to these songs, and the pride he takes in singing them. He himself never interrupts his own songs, except when lapse of memory dictates, and he sees no reason why others should.

Frank's family have suffered heavily from bereavements. Several of his brothers and sisters died in infancy, another brother, Bill, was killed as a young man, and his only surviving brother died recently. It was the loss of Bill, who was killed in a motorbike accident, that seems to have left the deepest impression on Frank. 'He got killed on a motorbike at top of Crimicar, that were a coincidence an' all, got killed bang against house where grandparents lived like.'[33] On one particular evening these morose thoughts were given expression in the following songs, The Letter Edged in Black, When a Younster at Home, Mary of the Wild Moor, and Kitty Wells. Each of these songs relates to death and is heavily charged with pathos.

> I met him again lying on his death bed;
> His end was quite nigh it was plain.
> Though feeble and weak he managed to speak,
> And these were the words that he said,
>
> Let's forgive and forget all the troubles we've met,
> Which no doubt has caused both of us pain.
> For I can't happy dee till I lay here and see
> That we're friendly together again. [34]

It is an indication of Frank's temperament, however, that when he sings about love, it usually resolves happily.

> They spent that night in sweet content,
> And the very next morning to church they went,
> And he made her his charming bride,
> And he made her his charming bride.[35]

Rarely is love frustrated, as happens in William and Dinah.

As Dinah was a-walking that garden around,
She there espied Wilkins lying dead on the ground,
With a cup of cold poison lie there by his side,
'Twas all through Dinah that Wilkins had died.
But she drank of that poison like a lover so bold.
Now Dinah and Wilkins both lie in one grave.[36]

It is intriguing to examine the omissions in Frank's repertoire. He sings no bawdy songs and claims to know none, although he knows of others who sing them. Similarly, he sings only one song in which there is sexual imagery, and even here it is obscure.

Now they hadn't been sat there long when he put his arm round her middle.
He took off his knapsack and drew out a fiddle;
And he played such a tune, my boys, such a lovely thing,
That it made the woods to echo and the valleys to ring.[37]

Comic songs seem also to have little appeal to him, in fact very few of his songs are humorous. An exception is

One bright May morn at the altar, in a bride's dress she wore,
Me wife I proudly made 'er and I asked for nothing more.
When I took 'er home me wages, she raved and cursed and swore,
And I wished the devil'd fetch her and I'd ask for nothing more!.[38]

It is perhaps a measure of the seriousness with which Frank regards singing that he excludes from his repertoire such songs as seem to trivialise his art. He dismisses them but does not condemn them. They seem to conflict with his integrity, especially in the way they pander towards an audience and cull its favour. Frank prefers a less ostentatious approach, believing that his own respect for his songs together with their inherent qualities will adequately recommend them.

As if to compensate for this attitude he wrote a song himself: 'I started making one up once, but of course it were to t'tune of that there "Colonial Boy", but it were a bit too true. They didn't like it so I gi' no more wi'it.' Frank was reluctant to go on, though after

some persuasion he explained and provided a sample.

> It were about locals what went in Sportsman. They didn't seem to care for it a lot on 'em. Well Steve Fox, just at time, 'ad been down to Wadsley Bridge wi't binder, binding corn wi't tractor, and he got stopped somewhere at Hillsborough. It weren't only that it weren't taxed, it weren't insured or nowt!
>
> And then we come to Steven Fox he lives on Brown'ills Lane.
> A policeman stopped 'im one day and asked 'im 'is name.
> 'E found 'is tractor uninsured, he thought now here's a job.
> They took 'is license off er 'im and fined 'im fifty bob.
>
> He said 'bloody likely, it were a fiver!'.[39]

Frank consoles himself with the comment that it was too near to the truth to please the audience for whom it was written. He would certainly have been disappointed had his song not caused some response, after all he intended it to be provocative. In fact, he is greatly amused that his song was too controversial to be accepted.

Briefly, most of Frank's songs fall into two well defined groups, which deal with either the establishment of a relationship, or its termination, essentially love or death. With one or two exceptions the love songs had their popular origins on broadsides between approximately 1750 and 1850, and in the pleasure gardens, whereas the songs that concern death, date from a later period and were first heard in the context of the drawing room or Victorian music halls.[40] Each group has its distinctive stylistic features in both melody and lyric and yet, in Frank's repertoire, they are treated alike. He makes no concession to either group in his style of singing; tone production, rhythmic variation and ornamentation remain constant. Thus, in spite of contrasts that exist in the constituents of his repertoire, in performance Frank achieves a remarkable unity.

Frank usually sings seated; his eyes stare in front of him at the floor or the coal fire. If someone enters his path of vision he shows no sign of recognition and may even close his eyes to eliminate such distractions. He usually sits leaning on the arms of his chair either

5 GEORGE HANCOCK

George Hancock was born on 7 November 1896 at Carsick Hill Farm, Fulwood. He was the second eldest of eight children. When he was six years old his father acquired Sheephill Farm near Ringinglow, and there George has lived and worked for most of his life. In recent years he has been troubled by arthritis, which has severely incapacitated him; but, as a result of operations to both hips, he is now fitter and more mobile than he has been for a long time. George is respected throughout the district for his cheerfulness, and an incident that occurred while he was in hospital clearly indicates his temperament.

> One Saturday night when we were quiet, I just — nobody were saying anything — I says,'How about an owd song?' They says, 'Anybody gonna sing an owd song to listen to?' I says 'I'll sing one for you', and I sung 'em that there 'Sweet Betsy' [Betsy the Serving Maid] through like. You could hear 'em clappin' right down t'ward. They got on after, first one and then another. It were grand. I really enjoyed it. We had a signature tune every morning at seven o' clock, that there All Things Bright and Beautiful.[1]

Wrightonwood Orthopaedic Hospital must have wondered what had happened, for, if George's account is to be believed, and it is unlike him to exaggerate, the whole ward was singing morning and night, and this party spirit prevailed for the duration of his stay. Even the adjacent ladies ward joined in. As remarkable, perhaps,as the outcome of the episode was the song George had chosen. Betsy the Serving Maid is a lengthy ballad (it takes George about six minutes to sing the ten stanzas). It relates the tragic circumstances that result from a love affair between a servant girl and her employee's son; the girl is abducted by the mother and sent abroad, upon discovery of the truth the son grieves for her and subsequently dies, the parents regret their intervention but it is too late, and the ballad finishes with a warning to parents.

> Now all you parents both far and near,
> Do not control on your children dear;
> But let them marry the one that they love best,
> Or else it will a ruin prove at length.[2]

clasping his hands together or fidgeting with a packet of cigarettes. His voice is carefully controlled such that the song seems to swell up inside him. He sings fairly quietly, except when he joins in with the company at the local pub on a Saturday night. The contrast in his voice ranges between a plaintive, almost delicate tone used at home and the more robust style that he reserves for the pub.

Towards the extremes of his range, Frank's voice deteriorates, such that when a song becomes too strenuous it may be abandoned and restarted at a more practicable pitch.[41] His sense of pitch is not perfect and may be impaired by slight deafness. While on many occasions it is true that the flattening and sharpening of notes in a song are integral features of his performance, at other times, they are more probably flaws. For example, one evening that Frank was recorded he confessed that he had been singing for most of the day and not surprisingly his voice showed signs of tiredness. His tonal quality was thin and his sense of pitch was affected. Most of the songs he sang were recorded on other occasions and by comparing one rendition of the same song with another it is clear that many of the instances where Frank had varied his pitch were indications of fatigue. An example is 'The Banks of the Clyde'.[42]

Example 5

(a)

faster

She cut off a lock of her gol-den tres-ses And kissed him and pressed him once more to her heart...

(b)

faster

On the whole Frank is an extremely fine singer and nowhere is this more apparent than in his handling of rhythm. He sings with a constantly varying pulse, which one might expect to disjoint and even upset another's performance, but in Frank's case the reverse is true. His songs have a quality of flow that is the direct result of his variations in tempo. Acceleration and deceleration combine to provide variety in the melody as well as to bring into sharp focus important

parts of the text. Frank lingers over these while the more trivial or predictable sections are skipped through. There are other ways in which he departs from the rigid metre of a song. He may compress or extend predictable note values, especially the final note of a phrase, or he may introduce ornamentation. This is always unobtrusive and functions mainly to facilitate the flow of the song. Most of this decoration is of an anticipatory kind and consists of leaps and slides, both of which occur in the following phrase.[43]

Example 6

Ic. Just at the dawn - ing of the day

I met with a — charm - ing maid.

Such is Frank's skill as a singer, that he can bring off a successful performance of a song of which his text is largely fragmentary. Thus in Mary of the Wild Moor the melody is sensitively adapted to a disjointed and irregular text with an ease that obscures any shortcomings.[44]

At this point, we shall examine the context of Frank's singing, at home, at work and in the pub. His wife, Dorothy, observes that 'he's always singing at home',[45] and there would seem to be few situations that do not provide him with an excuse for a song. Inevitably, Frank likes to sing when he relaxes in the evenings, especially if there is company, but he also sings as he goes about the everyday jobs in the house. Washing-up the dirty dishes and lighting the fire in the early morning provide an opportunity that Frank rarely misses. He even sings in bed! Dorothy recalls that one Christmas Frank had influenza and so could not participate in the carol singing at the local pub. However, he was determined not to succumb to his symptoms and so spent most of the time in bed singing, as if the chance was too good to miss.

His son Roger, who is in his mid-twenties, seems to enjoy singing as much as his father. But it is with regret that Frank admits that Roger mostly learns his songs from commercial recordings rather than from his father's repertoire. Roger even sings a popular version of one of his father's songs, which obviously upsets Frank.[46]

> I tell you what I can't stand and our Roger were singing one only other night in 'ere. . . Now then that there comes in it, 'It will make the woods to echo and the valleys to ring'. [He sings this.] They've altered words to it. They've altered tune to it and yet it's the same thing right through. I says 'Where do you pick that up? It must be off a record or something'. . . He don't seem that right keen on old songs at all.[47]

Frank is unduly pessimistic, for his son does respect the 'old songs' and is especially fond of the local Christmas carols.

The Hinchliffes have a reputation for singing within the Fulwood area that dates from the days between the wars when the family used to gather round the harmonium on a Sunday night to sing hymns. These sessions were audible to passers-by, who still recall this weekly event with much pleasure. Of course, at this time, there were many restrictions on what could and could not be done on the Sabbath.

> At home, up to war startin', you couldn't do nowt a Sunday. Only reet essential work. We used to feed and milk, which you're forced to do, but we never did owt else, never did owt in fields.[48]

These social restrictions even operated on what might be sung.

> I know one Sunday morning I was singing. Course I'd been out neet afore and had a drop. Me dad says, 'Know what day it is?' I started reckoning up. 'Is it Sunday?' 'Ah! Can't you find owt different to sing?' Only used to sing hymns on Sunday![49]

These Sunday observances are no longer strictly practised though Frank in some respects regrets their passing.

It would be very unlikely for anyone to overhear singing from Frank's cottage at Fulwood Head, as it stands in a remote spot on the moors above Redmires reservoirs. The house was built at the turn of the century to accommodate a gamekeeper. Its walls of millstone grit, more than two feet thick, are made to withstand the strong winds that often rage. Its outward appearance is grim, yet inside it is more homely. The family lives in the parlour which is freshly wall-papered and always

has a coal fire. In many ways, it is typical of its kind. There is an outshut kitchen converted from a coal shed, a dining room suite and large armchairs either side of the fire. The floor is roughly carpeted while on the wall are three shotguns and a painting of the farm at Clough Fields. There is also a television set and two chiming clocks. The overall impression is of an extremely functional room. The 'best' room by contrast is unlived in and uncluttered. There is little in the room besides a radiogram, a three-piece suite and an old electric fire. Frank rents the house from the Water Authority by whom he is employed.

By vocation, Frank has always been a farmer, and if it had not been for certain financial pressures, he would undoubtedly be still working his farm at Clough Fields. The farm had depended largely on a small dairy herd from which the milk was retailed. With the introduction of compulsory inoculation against tuberculosis for all dairy cattle, Frank was forced to give up the herd and in 1960 turned his attention to raising beef cattle.[50] However, the business was no longer a viable concern and in 1968 the farm was relinquished and has since become a riding stable. In the meantime, he had taken a labouring job with the Water Authority for whom he has worked since. In many ways, the work has suited him well for, like farming, it is mostly outside and as much concerned with the upkeep of land as water. Most of his time is spent in drystone walling, cleaning, mowing, planting which he prefers to the loneliness of manning the pumping stations on the reservoir . This largely consists of keeping a regular check on the various meters and instruments. One of his workfellows, Lewis Ward, remembers one day in December when he and Frank were undertaking some maintenance work on a sluice under the dam, a rather unpleasant task, and they decided to sing Christmas carols to keep their spirits up. By the time they had sung every carol they knew, the day was over. Lewis concluded that there wasn't a job that didn't pass more easily for the singing of a song.[51]

Unlike farming, Frank's job for the Water Authority provides him with companionship and a reliable source of income. However, he still is not happily adjusted to the regular and comparatively short working week, such that for several hours a day he helps on a neighbouring farm. To Frank the extra work is a welcome opportunity to keep in touch with

farming.

Once or twice a week, Frank called at the Sportsman, his local public house. The pub was exceptional in that it was the last stronghold of the old style of country inn to be found in the area. Compact little rooms, each with a coal fire, were supplied with 'old fashioned bitter' pulled from hand pumps. There was a 'games room' and no exception was taken to any man who was in his working clothes. Here, Frank sat with his friends round one of the tables for a game of dominoes, and so regular a feature was this domino school, that someone had painted a picture of it, which hung over the fireplace. Unfortunately, the pub was renovated in 1974, a change that was most unpopular with its customers. Frank had realised the implications when he said, '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'.[52] It is a great pity that in altering the pub the brewery was not catering for the local community as much as those who travel out from the city. Certainly, people continue to sing but they have lost the most important single platform for their songs.

To sing in a pub requires a certain amount of boldness and determination often in the face of opposition from fellow customers. The singer lays himself open to criticism, which to endure requires the sort of resilience that Frank possesses.

> One night in t'Bell Hagg, it were Christmas time and there were a party, about four. Course they'd gone out for a drink. They'd gone out t'enjoy theysen if it come to that. One chap he says, 'Why don't you sing something we know? We don't know them'. I says 'No and you never will get to know them when you won't listen'. Talking all t'time, you know, just cos they couldn't join in. They were t'owd carols we were singin'. He didn't know what to say![53]

Frank's attitude to this interruption is indicative of the pride he takes in his songs and the respect which he shows towards them.

In the pub, he prefers to take an unobtrusive role and to remain inconspicuous. He usually becomes absorbed in a game of dominoes and when called upon to sing only does so under pressure. Even then he

does not necessarily sing what has been requested, but makes his own choice. He may lead the company in one of their favourite songs, perhaps The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill, or he may sing on his own. Frank selects such solo songs with evident care. An example is Where There's a Will There's a Way.

> This world is a difficult riddle, for 'ow many people we see
> With faces as long as a fiddle that ought to be shining with glee;
> For I'm sure in this world there is plenty of good things enough for us all.
> Yet I doubt there is one out of twenty that don't think that 'is share is too small.
> But what is the use of repining, for where there's a will there's a way.
> Tomorrow the sun may be shining, although it seems cloudy today.[54]

The song speaks so directly to its audience that it is apparent that Frank has consciously thought about its suitability. Moreover, the mildly moralising tone of the song together with its insistence that perseverance be ultimately rewarded proves to be a most popular message with his fellow company.

Among his friends Frank is regarded with affection. Some remark upon his love of the old way of life and often refer to him as 'a real old-timer';[55] while others more specifically admire his singing. Stanley Marsden, Frank's brother-in-law, comments that 'he seems to make a special effort to try and learn one [a song] that no-one else knows'.[56] It is for this reason that Frank is considered to be the expert among his friends. One of these, Ted Wragg of Stannington, looks back to the war years, when he would walk over to Lodge Moor, several evenings a week, merely to join Frank and his companions singing in the pub.[57]

Frank is recognised as a notable singer among his acquaintances and yet little is known of his talent further afield. Unquestionably, the reason for this is in Frank's own attitude. He sings largely for personal enjoyment and often sidesteps the opportunity to perform in public. Even if he decides to sing, he may prefer to use the occasion to try out an incomplete version of a song in the hope of finding someone able to supply the missing words, rather than choose one of his better-known songs which would be more enthusiastically received. This approach suggests that Frank is more concerned about the gaps in his

repertoire than about gaining prestige as a performer, an attitude which on one occasion brought strong comment from another singer who boasted 'I don't reckon to sing it if I don't know it. I've never broke down in my life'.[58] Frank, as he tried to protest at the uncompromising nature of this assertion, seemed to realize that there was little point in arguing with someone whose beliefs were so incompatible with his own. Whereas this singer attaches most importance to his performance of a song, Frank's concern is with the song itself, and it explains why he knows so many songs, and has bothered to learn so many fragmentary items. This is not to say that Frank is infallible, for some of these fragments may have resulted from lapses of memory on his behalf. For instance, he sometimes gets confused with the melody of a song. He may, by mistake, sing a phrase to a different tune,[59] or he may extemporise to ensure that the continuity of the song is not lost.[60] It is possible that some of these extemporisations have become regular features incorporated into the performance of his songs, especially in those that have metrical irregularities in their text.[61] It is surely this practice that Stanley Marsden here refers to. 'Frank sings different tunes, you know, when he doesn't know 'em. I'll tell you, he puts his own tunes to them. He does, honestly.'[62] Although Stanley did not intend this to be taken as a compliment, it speaks highly of Frank's creative impulse. Frank is not merely a 'carrier' of songs, but a singer of great individuality. His songs are subject to a process of regeneration, which recasts the forgotten and confused elements. Although Frank himself is largely unaware of these changes, they are not imperceptible to others.

By comparison with the singers from whom the early fieldworkers collected Frank is young.[63] It is therefore remarkable that his repertoire should contain much that was then current and even one or two items of great rarity.[64] Yet Frank not only knows some unusual songs, but he also sings them with great competence. His performance is so free from adherence to rigid metrical patterns that it can sensitively cope with a variety of material. Maturity of style has been achieved by constant practice over thirty years or more. But none of this would have been possible if it had not been for the unquenchable interest Frank has shown in other singers and their songs. Certainly, he is a fine performer, but it is an indication of his sincerity that he might equally well be described as an avid listener or even a devoted student of his art.

Footnotes

1. Ken Stubbs, The Life of a Man: English Folk Songs from the Home Counties (London, 1970), pp.92-4, gives a list of the singers whose songs are included in the collection, together with the total number of songs recorded by Stubbs from each. Thus from twenty-one singers the average repertoire was fourteen songs. The largest repertoire was from George 'Pop' Maynard (sixty-five songs and fragments), while 40% of the songs were recorded from just three singers — 'Pop' Maynard, George Townshend and Tom Willett. Stubbs states that 'the number of folk songs noted includes borderline songs, such as earlier music hall songs'.
2. For the chorus items recorded in the pub see 'Pub Singing in West Sheffield'
3. Frank Hinchliffe refers to this song by its subject matter, 'That old poachin' song'. See transcript Hin 73.
4. Recorded 20 October 1970. The humour behind this remark is based on two distinct connotations of the word 'old'. Taken literally Frank is saying that the song is decrepit, but his tongue is firmly in his cheek. An old song to him is something to be esteemed, and the older he thinks it is, the more highly he esteems it. Hence his seemingly damning remark is found very amusing.
5. See transcript Hin 60.
6. See transcript Hin 29.
7. Recorded 20 October 1971.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Frank recalls a remark made recently by one of his father's acquaintances, Harry Woodhouse (born 1882). 'He said, "Thee Dad knew more songs than anybody I've ever known!".' Recorded 8 June 1972.
15. Recorded 20 October 1971.
16. Recorded 30 April 1970.
17. Recorded 20 October 1971.

18. Recorded 20 October 1971. Roger informs me that the version on the disc was by American 'Country and Western' singer, Slim Whitman.
19. R.D. Abrahams and George Foss, Anglo-American Folk Song Style (New Jersey, 1968), p.121. 'Among the most common songs encountered among traditional singers is . . . The Letter Edged in Black.'
20. Recorded 20 October 1971.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Recorded 4 June 1970.
24. See transcript Hin 51.
25. Recorded 30 April 1970.
26. Recorded 20 October 1971.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. See transcripts Hin 33, 18 and 7 respectively.
30. See transcripts Hin 49, 68 and 42 respectively.
31. Recorded 20 October 1971. The remark refers to Albert Broadhead.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. See transcript Hin 60.
35. See transcript Hin 16.
36. See transcript Hin 70.
37. See transcript Hin 5.
38. See transcript Hin 32.
39. Recorded 20 October 1971. See transcript Hin 17.
40. Exceptions include Edward which was first printed in 1765 in Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, and is by inference rather older, see The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, edited by Francis James Child, reprinted edition, 5 vols (New York, 1965), I, 167; and Barbara Allen which is mentioned by Pepys in his diary for 2 January 1666, see Child, II, 276.
41. For example see The Bold Grenadier, transcript Hin 5.
42. Variant (a) was recorded 23 April 1970. Original pitch not known as batteries were fading. Variant (b) was recorded 2 September 1970. See transcript Hin 2.
43. From The Spotted Cow. See transcript Hin 54.
44. See transcript Hin 39.

45. Recorded 23 April 1970.
46. See transcript Hin 5. Roger learnt The Bold Grenadier from a record by the Dubliners.
47. Recorded 20 October 1971.
48. *Ibid*.
49. *Ibid*.
50. See p.26, footnote 37, for details of these regulations.
51. Noted 22 June 1971.
52. Recorded 20 October 1971.
53. *Ibid*.
54. See transcript Hin 62.
55. For example Bob Hancock, noted 28 January 1971.
56. Recorded 4 February 1971.
57. Noted 11 March 1971.
58. Recorded 26 May 1971. Jack Couldwell to Frank Hinchliffe.
59. See *The Golden Glove*, transcript Hin 21.
60. See *Grandfather's Clock*, recorded 26 May 1971, S25.
61. For example'The Banks of the Clyde', transcript Hin 2.
62. Recorded 4 February 1971.
63. In 1907 Cecil Sharp wrote 'the seventy-nine songs in *Folk-Songs from Somerset* were contributed by thirty-eight singers, whose ages average over seventy years apiece'. See *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, fourth revised edition prepared by Maud Karpeles (East Ardsley, 1972) p.150. Frank was born 27 November 1923.
64. For example, see *Edward*, transcript Hin 12, and 'While Forging of my Scales and Springs', transcript Hin 63.

7 STANLEY MARSDEN

Stanley Marsden (b. 1924) comes from a remarkable Fulwood family. First mentioned in Fairbanks Survey of 1792,[1] one Richard Marsden and his wife lived at Bole Hill Farm. It was their three grandchildren after whom the Three Merry Lads public house was named about 1832.[2] The youngest, Benjamin (b. 1819), married his employer's daughter, Mary Green of Fulwood Grange Farm and they had fourteen children. Zenas, the eldest, kept the Sportsman and his son Arthur, who took over the pub, was Stanley's grandfather. Perhaps because Benjamin had sixty-six grandchildren, his descendants, aptly nicknamed the 'tribe of Benjamin', come in for much local banter; 'They're like horse muck, all o'er t'road!'.[3] Douglas Marsden, Frank Hinchliffe, Grace Walton and George White are also among his descendants.[4]

Stanley owns and farms Allen Syke Farm which stands below the Sportsman on Redmires Road, Lodge Moor, at approximately nine hundred feet above sea level. Consisting of fifty-six acres, it is entirely grassland for pasture or hay. Although Stanley has kept pigs and sheep in the past, he now concentrates entirely on fattening cattle, about sixty calves and stores, which are first nursed and then finished on a mixture of barley and hay. He also keeps a few ponies for his two young daughters. Stanley married late in life and his wife Jean, a schoolteacher, had two boys by a previous marriage. He obviously regrets having no sons of his own to take over the farm.

> Actually it's worse now than it's ever been because, you see, I've nobody follerin' me . . . I've no sons interested at all . . . It's not always help that you need it's company sometimes. Somebody bein' interested in it because you think you're doin' all this for nobody. Makes you wonder whether it's worth doing sometimes. If I didn't belong to place like, if it were rented, I wouldn't 'ave it. I'd do something else, because, for money you've got to put into this job nowadays and what you get out of it, it's stupid. A man's not right upstairs really.[5]

Stanley's disillusionment is understandable and contrasts with his usually good-humoured nature. It is also an attitude, which is common among land-holding families in general, who see their role as one of service rather than that of an entrepreneur. Moreover, family

participation is considered a prerequisite of the fulfilment of their vocation.[6]

He was brought up on the farm and attended Mayfields School. He helped at home with the daily tasks from an early age and proudly records that he could milk before he started school, producing a photograph of himself in action at the age of three.

> It used to be a nice job on a cold winter's morning, you know. In summer it weren't so good when it were 'ot like. It got sweaty and flies as well would make cows want to kick . . . Never got bored. I used to like it really, apart from — there's many a time when I should 'ave like to 'ave missed one, missed milking like. Still I'd do it again![7]

In common with so many of his contemporaries it was this activity in particular that provided the best opportunity for singing and learning songs. Stanley acquired most of his songs in this way from his father, Arthur.

> When you were singing 'em regular and milkin', you see, you just picked 'em up with him [father] and you sang 'em with 'im at finish . . . And if you were singing 'em wrong like, 'e'd put you right, which 'e used to do 'cos 'e used to say, that's not it . . . It sempt to make it easier to milk.[8]

It is a strange legacy of this method of learning that Stanley often cannot remember an opening line or verse of a song, because he would not join in until after his father had started. For example, he has forgotten the melody of the opening line of The Song of the Thrush[9] and substitutes a phrase of his own invention; similarly the first stanza of The Pardon Came Too Late[10] eludes him and he replaces it with a short narrative explanation. Stanley also sang about his other jobs, if he was sure he was alone, especially when he was ploughing with horses and bricklaying.

As a young man he was a regular visitor to the Sportsman and although there was plenty of singing to be heard he found it more difficult to learn songs there because of distractions and insufficient

reinforcement. During the war the Irishmen stationed at Redmires Prisoner of War Camp behind the pub were keen singers and Stanley took advantage of their presence, if not to learn new songs, at least to try out those Irish songs he had learnt from his father.

Both his father and grandfather had played the piano for old-time dancing and Stanley has inherited some of their sheet music which includes volumes of Francis, Day and Hunter's Community Song Albums (London,[no date]). These contain some of the songs he performs including The Banks of Allan Water,[11] The Gipsy's Warning,[12] and Believe Me if All Those Endearing Young Charms.[13] However, he observed that not only did he not learn the songs from this source but, in fact, when he compared his versions with the printed ones, they were 'not just same'.[14]

Although Stanley has a stable, down to earth personality, he obviously was anxious at the prospect of being recorded. He never stated this directly but his difficulty remembering words and his complaint of catarrh on such occasions were symptomatic. In the pub he is much more relaxed, as he explains. 'It's a funny thing but you can sometimes break into one when you are having a drink, when it comes and you don't bother like. If I think about it I can't get going.'[15] To Stanley singing is essentially spontaneous and his repertoire seems to endorse the fact, for many of his songs have never been consciously learnt, such that twenty-two of his forty-eight items are incomplete or fragmentary. On several occasions he suggested that if he had known there would be an interest in old songs he would have paid more attention in the first place. As to the difficulty he had in recalling them to order he gave an anology.

> You know I can throw at darts as right as anything yet if I'm in a darts' match . . . I were winning like mad one day up 'ere. I were leading other chap by about two hundred on this 501-up and I couldn't get me double to finish. He wanted nearly three hundred when I wanted my double — he won! Everybody were lookin' silent when you threw. Could I 'ell as get it. I could get it after he got his, easy then.[16]

A contributory factor to this problem is that singing at home has lost its importance since his marriage. In fact, Jean observed at our first

recording session that she could only remember Stanley singing one song, Greensleeves,[17] and that when he was decorating. Stanley himself feels that his songs are not appreciated by the family. 'They say I sing either sad songs or, what's she [Jean] call them, melancholy I think.'[18] Jean's lack of enthusiasm for her husband's songs is understandable for her background is essentially middle-class and non-farming.

Although Stanley emphasises the importance of the right atmosphere for singing he is not himself a regular pub-goer. This may also be a result of family pressure but it is more probable that it is by choice for he is an exceptionally hard worker. Before his marriage the farm had provided sufficient work for three men, his father, his brother and himself, but now that Stanley is completely on his own he carefully limits his time off to a minimum. His routine day begins before 7.00 a.m. and he is rarely finished by 9.30 p.m. Moreover he has firm views on drinking. As a young man his favourite leisuretime activity was dancing, a liking for which he had inherited from his father. On a Saturday night he used to travel out to Bradwell via the Yorkshire Bridge and Travellers' Rest, two pubs at Bamford.

> They used to have 'old-time' in old hall on your right hand side and 'modern' in Newburg on left hand side — same night. If the one you wanted to find wasn't in Newburg you went to old-time. If it got after a certain time used to let me in for nothing. Drinking . . . it's spoilt me many a night, you know, I'd rather be dancing. I think it did and it spoilt your partners when you got there.

And Stanley adds to put the record straight

> I didn't very often take a partner with me. Always plenty of partners them days. That's reason I got married late![19]

Although it seems extremely doubtful that Stanley was at all reckless in his youth, marriage and the responsibilities of a family have obviously had an effect.

Singing for Stanley is dwindling in importance and yet his enthusiasm continues especially in his relationship with Frank Hinchliffe. The

two have much in common. They were childhood friends, though they attended different schools, for they were brought up on neighbouring farms. Frank's father at that time farmed Wiggin Farm at the head of Crimicar Lane and continued to do so even after the move to Clough Fields. Later they were drinking companions especially during the last war when pub singing within the locality was in its heyday. Both had learnt to cut hair when the deprivation and isolation of war-time had forced the local farming community to be self-sufficient for the bulk of its needs. Stanley had started by cutting his father's hair as well as taking over his only customer, Andrew Gregory.[20] Before long he had over twenty regular customers, some of whom he still attends to today. As if to permanently cement the relationship, Frank married Stanley's elder sister, Dorothy.

Inevitably their style of singing is very similar for neither are mechanical in their approach but rely on rhythmic variation and a constantly varying pulse to enhance their performance. Their posture for singing, seated and lost in the song, perhaps even twiddling thumbs, is the same. They often go out together and in recent visits to Dunford Bridge for the singsong that follows the shepherd's meet these similarities have been clearly demonstrated.[21] To observe the two side by side on such occasions deep in the performance of a song, one is immediately aware of the bond that exists between them, a unity that is demonstrated by a complete lack of ostentatiousness or self-consciousness which contrasts with the formality and demonstrative manner of the singers from the different neighbourhood.

It is to be expected that between two that have so much in common there is a small amount of discreet jealousy such that Stanley with justification accuses Frank of making up a phrase of a tune or part of a song that he cannot remember and cites The Irish Emigrant[22] and Break the News to Mother[23] as examples, whereas Frank rightly believes his brother-in-law's knowledge of songs to be inferior to his own. For this reason he never recommended that a visit to Stanley would prove worthwhile. Moreover Stanley has a poor opinion of the longer items that Frank in particular prizes, such as The Golden Glove,[24] which in Stanley's words 'do really get a bit boring'.[25]

Stanley prefers the type of song referred to in this study as the parlour ballad as well as its more modern counterpart which may lack the drama and mawkishness of the Victorian artefact and yet often rivals

it for nostalgia. Among his favourites are The Volunteer Organist,[26] The Blind Boy[27] and The Song of a Thrush[28] as well as Just Like the Ivy,[29] When Irish Eyes Are Smiling[30] and I Wouldn't Leave my Little Wooden Hut.[31] This last item is exceptional in that Stanley learnt the song from a source other than his father, Riley Marsden of Jeffrey Green.[32] During the First World War his father had spent two years in the army and songs such as The Pardon Came Too Late,[33] Break the News to Mother[34] and 'I'm Away on the Hillside'[35] learnt at this time, were passed on to Stanley. Although Stanley much prefers the old songs he learnt from his father, and especially the Irish ones, to modern compositions (ie. post-Second World War) this preference does not extend to the broadside ballad or pre-Victorian material. He obviously objects to more than just their length such that he sees little merit in The Jolly Waggoner.[36] 'I think there's some a lot better than "Waggoners" !'.[37] Of modern popular singers, his favourite is Jim Reeves.[38] He also admires the yodelling of Frank Ifield because he admits that he would like to be able to do it himself. He is very fond of comic songs and performs both The Spaniard that Blighted my Life[39] and Paddy McGinty's Goat,[40] as well as expressing a liking for Billy Mills' Down in the Fields Where the Buttercups All Grow[41] and I'm a Daddy at Sixty-three.[42] A few items he remembers from his schooldays, The Cuckoo,[43] Londonderry Air,[44] The Jolly Waggoner[45] and 'Turn Turn the Good Brown Earth',[46] which obviously appeals to his instincts.

> Turn, turn the good brown earth,
> You're dear to every farmer for he knows your worth.

The Jolly Waggoner, probably learnt from English Folk Songs for Schools[47] Stanley sings to the published tune but reverts to the local words especially in the chorus, 'There's none can drive a waggon where the 'osses will not go!'. Moreover he is aware of the existence of the two versions and of their dissimilarities.

As a boy he had regularly visited relations in Greenhill, then a village on the south side of the city. Here Stanley learnt 'When I Grow Too Old to Dream',[48] which his Aunt Florence sang to him as a bedtime lullabye. On New Year's Eve his family always sang the Wassail Song[49] and Another Year Has Passed Away.[50] In fact, they are still sung in

some of the local pubs, but have not been recorded.

Stanley's singing style is remarkable and can be compared with that of his brother-in-law Frank Hinchliffe. During his performance of particular items Stanley's interpretation departs so far from conventional metrical practice as to render accurate transcription by aural means extremely difficult. His voice has a well-rounded tone and is extremely flexible; his tenor range is extensive especially in its upper limits. For example, his rendition of The Blind Boy[51] is pitched three whole tones above Frank's and in it he comfortably reaches the F# above middle C. On many occasions he has sung with the chorus in a pub an octave above the rest of the company. His variation of metre can be shown in The Volunteer Organist[52] where the phrasing, accentuated by crescendo and diminuendo, accelerando and rallentando, can only be described as tempo rubato.

Example 7

The preach-er at our vil-lage church one Sun-day morn-ing said,

Our or-gan-ist is ill to-day, will some-one play in-stead?

An an-xious look crept o'er the face of ev-ery per-son there,

pitch rises

slows

As eag-er-ly they watched to see who fill the or-gan chair.

The technique demonstrates great sensitivity and helps to intensify the level of feeling expressed especially in such songs as The Gipsy's Warning[53] and The Irish Emigrant[54] of which Stanley says 'It really is a good song that when you can sing it'.[55] And he means by this that he must not merely be physically capable of singing all the correct notes

but be in the right mood to give to his performance the expression warranted by such a song. After he sang The Gipsy's Warning, he stressed the importance of familiarity with the words of a song before it can be satisfactorily interpreted. 'When you don't really know 'em you can't put any feeling into 'em, can you?'[56] The means by which this feeling is put into his songs is not by rubato alone but also by the subtle use of vocal ornaments especially portamento and passing notes. Occasionally a turn (an upper mordent) or a shake of varying volume rather than pitch (tremolo) is also used to embellish a phrase final. In songs such as Just Like the Ivy[57] or The Irish Emigrant[58] he excells in these techniques.

Example 8

Rubato

An old man sat at ev-en - tide, 'neath the old garden wall,
And the iv-y was cling-ing all a-round;
When a maid-en, young and fair, with blue eyes and gold-en hair
Came nest-ling down be- side him on the ground.

slows

Example 9

Rubato

I'm sit-ting on the stile, Ma-ry, where we sat sid by side,
On a bright May morn-ing long a-go when first you were ma bride.

faster

slows

Earlier reference to the tone of Stanley's voice may profitably be enlarged upon. In the first place he employs both nasalisation and a tightening of the throat to control the volume and quality of his tone especially towards the top of his range. He also tends to exaggerate and distort the vowel sounds in a manner alien to his native dialect that shows the influence of his Irish songs and in particular the style of the popular Irish concert tenor as epitomised by John MacCormack. In this respect there is a marked similarity between Stanley's style and that of the noted Shropshire singer Fred Jordan.[59] However significant this influence may be, it in no way detracts from Stanley's overall style but is totally assimilated. There is every reason to suspect that Stanley absorbed these nuances from his father, which would explain similarities with Frank's style, for Frank too learnt several of his songs from Stanley's father.[80]

It is ironic that the same creativity for which Stanley criticises Frank is present in himself albeit to a lesser degree. His opening line to The Song of a Thrush[61] is reconstructed, as are some of the words of In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree:[62] 'There's some little bits that I'm not sure are right or not. It's just that I've made 'em up in between to fill gaps up'.'[63] Moreover the melodic variation in the opening line of The Banks of Allan Water[64] is a reworking of the standard tune, and is both effective and felicitous.

Example 10

Rubato

slows

On the banks of Al-lan Wat-er when the sweet spring-time did fall,

Was the mil-ler's love-ly daugh-ter, the fair-est of them all.

It is fair to say that Stanley together with Frank Hinchliffe and to a lesser degree Ted Wragg of Stannington[65] are the foremost stylists recorded in West Sheffield.

The subtlety and sensitivity of Stanley's singing style compare well with that of any English traditional singer available on gramophone

record. Although it is not possible to establish the age or pedigree of the vocal style of West Sheffield, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that modern and pre-Victorian as well as Victorian influences are present. Besides the common stylistic features of voice production, timbre, enunciation and delivery, are the contrasting approaches to metre. The even-paced style, favoured by George White for example,[66] is rigidly bound to the individual pulse, whereas <u>rubato</u> singing is based on the complete musical phrase. It is the use of this technique that allows Stanley the freedom to interpret a song to an extent which is not possible in the plainer style. Thus he heightens the lyric and focuses attention on the sentiment in a way that is wholly in keeping with the type of song he chooses to perform. Through it Stanley, together with Frank Hinchliffe demonstrate a traditional style as ornate as any encountered among English singers since the advent of sound recording.

Footnotes

1. Sheffield City Library, Fairbanks Collection, MB 478-480, No.343.
2. Duplicated typescript loaned by Mrs Susan Siddall of Carr Houses, Fulwood, and believed to have been written by Clarion Rambler, G.H.B. Ward.
3. Lewis Ward, noted 22 June 1971.
4. See the following sections, 'Frank Hinchliffe', 'The Whites of Fulwood' for George and Grace, and 'Pub Singing' for Douglas Marsden.
5. Recorded 5 October 1972.
6. Boguslaw Galeski, 'Sociological Problems of the Occupation of Farmers', in Peasants and Peasant Societies, edited by Teodor Shanin (Harmondsworth, 1971), p.181.
7. Recorded 5 October 1972.
8. Ibid.
9. See transcript Mar 33.
10. See transcript Mar 30.
11. See transcript Mar 4.
12. See transcript Mar 13.
13. See transcript Mar 5.
14. Noted 24 February 1971.
15. Recorded 5 October 1972.
16. Ibid.
17. Not recorded.
18. Recorded 5 October 1972.
19. Ibid.
20. See pp.65-66 and 72.
21. It was at my suggestion that they accompanied me to these sessions. Dunford Bridge is approximately twenty-four miles north-west of Lodge Moor.
22. See transcript Mar 18.
23. See transcript Mar 8.
24. See transcript Hin 21.
25. Recorded 4 February 1971.
26. See transcript Mar 39.
27. See transcript Mar 7.
28. See transcript Mar 33.

29. See transcript Mar 22.
30. See transcript Mar 45.
31. See transcript Mar 19.
32. See pp.61 and 73.
33. See transcript Mar 30.
34. See transcript Mar 8.
35. See transcript Mar 16.
36. See transcript Mar 20.
37. Recorded 5 October 1972.
38. George White also admires Jim Reeves. See p.109.
39. See transcript Mar 34.
40. Not recorded.
41. See transcript PubS 7.
42. Not recorded.
43. See transcript Mar 9.
44. See transcript Mar 25.
45. See transcript Mar 20.
46. See transcript Mar 37.
47. S. Baring Gould and Cecil J. Sharp, English Folk Songs for Schools (Curwen edition, London, [1906]), p.70.
48. See transcript Mar 44.
49. See transcript Mar 40.
50. See transcript Mar 2.
51. See transcript Mar 7.
52. See transcript Mar 39.
53. See transcript Mar 13.
54. See transcript Mar 18.
55. Recorded 5 October 1972.
56. Recorded 24 February 1971.
57. See transcript Mar 22.
58. See transcript Mar 18.
59. See Songs of a Shropshire Farm Worker, 12T150 (Topic Records, 1966).
60. See p.73.
61. See transcript Mar 33.
62. See transcript Mar 17.
63. Recorded 24 February 1971.
64. See transcript Mar 4.
65. See p.130.
66. See p.108.

8 THE WHITES OF FULWOOD

Thomas White (1879-1968), Grace Walton (nee White) and George White.

The Fulwood branch of the family originated with the marriage of Josh D. White (born 1841) of Tedgness Farm, Grindleford, to Rose Hannah Marsden (born 1848) of Fulwood.[1] After the marriage, they took over Hollins View Farm on Crimicar Lane, where the youngest of their eight children, Josh, still lives. However, it is with his elder brother, Tom, that this chapter is initially concerned for it was he who was the foremost singer of his family. Many of his songs have been handed down to his children, George and Grace, both of whom have been recorded for this study, together with another member of the family, Frank Hinchliffe, son of Tom's younger sister, Mary. Frank has already been considered in an earlier section, and a particular reference to the family's dry sense of humour was made. In this respect, Tom was no exception. Some of his witticisms from thirty or more years ago are vividly recollected by his acquaintances. For instance during the Second World War when fire-watching for the Home Guard he remarked as he sighted a German plane, 'I think yon bugger's goin' to lay!',[2] and on another occasion, as the last man staggered home in the Stannington Steeplechase, 'There's one here wi' t'rakings!'.[3] Such comments together with a love of singing are widely reputed to be the family's hallmark.

Thomas White was born in a small red-bricked terraced house on Chorley Road at the back of the parish church.[4] Unlike today, when it is completely enveloped by housing estates, the terrace then backed on to open fields and they kept a cow in the backyard. He was the fifth child of eight, six boys and two girls, and as a boy went mumming to the local manor hall. Grace recalls that his motives were entirely mercenary.

> There was one very rich family lived t'Stumperlowe Hall, like. At Christmas time they used to go singing then they'd come back home and black their faces and dress up differently. Then go back again 'n' sing again, so they wouldn't recognize they'd just been, because they always used to get a good gift there.[5]

Tom farmed all his life, first at Brownhills Farm,
then as bailiff to Lodge Moor Hospital and finally back at Brownhills until he retired prematurely in 1938 owing to a nervous disorder brought

on by an accident on a mowing machine. For the remainder of his life he lived in Stannington. The death of his wife in 1955 shocked him out of his illness. He made a complete recovery and was able to resume an active life, gardening, visiting his six children, going to the pub and always singing.

He was a tall man, loosely built, with quite a high-pitched tenor voice. 'He used to get up singing in the morning and go to bed singing at night. Sometimes he'd shut his eyes and he'd 'ave his pipe in his hand.'[5] Although he was recorded on more than one occasion in his last few years, unfortunately no recordings of him survive.[7] However, from an analysis of George's and Grace's repertoires, we can at least establish the approximate size and composition of their father's repertoire. Tom knew more than forty songs most of which occur on nineteenth century broadsides, and of those that do not, a few are local compositions, or songs of some rarity, and the remainder parlour ballads.[8] Christmas was his favourite time of year and while he was at Lodge Moor, he seemed to spend a lot of his spare time during the season in the Sportsman or the Three Merry Lads singing carols. 'He could've been drunk times and times many 'cos people used to like to give him a drink to make him sing.'[9] Nor did the singing end there; 'I've 'eard me mother say there's been forty in t'house. Brought 'em all back from pub . . . sat on stairs an' all o'er singing Christmas hymns.'[10]

He had always been fond of drinking and was quite reckless as a young man. In common with many other farm lads, he would readily abandon his work to visit Castleton Wakes where he would sleep rough.

> [Once] they called in Bell Hagg . . . They'd been in t'cornfield, went in at dinner time and a fellow come with a steam engine. [They] asked where 'e were goin'. He said 'e were goin' to Castleton. Me father and his mate went int' shirt sleeves and stopped a three week, they did. They come 'ome when they were skint.[11]

Despite this wayward aspect to his character, he was deeply religious. He had attended the local church school and was an Anglican of firm conviction. He called his eldest three sons after biblical and classical figures, Zenas, Thomas Luke, and Priam John, and whenever anyone pulled his leg about this choice, by asking him where he had found such names,

he would cite the exact reference.[12] He had a respect for the Sabbath, and Mrs Jack White, a daughter-in-law, remembers that he would not let anyone do more than the essential jobs about the house. 'When our children were small he'd never allow them to play a game on a Sunday, cards or anything.'[13] In his later years he frequently read from the Bible which according to his children he knew from cover to cover. He was by nature a conservative man and so inveterately old-fashioned that one acquaintance observed that he should have been born fifty years earlier.[14]

Of the six children, Grace was the second eldest and the only girl, while George was next to the youngest. Both had spent more time on the farm than any of the other children. Their childhood was very happy and Grace recalls how her brothers blocked a stream to make a swimming pool.

> We've 'ad some fun when we lived at Brownhills. We used to have a swimming pool int' field . . . When we fetched cows up on a summer's morning we used to go and have a swim.[15]

Perhaps the most enjoyable occasions were during the winter months when the Whites kept an open house. In the evenings there were games of dominoes, darts or cards in progress and Mrs White provided refreshments, nettle or herb beer and potatoes roasted in the oven. 'Folk came from all round. Many a time there were more in our house than what there were in pubs.'[16] Of course, no session was complete without a singsong in which everyone participated especially Grace and George. On some occasions Grace accompanied them on the harmonium or accordion. George for his part sang duets with his father, such as The Twelve Apostles or Come to the Bower, the latter being also a favourite song at weddings. Singing, in fact, was an integral part of their lives not only in their recreation but in their work.

> When you was workin' in fields, in the hayfields, or in the turnips, pickin' potatoes or anything like, they always used to be singing, always. And we used to be singing Mistletoe Bough all summer — that Christmas hymn.[17]

There was even singing on Sundays but their father would only allow hymns.

Unfortunately all this came to a close with the inevitable breaking up of the family and their father's relinquishment of the farm. Grace married and George was conscripted into the army. However, both of them continued to sing though somewhat less frequently. After leaving Fulwood Church of England School, Grace worked for several years at the University Field Laboratory, which she enjoyed because, she said, it involved animals, even if most of them were rats bred for the dissection table. When the Mayfield School was re-opened about 1945 as a community centre, she took an active part in its success. There were dances, whist drives, and social evenings when Grace and several of her friends provided the entertainment.[18] She performed her songs and together they acted out sketches which they themselves had written. Some of these were based on well known songs, such as The Farmer's Boy and Little Brown Jug, and were always well appreciated. 'They liked them 'cos they were all more or less farmers that went like. They used to like the old things.'[19] Grace too shares this affection for the past and in particular 'old songs'. Once, after she had sung The Garden Gate, she commented:

> I like that. In the old ones there's a lot of meaning, isn't there. More than what there is today. Sort of here today, gone tomorrow, the new songs, like . . . I'd rather have these old songs . . . there's one or two [new songs] that are alright. You don't seem to take to them the same.[20]

Grace's life has not been without misfortune. Her first husband Jim Lomas, a quiet, tidy person, gentle and clean-living, who never smoked or drank, developed lung cancer and died in 1961. It was a coincidence that soon after her husband's death, the wife of an old friend, Stanley Walton, a greengrocer who came from Tideswell, also contracted cancer and Grace nursed her until she died. The double tragedy brought them together and in 1966 they married. In one respect the last few years have seen the fulfilment of a dream. She had never cared very much for the modern centrally-heated bungalow into which she and Stanley had moved and longed to return to farm life. Thus they acquired Rails House Farm and five acres of land in the Rivelin valley. Stanley renovated the derelict building and they now live there in comfort

just a mile from Lodge Moor. Grace looks after the few livestock they keep, entertains her friends, daughter and two grandchildren, and pegs her own rugs. Stanley only dabbles in farming for he is unashamedly ignorant and already some of his efforts have become the subject for great hilarity in the district.[21]

Before considering Grace as a singer we will return to her brother, George. In some respects he was closer to his father than any of his brothers and, therefore, it seems natural that he should have made a special effort to learn his father's songs and that his father in turn should have taken pains to teach them to him. They shared a respect for the old way of life, both within and beyond the farm, and at least in the songs there was one aspect of their culture that could remain intact. George's eldest brother, Zenas, has a more pragmatic approach, and when asked about the old songs he replied cooly 'them days are gone'.[22] Fortunately, George does not share this view but relishes the songs and performs them full of admiration for his father. Often his first remark after performing a song is 'me dad used to sing that'.[23]

When at eighteen he was conscripted into the army, his father ensured that George should not forget the family's songs by writing several of them out for him. These George has kept safe to this day. Tom must have written out a number of his songs, for besides George's collection, odd copies are scattered throughout the family. Although they are carefully written in copper-plate, Tom was no scholar and spelling, punctuation and format are rough-and-ready; for instance 'curiosity' is spelt 'querasity', and 'neighbour', 'nabor'. In addition he appended one or two remarks at the foot of some of the songs which were obviously intended to encourage George. After The Broken Token is written, 'learn this or think it best in lot', and after The Banks of Sweet Dundee, 'learn them all through and then we can always sing them', and 'learn them through it will pass your time on'.[24] During his time in the forces George learnt a few songs which he describes as 'barrack room'. After the war, he worked as a long distance lorry driver for a local haulage firm and this provided him with an opportunity to sing. He has always worked spasmodically as an agricultural and general labourer. However, over Christmas 1970 he suffered a severe attack of chronic asthma and nearly died. Since then he has worked very little and has had several relapses. He is married with one son, and lived in a part

of the old Manor Farm in Stannington until it was demolished in 1972 when he was moved into a nearby council house.

Grace's recorded repertoire consists of thirty-seven items of which fifteen are complete, George's of twenty-seven, of which eighteen are complete. Grace knows a great number of fragmentary items because she remembers most of her father's songs only in snatches. Although they both sing many of the same songs (seven of the complete items), learnt from the same source, their singing style is distinct. George sings seated, often stooped over his father's copy of the words. When he is reading rather than remembering the songs, he tends to sing stiffly stressing each pulse, as in the example below from The Banks of Sweet Dundee.[25]

Example 11

C=C ♩ 144

&c. He willed his gold to Ma-ry who fought so man-ful-ly,

And now she lives quite hap-py on the banks of sweet Dun-dee.

This is not to say that he does not know the song without the copy, for he uses it as a prop or as a prompt-copy. Hence, when two renditions of the same song are compared, variations are found to be insignificant; and this suggests that his conception of how the song should be performed is fixed and was acquired from his father's singing when he was very young, certainly long before he came into possession of any copies of the words. It may even be that the presence of a copy restricts and obstructs this conception. 'Sometimes you've got to look a bit close at me dad's writing.'[26] Thus in Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours[27] on all three recordings that have been made he hesitates at exactly the same point in verse eight, because there is a mistake in the copy. It reads 'and Ben Thorpe keeps a Farm Stock', which George sings without the indefinite article. On several other occasions George rationalises or simply corrects a mistake contained in the copy without any hesitation.

Of the eighteen songs recorded, fourteen were learnt from his father

and seven of these he sang from a copy. Of the remaining four, two were learnt in the army, McCaffery[28] and The Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime,[29] one in the local pub, The Wild Rover,[30] and the other in church, Beulah Land.[31] However, it is not only the sources of these songs that are different, but also the style in which George performs them. He reserves a flat, unemotional, nasal tone for his father's songs, as in the example above, and those in the time signature of $\frac{4}{4}$ he sings at a fairly strict tempo of about 120-150. This straightforward, robust and unadorned style is probably very close to that of his father, and is well suited to the narrative ballads such as The Golden Glove.[32] It also allows others to join in, molto voce, as can be seen from the recordings of such songs as The Nobleman and the Thresherman, which were recorded in the Sportsman at Lodge Moor.[33] This style is quite distinct from that which George reserves for his barrack/bar-room material, which he freely croons and drawls with trills, glottal effects, vibrato and tonal inflections. An extract from McCaffery, shows some of these.[34]

Example 12

Rubato

III. Now while sta-tioned out on guard one day, Some com-rades child-ren came out to play.

From or-der-ly room my cap-tain came And he or-dered me to take the par- ents' name.

The implication is that George's singing is to a certain extent imitative. His crooning is incidentally related to that of popular recording artists such as the American singer, Jim Reeves, of whom he is very fond. However, George does not exaggerate or overwork this style, but sings with delicacy and softness despite his otherwise rough voice. This phenomenon of two distinct styles being employed by the same singer is unique as far as the singers in this study are concerned.

George relates many of his songs directly to life and considers them to contain much truth. For instance, when he finished The Golden Glove, an intricate story of a lady's trepan, he commented wryly with

tongue-in-cheek, 'You see how she mânaged to get him, same as my misses got me; she dropped glove and gave it 'im, you see'.[35] Similarly, after he had sung his version of Edward he defended the senselessness of the murder of the brother;

> Because he's killed those three pretty birds
> That fly from tree to tree.[36]

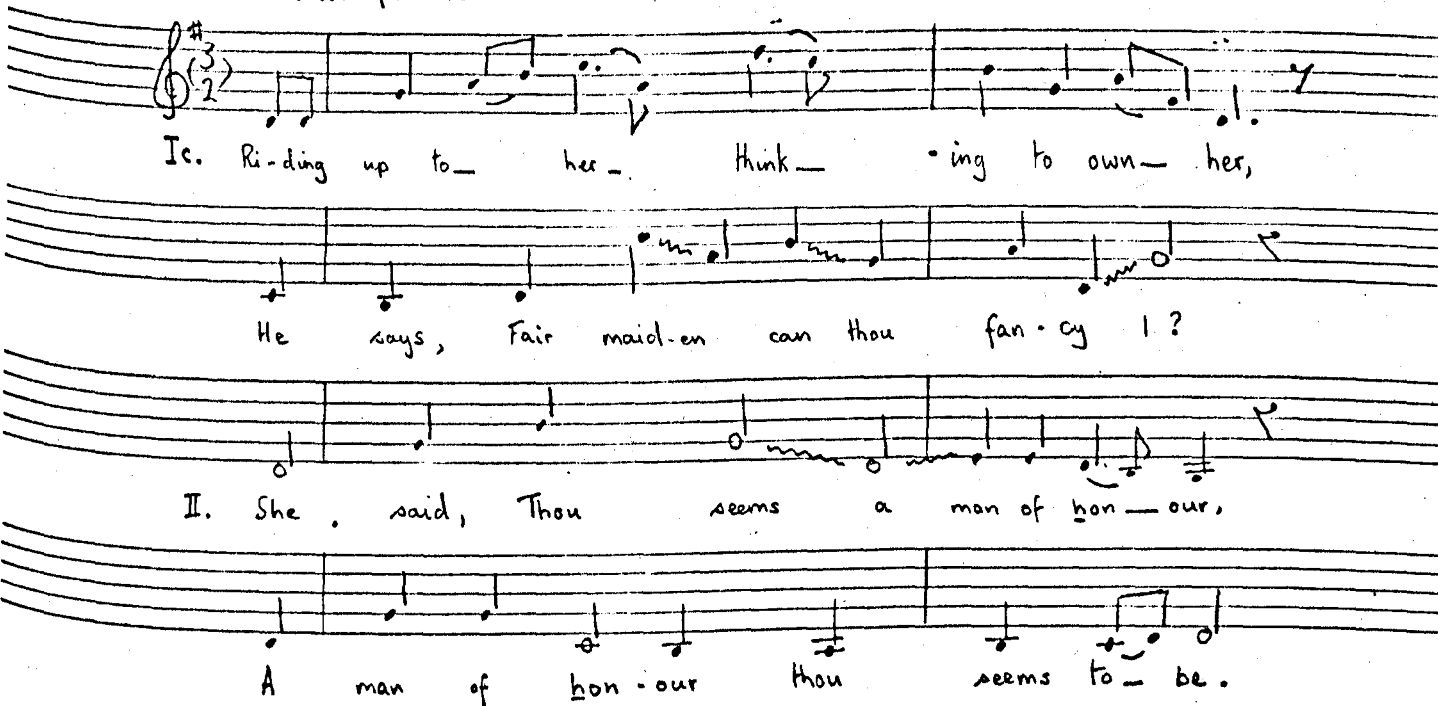
and pointed to two equally unnatural murders that had been committed locally.

> Same as that there bloke over Whiston way . . . I were going with my boss one day for a load of hay. He says, 'You remember that being int' paper of a lad sending fork right through his father?' I says 'Ah'. He says 'That's tree where he did it'. He stuck fork right through his father int' field, I remember him saying. And there's still a bloke roamin' round Ashford-in-the-Water and Bakewell and he shot his brother, it's true. He got gun down and shot his brother. He were bad, drunk 'un, knockin' parents about, he's a rum fellow all round.[37]

With McCaffery it is not merely a question of the song having a 'ring of truth', but rather that George believes it is true.[38]

> Some people sing different words to that McCaffery. Buried in Fulwood Churchyard at Preston. He shot Colonel and he meant to shoot Captain. True that, true that you know. You get put on a charge for singing that int' barracks.[39]

Grace's manner of singing is fairly close to George's 'narrative' style. Unlike George, however, she has absorbed no outside influences, perhaps because she has never been away from Fulwood, except on holiday, nor does she frequent pubs. She sings in fairly strict tempo as does her brother but her delivery is altogether lighter and livelier. She uses more ornamentation especially slides and passing notes together with effects such as aspirations , as in the following excerpt from The Broken Token, which she calls 'The Sailor's Bride'.[40]



There is gaiety and panache in her singing and not surprisingly she knows several comic or mildly humorous items such as The Pear Tree[41] and 'Nowt to Do with Me'.[42] Grace is also noted for her recitations and poems which she performs in 'broad Yorkshire', as well as for being a competent, self-taught musician. She plays by ear usually at a family gathering to accompany the 'local' Christmas carols.

She is an unassuming woman, with a matter-of-fact nature, who is always willing to oblige a friend. This openness of character comes over in the uncomplicated approach she has to her songs. They are not private but something to be shared with and to give enjoyment to others. Some of the enjoyment she gets from singing them is in their association with her father, and she says that she can often hear him singing when she sings herself. Her willingness to modify her songs to suit her

audience can be seen from the following incident. In 'The Sailor's Bride', the word 'hoop' is used in the unusual, archaic sense of a finger ring. This was questioned (in my presence) by a friend, on one occasion, to whom Grace explained its meaning and added that it was what her father had always sung. However, when Grace came to perform the song subsequently she had rationalised the term to 'ring'.[43] Generally she is quite unreflective towards her songs, as in her belief that everything her father sang was of a great age. Thus she makes no distinction in this respect between When the Fields Are White with Daisies,[44] a popular song of her father's childhood, and her version of Edward.[45]

The most common theme of her songs is the romantic encounter which usually ends in marriage such as in Come to the Bower

> To church they both went, all their troubles to get over,
> That they might live happy and contented in the bower.[46]

or in The Garden Gate.

> But when the morning sun did shine to church they went their way,
> And how the village bells did ring upon the wedding day.[47]

There are no risqué elements to any of her songs nor are there to George's for that matter, unless the allusion to venereal disease in The Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime is included. Only five of her songs are in any sense tragic. In Sheffield Park[48] and The Weaver's Daughter,[49] love is unrequited; revenge, fratricide and exile feature in Edward; in The Mistletoe Bough,[50] a game of hide-and-seek falls foul and the bride is entombed in a chest; and finally there is The Baby's Prayer, which is a sentimental piece of the 'tableau' type.

> The train went speeding onward with a mother and her babe.
> In 'er hand she held a letter from which now and then she read;
> A letter from a traitor who had lured 'er from 'er home,
> That night it left the husband all deserted and alone.[51]

Both Grace and George, while not knowing the number of songs that

their father did, are accomplished performers; but, as George notes, a good memory alone is not enough; 'if you sing 'em regularly you can sing 'em better'.[52] Unfortunately for George, he is never likely to be well enough to sing again. His one consolation is that his only son, Barry, seems keen enough to carry on the family tradition. Grace for her part, sings to her grandchildren and hopes that they will learn some of the songs.

The Whites' reputation for singing is well deserved but they were hardly exceptional in this respect forty or more years ago. What makes them remarkable today is the fact that they have maintained a family tradition even after it has become largely dissociated from the social and agricultural world of their childhood in which it thrived. As George said, 'We've sung many hours on Saturday. No money, couldn't go nowhere'.[53] Then the family's singing tradition existed of financial necessity, as a form of self-amusement that cost nothing. It was, of course, extremely pleasurable and not without a measure of originality, as can be seen in the incredible catalogue that makes up the family's song Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours, which George says was written by their grandfather Josh.[54] It is for this song in particular that the Whites' contribution to the singing tradition of the district will be most remembered. In George's opinion, the prospects for the future are not encouraging especially as there has recently developed a hostile attitude towards singing, as an accepted form of social behaviour, notably inside public houses. 'If you start singin' owd songs in a pub now they think you're crackers.'[54] For the family's tradition to continue into the fourth or fifth generations it must depend for its motivation on other less tangible factors beyond the needs of work or play. The songs will have to be sung for their own sake; they may continue to feature at family gatherings but, with the size of family much diminished, such events have already become infrequent or have taken on a different character. However, it may be that this difficult transformation is already well under way, that just as Grace and her daughter, Fay, have not forgotten how to 'peg' rugs, the family will not forget its songs. In fact, because the songs' currency in the outside world has become somewhat debased, the importance of singing at home seems to have acquired increased value and is justifiably a source of pride, a situation in which the present study has had a positive and reinforcing effect.

Footnotes

1. I am indebted to Jack Fox of Greystones, a local historian, for this information.
2. Quoted by Lewis Ward of Fulwood, 22 June 1971.
3. Ibid. The 'rakings' are the last scraps of corn to be gathered from a field at harvest time.
4. There is some doubt to this fact, though Grace Walton assures me that it is correct.
5. Recorded 7 September 1972.
6. Ibid.
7. Fay, Grace's daughter, understood that Margaret Marsden recorded Tom in the 1950s. Correspondence with Margaret Marsden (now Mrs Saxby), who has since emigrated to Australia, establishes that in fact she made no tape recordings but simply noted some of Tom's songs on paper. These notes have unfortunately been lost. However, she herself was recorded in 1962 singing three songs she had learnt from Tom by the late Leslie Howarth whose son Colin gave permission to copy the recording. See the Appendix to the transcriptions.

   Recordings made by one of Tom's grandchildren have been lost.
8. This reconstructed repertoire is given in Appendix 1.
9. Grace Walton recorded 7 September 1972.
10. George White recorded 5 December 1970.
11. Ibid.
12. Told to me by Jack (Priam John) White, 8 May 1973.
13. Recorded 8 May 1973.
14. Jack Fox noted 29 June 1971.
15. Recorded 7 September 1972.
16. Recorded 8 May 1973.
17. Recorded 29 October 1970.
18. Her friends were Edith Hancock of Ringinglow, Suzie Siddall, Mary Perkins and Mrs Thorpe of Fulwood.
19. Recorded 7 September 1972.
20. Ibid.
21. He purchased six pedigree Hereford heifers which, during their first few weeks made several attempts to escape. On each occasion they were rounded up by neighbours a considerable distance from the farm.

22. Noted 17 October 1971.
23. See, for example, transcript Whi 13.
24. From material consulted from photo-copies of the original ballads donated to the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield by George White.
25. Recorded 25 February 1971, S18. See transcript Whi 1.
26. Recorded 14 October 1970.
27. See transcript Whi 10.
28. See transcript Whi 16.
29. See transcript Whi 27.
30. See transcript Whi 26.
31. See transcript Whi 3.
32. See transcript Whi 11.
33. See The Nobleman and the Thresherman, 22 August 1970, S13.
34. See transcript Whi 16.
35. Recorded 14 October 1970.
36. See transcript Whi 9.
37. Recorded 25 February 1971.
38. See A.E. Green, 'McCaffery: A Study in the Variation and Function of a Ballad', Parts One and Three, Lore and Language, 1, No.3 (August 1970), 4-9 and No.5 (July 1971), 5-11. In fact, George is correct. See Gerard H. Corr, 'Private McCaffery's Revenge', Lancashire Evening Post, 17 December 1973.
39. Recorded 25 February 1971.
40. See transcript Wal 3.
41. See transcript Wal 22.
42. See transcript Wal 18.
43. Recorded 7 September 1972, see tape S41.
44. Recorded 4 June 1970.
45. See transcript Wal 5.
46. See transcript Wal 4.
47. See transcript Wal 7.
48. See transcript Hin 51.
49. See transcript Wal 30.
50. See transcript Wal 15.
51. See transcript Wal 1.
52. Recorded 14 October 1970.

53. Ibid.

54. Recorded 12 May 1970.

SPORTSMAN, LODGE MOOR

Before the Alterations

Doug Thompson and Edith Lawson

9 PUB SINGING IN WEST SHEFFIELD

Pub singing in West Sheffield was much in evidence during the period of research between 1970 and 1972 especially at Christmas-time. Sessions were recorded at Lodge Moor, Crosspool, Stannington and Dungworth.[1] As most of the evidence, however, relates to the Sportsman Inn at Lodge Moor, this will be dealt with first in detail and subsequently brief reference will be made to the significant features of the other singing pubs.

In a previous chapter the importance of the Sportsman as a centre for singing was stressed.[2] Singing took place almost every Saturday evening and fourteen of the sessions were recorded. It was the departure in September 1972 of Fred Bonnington, landlord for almost thirty years, that signalled the end of a tradition that had been built up for over a century or more since the pub was first licensed in about 1850. The new landlord's only concern was for the day when the pub was to be altered, and basic comforts such as cleanliness, adequate heating, good beer and hospitality were neglected. The regulars drifted away and the singing never returned. Although the alterations were postponed until Easter 1974, in the interim period the pub became run-down, rarely busy and never full. The final stage in the alienation of the local customers was the new design, a single, large, plush, el-shaped lounge with imitation beams and other plastic trappings. Gone were the small rooms heated by coal fires; gone too was any provision for working men in working clothes including the pub games they might choose to play. Inevitably the traditional draught bitter handpumped from the cask also disappeared. Singing in pubs in the neighbourhood of Fulwood has it seems come to an end, not through any lack of enthusiasm among the participants themselves, but victim of the profit seeking enterprises of the breweries.

The trend is not entirely recent. During the last century many houses in Fulwood and the Mayfield Valley were licensed to sell beer. These were closed down under the influence of the temperance movement manifested by the wealthy townspeople recently moved into the district, such that by the turn of the century none survived. In 1888 one ale-house, the Blacksmith's Arms at Goole Green even became a coffee house.[3] Outside the village there remained a wide choice of pubs, but these too became unsuitable for singing as they were removed, rebuilt or redesigned

to cater for the largely middle class trade from the recently built private estates. The Ocean View at Redmires Reservoir was demolished about 1885 because of the risk of pollution and the neighbouring Grouse and Trout also lost its license in 1913 because it was thought it might have a detrimental effect on the grouse shooting. The Rising Sun at Nether Green and the Crosspool Tavern were rebuilt in the thirties and have subsequently had their interiors altered in the modern open-plan style. The Plough at Sandygate has also been restyled since the war, but perhaps the greatest changes have taken place since 1970, when the Three Merry Lads at Lodge Moor, the Sportsman at Stephen Hill (1971) and the Sportsman at Lodge Moor (1974) have all been modernised. Sadly all three were singing pubs.

The Sportsman at Lodge Moor, in common with most singing pubs in the district, had two distinct repertoires. The one, which was seasonal operating from 5 November until New Year, consisted almost entirely of Christmas carols and songs; the other, all-purpose and miscellaneous, was sung for the remaining ten months. Only one item is associated with both repertoires: Pratty Flowers, usually led by one of the Broadhead brothers, functions as a carol at Christmas, but at any time is a great favourite especially among fellow ramblers. The term carol is here not used to describe a particular musical or lyrical form but in a functional sense to refer to those items of the repertoire associated with the Christmas season. Moreover as the carols have been considered extensively elsewhere only a brief outline is here attempted.[4]

The Christmas singing was participated in more enthusiastically and by a larger group than singing at any other time. Many older men or those who did not visit the pub regularly would be there, as well as others who had moved away from the district. In fact, it was unquestionably the climax of the singing year. Beside the atmosphere of excitement was one of duty. Although they did not use a list or running order, they would be most upset if they omitted to sing one of their favourite carols. It is this sense of ritual obligation, firstly to attend and secondly to perform the repertoire, that gives the tradition its character.

Most sessions began with Good News,[5] which Albert Broadhead, after some prompting, struck up. Albert was the usual 'striker' but Bernard Broadhead, Billy Mills, Frank Hinchliffe, Douglas Marsden, John Taylor,

David Smith and Roger Hinchliffe could all be relied upon if Albert were lighting his pipe or in some other way indisposed. In common with the rest of the year, the unaccompanied style was extremely boisterous and full-bodied. No consideration was given to the overall sound but rather each individual would sing to his or her utmost. That is not to say that the singing was unbalanced, for whenever the carols broke into parts in their fuguing passages, experienced singers would augment the weaker part. In Lodge Moor two parts usually predominated, trebles known as 'firsts' and basses as 'seconds', which clearly indicates the connection with part-singing in counterpart as opposed to harmony. It is interesting that in the one instance where a carol went totally wrong the lead for the fuguing section that should have been taken by seconds was mistakenly taken by the firsts.[6]

An analysis of the Christmas repertoire with reference to Appendix 2 shows that of the thirty-three distinct items twenty-two were recorded on more than one occasion and therefore represent a common core. The best liked carols are those set to fuguing tunes, known as Old Methodist Tunes because of their popularity among the non-conformist sects in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and some of these are of local composition.[7] Examples of this genre include Jacob's Well, Liverpool, Back Lane and Good News. Merry Christmas is unique in that it is the only carol that would seem to predate the influx of hymn tunes and was probably once a part of an exclusively house-visiting repertoire. There are seven settings of 'While Shepherds Watched', four of which are fuguing tunes, Liverpool, Pentonville, Old Foster and Mount Zion; Fern Bank is a more modern composition by a local hymn-writer, J.W. Drake; and the two remaining are set to nationally popular hymn melodies, Crimond and Lloyd. Hail Smiling Morn and Pratty Flowers are glees. How Beautiful upon the Mountain, an anthem, and The Mistletoe Bough, a parlour ballad. Of the items only recorded once, there are two nationally known carols, there are those in the process of being forgotten, New Celestial for example, and others new to the area, such as Stannington which was written by Mrs Dyson in 1952 and named after her native village.[8] The favourite solo item was The Christmas Tree,[9] a song not unlike Jingle Bells that relates the bringing home of the tree by Chris Cringle, the Christ child of German folklore here assuming the role of Santa Claus. The overall impression is one of diversity with the thirteen

fuguing carols forming the largest group.

Throughout West Sheffield there is a strong feeling of identification with the local carols such that each area believes, albeit mistakenly, that their carols are their own and significantly different from those of their neighbours.[10] This notion is seemingly substantiated by the fact that some of the carols have local-sounding names, for example Spout Cottage, Malin Bridge, Tyre Mill and Back Lane. However, every village has its Back Lane and Fulwood even has two.[11] They identify themselves with the carols still further by calling them after their particular district, 'Old Sheffield Carols', 'Stannington Carols' etc.

Although there have been several printed collections very few were ever seen in the Sportsman, and those that were belonged either to newcomers or the ladies who were not regulars.[12] The sessions commenced about 9.30 p.m. and continued past closing time, 10.30 p.m., and thence without further refreshment until about 11.30 p.m. 'The day being spent, the moon shone bright!' was Frank Hinchliffe's observation on one occasion at the lateness of finishing, adding, 'we shall be int' wash'ouse toneet!'[13] They always sang in the tap room, a rectangular room skirted by fitted benching, with a bay window at one end, and large tables and stools grouped around an open fire. A most significant feature was that the room was isolated from the bar and the door into the hallway was often closed for privacy. The tap room was also the games room having a dartboard used on weekdays, and cards and dominoes for which large playing boards and crib-boards were provided. The most popular game was dominoes for 'threes and fives'[14] and this was played every night from about 9.00 p.m. onwards. In fact, the game often continued throughout the evening such that the recordings are frequently punctuated by the rattle and clatter of the pieces on the board.

Most of the regular Saturday night customers arrived about 9.00 p.m. and generally occupied the same seats. About 10.00 p.m. there would be a break in the singing whilst one section of the company consumed a fish and chip supper for which they had sent out. The room held about thirty and most of the regular customers lived locally or were connected in some way with farming in the area. The exceptions were Albert and Bernard and their sister Ethel.[15] Although friendly towards strangers, for example many nurses would call in from the nearby hospital, the tap-room

customers often postponed a session until after the newcomers' departure. Their attitude to tape recording was less sensitive for they rarely took any notice of it, recalling that others had taped them before.[16]

The Bonningtons were very hospitable. Fred kept the fire so well made-up that one of the regulars, Billy Mills, brought in a <u>hastener</u> ['ʔɛːsnə] (a type of reflective fire screen) to protect his fellow customers from the heat! The daughter, Sally, despite having to suffer much good-natured leg-pulling, made an excellent job of waiting on and thereby allowing the singing to continue with as few interruptions as possible.

The order during the singing was good — better at Christmas — but only during solos, such as Frank Hinchliffe's <u>Where There's a Will There's a Way</u> was it strictly observed.[17] Only such solo items were applauded, for most of the singing was in chorus anyway. The usual closing remark at the end of a song was 'all sup!' or 'good old Bernard' referring to who had pitched the song. In fact, there were many similar ritual comments usually in a humorous vein most of which were made by Billy Mills. A reluctance to sing was prompted by 'want some Trill?' or 'get summat reared up!'.[18] Similarly when an Irish song was requested he jokingly remarked 'there's no Irishman here toneet!'[19] and after they had been singing a lot 'we ought to 'ave one of Tom Jones now while lull's on'.[20] His comments occasionally acquired a proverbial richness of language such as when he addressed an acquaintance who had been intending to leave the pub for some time; 'Thou's like a rat in a bloody bag, thou can't get out for 'oils!' or when the singing had deteriorated; 'We're in very low gear now, Albert. It's time we were going.'[21]

Billy, now in his late sixties, has farmed all his life as well as operating a milk round from his home at Peat Farm, Lodge Moor. His father and Uncle Jack were both well-known singers and humourists in the district, and Billy follows the family in this tradition. A friend once described him as 'only buggar that 'as 'is overcoat inside sports-coat'.[22] Although he always looked to Albert or Bernard to strike songs ('Albert's captain toneet!'[23]), preferring to join in with the chorus, and knows few songs when compared with his friend and neighbour Frank Hinchliffe, he played an equally significant part within the pub session. His constant patter and humour instanced above did much to add to the conviviality of the occasion, as did the songs which he sometimes performed. His speciality was without doubt <u>Down in the Fields Where</u>

Jeffrey Green 'Ratten Row'

John Taylor's Cottage

the Buttercups All Grow, a comic music-hall parody on the dangers of romance which Billy amply illustrated with appropriate gestures and sang in a declamatory manner.

> My sweetheart and I were be'ind a haystack,
> When a bumble bee flew down the small of her back.
> I saw what 'ad 'appened and in my distress
> I pushed me right 'and down the back of 'er dress.[24]

Besides bringing humour to the evening Billy would also contribute towards the continuity by requesting particular songs either directly or by dropping hints such as singing a snatch or whistling the tune.[25] It is remarkable that he often did all this and still managed to continue his game of dominoes.

Another singer of importance, a farmworker and shepherd, is John Taylor. John was born in the Sportsman (about 1925) as his father Frank Taylor was then landlord, and ever since it would seem that he has spent most of his spare time there. He lives in a small austere cottage opposite the pub that must have remained unchanged throughout his lifetime and which demonstrates in its simplicity an independence afforded by his bachelor status. Because of his uncluttered and unhurried approach to life, John often bore the brunt of a great deal of humour, which he always took in good part. For example, on one occasion, a car driver whose vehicle had been blocked in the car park asked in the tap room who was the owner of the offending vehicle. The reply came back 'John Taylor!'[26] To such a remark he would adopt an attitude of disinterest, allowing his cap to fall forward over his face until only his grin could be seen. He sings in a similar posture such that if his cap were not covering his eyes then he would shut them. John learnt all of his recorded repertoire from his father, but only The Jolly Waggoner, The Farmer's Boy and The Nobleman and the Thresherman did he sing in the pub. Often these were led by others if he was not in a singing mood though the songs themselves were always regarded as his. For instance, John incorporated one or two modifications in his song texts that were somewhat irrational[27] and yet his friends followed his lead in this respect, even if they later made a joke of it. Thus in The Jolly Waggoner John sang 'wet through to my skin' although it was 'a cold and frosty morning'.[28]

His style of singing is very rhythmic with a constant heavy pulse sometimes accentuated by the whacking of his foot on the floor. It is not unlike George White's style but John's voice is more forced.[29] His pitch rises throughout his songs and in one rendition of The Nobleman and the Thresherman by as much as five semitones.[30]

His knowledge of the carols dates from his childhood when he would listen through the floorboards to the singing below in the bar. An indication of the isolation of Lodge Moor at this time is his story of how he and his friends would stone and fight any children they did not know who had unwittingly strayed into their territory. Inevitably John's affection for the carols grew until it would seem that he could not get enough of them. In fact, no session was complete without him for John had created his own particular signature. Rarely did he strike up a carol but nearly always he finished it, for it was left to John to initiate the repetition of the final couplet or the addition of the tail-piece.[31] He would sometimes indicate his disapproval of a poor rendition by remaining silent whilst his friends would, tongue-in-cheek, ask as to his whereabouts or his health.

Douglas Marsden (born 1914) was a regular attender at any singing session and a distant cousin of Stanley. Small in stature with heavy-lensed glasses and a quiet manner, he worked in the mortuary at Lodge Moor Hospital. Although he seemed to know a lot of songs, he rarely sang on his own at any of the recorded sessions preferring to assume the role of a passive tradition bearer.[32] His father, William, had farmed Fulwood Grange while his mother was the 'Aunt Jane' often referred to by Frank Hinchliffe.

Another shy member of the group was Edith Lawson (nee Hancock). Together with her husband Percy they rarely missed the chance to call in from their house near the Three Merry Lads for a Saturday night sing song. Edith is first cousin to George Hancock. Her parents, Joe and Sebra of Whitely Wood Cottage, were both singers,[33] and so it is no surprise that her knowledge of songs is good. Aware of this, Frank Hinchliffe had invited her to attend a recording session at his cousin Grace's house.[34] However, there, as in the pub, she would only sing snatches of songs determined to stop unless others joined in, whereas Frank for his part would try to persuade her to continue, protesting that she was the only one able to do so.[35] She sings in a relaxed almost lazy manner with a

well-rounded tone that quite belies her underlying nervousness.

Wilf Broomhead was also very unassuming and spent most of his evenings tucked away in a corner of the tap room with his pipe, engrossed in a game of dominoes. Often during the singing of an old song such as The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea, Wilf would come up with a verse or line that others had forgotten and the younger men in the room respected his knowledge. 'Thou's put us right now if we were wrong afore. That's how you get to know 'em. Sing summat wrong and they put you right.'[36]

Few sessions seemed complete without Bless This House and Eric Walker invariably sang the descant tenor part. 'Eric's having a birthday. That air must be good up at Moscar.'[37] Eric, a leading singer in any chorus, farms and keeps sheep at Moscar Head (1050 feet above sea level). He and his wife were usually joined by Mr and Mrs Doug Thompson of Ringinglow. Doug, a milkman, was also a keen singer and his favourite song was The Volunteer Organist.

Perhaps the most influential voice at many of the later sessions was a younger man, a bachelor in his early thirties. David Smith of Crosspool had been a chapel organist and has a trained baritone voice. A restless, boisterous individual, David tended to drift from job to job in search of good wages, and was often away from home working on a gas pipeline or similar project. He sings in a rich powerful voice with constant vibrato which is well-suited to his choice of song. He is very fond of religious pieces such as The Holy City[38] and The Old Rugged Cross[39] and parlour ballads such as I'll Take You Home Again Kathleen[40] and The Mistletoe Bough.[41] Gilbert and Sullivan extracts are also among his favourites, for it seems that he chooses his songs to exercise his vocal prowess. In this respect, both his songs and his style were quite alien to Lodge Moor, and probably because of this he was popular with the others and his songs were often requested for the variety they provided. The one time when his style of singing seemed to fit in well with the rest of the tap room company was at Christmas when his enthusiasm and gift for harmony was an asset to any session.

The non-seasonal repertoire is over twice the size of that sung at Christmas and yet reference to Appendix 3 shows that the common core of each is about the same (twenty-two seasonal and twenty-three non-seasonal items). The most prolific singers of this core material were the Broadhead brothers who have been discussed in an earlier chapter.[42] Not

only were the most popular songs sung in chorus, but many are of a similar musical and lyrical style.

> I am thinking tonight of the old rustic bridge . . . [43]
> Lonely I wander through scenes of my childhood . . . [44]
> There's a little brown road winding over the hill . . . [45]

The songs employ the favourite device of a dream or vision. Inevitably they contain the sort of sentimentality current in most contemporary late-Victorian and Edwardian lyrics and contrast strongly with the plainer, more narrative style of The Jolly Waggoner, The Farmer's Boy, Pratty Flowers and the two hunting songs. Although most of the first group of songs are of recent origin, popularised at the beginning of the century, and were certainly heard through one of the mass media, radio or gramophone, from which they may have been directly learnt or reinforced, their function within the pub cannot be distinguished from that of the second and older group. No stylistic differences in performance were audible nor was any preference shown. In fact, there was no awareness on the part of most of the singers as to the comparative age of particular items, for instance both The Old House and 'A Few Jovial Sportsmen' were considered by Albert Broadhead to be 'real owd uns'.[46]

Most songs were considered to be someone's property and no-one would wish to sing them in his presence. Of course, this does not mean that they were necessarily sung as a solo but, as a rule, only Albert would lead The Rosy Morn[47] or Stanley Marsden Patsy Fagan.[48] Working alongside this was the idea of seniority. Basically this took the form of a pecking order. A more experienced singer would expect to take the lead in preference to one who was less experienced; the period of time both had been frequenting the pub might also affect their relative position. Thus Frank Hinchliffe was considered to be at the head of this order even though he rarely chose to assert his seniority by taking the lead. Generally the initiative was left with Albert Broadhead. An awareness and observance of this pecking order distinguished a singer who naturally complemented the session from one whose presence was considered to be detrimental not only to the singing but also to the interaction of the participants. Because the carols and songs such as The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill were considered to belong to everyone, the singer next in pecking order would without hesitation take the lead

if Albert were absent. For example, on 27 November 1971 David Smith took over as 'striker' for the evening, bad weather with drifting snow having kept the Broadheads and other more senior carollers away.

On several occasions in this chapter reference has been made to the role of striker within the pub singsong. Obviously his most important job is to start the song; it must be appropriate to the occasion, well-pitched and at an acceptable tempo. Although he must lead the singing he must not take advantage of his position to suppress others or a choice of material different to his own. He must appear scrupulously fair as chairman, and give all parties equal opportunity to contribute to the session, but never allow the evening to flag. He must achieve good order if a solo singer is to be heard. In all respects his task is more difficult than that of the pub pianist who so often contents himself with merely playing without encouraging participation. Albert Broadhead was certainly a good striker. His quiet unassuming manner, his unselfishness together with his joviality made him a well-liked and respected member of the group. His powerful voice and willingness to sing guaranteed his efficaciousness. Perhaps his only shortcoming was the occasional over-enthusiasm he had for certain songs. Jacob's Well[49] and Hail Smiling Morn[50] were both considered to be Christmas carols at Lodge Moor and yet Albert, because he is aware that neither explicitly relates to Christmas, would deliberately strike them up out of season. Such innovations were frowned upon. 'Don't upset the weather . . . Never sing that while after bonfire neet.'[51]

It would be wrong if this chapter did not contain some reference to the singers who were regular customers at the Sportsman a generation ago when Frank Hinchliffe and others were acquiring their repertoires. Among these were George Hancock, who has been considered elsewhere,[52] his younger brother Bob, and Lewis Ward.

It appears that Bob Hancock never had the repertoire of his brother George, preferring to support rather than initiate singing. Although Bob's voice is very similar to George's their temperaments are in one respect divergent. Bob lacks George's self-confidence and, as he admits himself, needs alcoholic stimulus to overcome this. His local pub, the Norfolk Arms, unfortunately does not tolerate singing and yet Bob's enthusiasm is such that he regularly travels to Dungworth at Christmas to participate in the carol singing. For the recordings he sang

unsteadily with a constantly rising pitch apologising for his lapses of memory. Even in The Garden Gate,[53] a family song learnt from George, Bob seemed confused over the words. It is significant that, like his brother, Bob sings a song on the 'mother' theme, It's my Mother's Birthday Today.[54] He also sings Bonny Mary of Argyl[55] and the more modern Mocking Bird Hill.[56] Bob's 'Old Gamecock'[57] has not been recorded elsewhere in the district and is obviously of music hall origin. It belongs with 'Cock-a-doodle-do'[58] to a genre of risqué songs all based on phallic imagery.

Bob was a builder and stone-mason until his retirement and his son Robert has continued in the family's traditional craft, his work being much admired and sought after. It is also remarkable that George's son Peter has maintained the family's interest in the traditional skills of farming, becoming the Champion Ploughman of England (with horses) for 1974 at the match held at Ross-on-Wye.

Lewis Ward of Jeffrey Green is a retired Water Board man and was once a cornet player with Fulwood Brass Band. He can remember how at Christmas the band would tour all the large houses in Fulwood and Ringinglow playing the local carols for which the bandmaster, Joe Lawson, had arranged the parts. He comes from a background in which everyone was expected to be able to sing, play or recite. They would ask 'can you do your stunt?'.[59] His mother, Mary Nicholson, sang Come To the Bower[60] with Roland Marsden; his grandfather, George Nicholson of Yarncliffe Farm, who was a champion with the woodbeam swing plough, sang O Joe the Boat is Going Over[61] and We Are All Jolly Fellows;[62] his grandmother Sweet Rosie O'Grady, and his father's favourite was When the Fields Are White with Daisies. His wife's father, Jim Swift, sang too, notably a song about Jack Frost and another.

> 'John, John, John the grey goose is gone
> And the fox is off to 'is den — O!'
> He used to give it such a 'Ho!' at the finish.[63]

Lewis remembers the 'barm' feasts (an annual social gathering connected with a home-brewing pub that dispensed barm (live yeast) to its customers) held at haytime outside the Grouse and Trout where there would be country dancing. 'Whole county'd go, above a hundred people.'[64] The regular musician was Fred Marsden, landlord of the Three Merry Lads

who it was said had had his fiddle buried alongside him.[65] Two of the songs Lewis performs, like his joke about Archibald Asholden,[66] are both humorous and slightly daring. Perhaps more significant is the fact that neither The Knickerbocker Line[67] nor Three Men Went A-hunting[68] have been recorded elsewhere in the district, and that, despite his regular visits to the Sportsman, these songs were rarely performed outside the family circle.

The discussion of pub singing thus far has included a consideration of principal singers, past and present, at the Sportsman, Lodge Moor, as well as the pub's repertoire. It has also shown how the present trend of renovating pub interiors has had disastrous consequences for the tradition. Across the Rivelin valley from Lodge Moor and Fulwood, the pub situation in Stannington is no less depressing. Perhaps because Stannington enjoyed its independence from the city for more than a half century longer than Fulwood it at least has six inns. Since the last war with the encroachment of city development these too have suffered at the hands of the breweries. The Hare and Hounds on Back Lane and the Sportsman at Townend were both demolished and replaced by modern pubs, the Crown and Glove at Upper Gate and the Crown on Bankfield have been completely modernised, the Peacock at Knowle Top is under threat of demolition and more recently, in 1975, the interior of the Robin Hood at Little Matlock was completely rebuilt. The last two mentioned pubs were the main centres for singing between 1970 and 1972.

Recording in Stannington was not as successful as it was at Lodge Moor. In the first place no recordings were made at the Robin Hood, partly because its remoteness, lying half a mile along an unmade road, rendered it somewhat inaccessible, and partly because none of the informants visited in the village had recommended it. This was unfortunate for it certainly was a singing pub until the renovations, as subsequent visits established.

The non-Christmas sessions in the Peacock were scarcely more rewarding. The most important singer in the village, George White, who has been considered elsewhere,[69] was sadly very ill at the time and other notable singers were deliberately remaining silent. It seems that an almost nightly singsong had jeopardised relations with the local police and sometime during 1970, after several complaints were made, the singing stopped. The influence of the police in this turn of events is not

entirely clear. The lack of a licence for public singing does not normally, in my experience, provoke police action; however, as the sessions continued well past closing time this may well have been the reason. Moreover there was a feeling among those interviewed that their singing had exposed them to ridicule:

> We've been the laughing stock in this village . . . When we've 'ad a pot or two, hear us sing — we'll sing! There's a lot enjoys it. Nobody could stop us. We got a bad name, that's our crime . . . Nobody can say a thing wrong about us, but we sing when we've 'ad some beer. Fighting, they could grumble.[70]

Certainly the opening up of the village as a suburb and the subsequent influx of newcomers must have directly contributed to this insecurity.

Despite the difficult conditions some non-Christmas singing was recorded in the Peacock, although it may hardly be described as pub singing having been performed discreetly below the level of the surrounding conversation. It constituted more of an illustrated account of what the singing had formerly been. The principal performers were Bert Womack and Ted Wragg. The Womacks are a well-established family in Stannington and three of the carols, Tinwood, Back Lane and Egypt are attributed to a member of their family.[71] Bert, who is now in his fifties attended the local church school, and began work as a clay miner for Dyson's at their Wheatshire mine. Conditions were extremely poor and a former surveyor with the National Coal Board described it as one of the most primitive pits in his area.[72] Apart from a six year period conscripted to the Royal Artillery (1938-44) he has worked for Dyson's all his life. Latterly he has moved to the brickworks as a potmaker which he observed has rendered him free from the risks of silicosis endemic to the miners in the area. Many of the songs he mentioned or sang fragments from relate to his days in the army: When This Bloody War Is Over, There's a Long Long Trail A-winding, Pack Up your Troubles[73] and in particular McCaffery.[74] This version is distinct from that of George White[75] but significantly Bert also remarks upon the song's historicity and subversive reputation.

> Supposed to be true, Preston Barracks — Fullwood Barracks. You were disbarred from singing it anywhere. It's a rebel song . . .

> This song was made up 'cos this lad were inciting mutiny. They sang it all o'er in last war. Every regiment knew it. It's a true song.[76]

Bert also sings The Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime[77] and several parlour ballads, for example, 'Through the Old Church Door'[78] and 'I'm Riding Along on a Free Train'.[79] Reluctant to sing in the pub and ill at ease in his council flat, it is difficult to assess Bert as a singer. He is obviously a sensitive performer with a not insubstantial repertoire. By nature a tense and apprehensive man, it was sad to learn that he had recently been in hospital suffering from a nervous breakdown.

Bert's friend was Ted Wragg. Ted is a quiet man, a farmworker by trade, who does building and repair jobs on a self-employed basis. Ted is an old friend of Frank Hinchliffe and Stanley Marsden and during the war, especially, was a regular visitor to the Lodge Moor pubs. It is therefore not surprising that most of Ted's older songs are known by them. He sings in a clear open voice from the back of the throat that has an almost whispery quality to it. His style is uncomplicated and straightforward without the slides or other decoration that feature in the singing of many of his fellows. That is not to say that Ted's singing is uninteresting, for the simplicity of his style and the manner of his delivery are sensitively combined to give his singing pathos. This is most apparant in songs such as 'In a Churchyard in the City'[80] and The 'Sunset Light was Fading',[81] which in common with Frank Hinchliffe's The Model Church[82] and Stanley Marsden's The Volunteer Organist[83] have a spiritual or religious point of reference.

> In a churchyard in the city,
> Where I met a beggar old and grey;
> With 'is arms outstretched 'e asked me, O, for pity!
> And it nearly broke my heart to hear him say,
> O I wonder, yes, I wonder, if the angels are up yonder,
> If the angels play their harps for me?

> The sunset light was fading as by an old church door
> I ponderod on the dear old hymns I heard in days of yore.

Ingeniously the second example lists the hymns which are sung to the appropriate phrase of their melody, just as The Model Church incorporates a phrase from the Miles Lane setting of 'All Hail the Power'. Ted approaches all his songs with a mixture of reverence and fervour. Even Nothing Else to Do,[84] which afterwards he admits that he finds 'comical', receives the same respectful treatment as the last dying words of The Tall Stalwart Lancer,[85] or his schoolday version of The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington.[86]

The size of Ted's repertoire is difficult to assess for the problems encountered in recording Ted were equal to those with Bert. Although a bachelor he was not without ties and lived with his sister's family. Understandably he did not relish singing at home and so a session was arranged at the Royal in nearby Dungworth.[87] Frank and Stanley were also invited and two or three others came out of interest. The evening was a surprising success in that over twenty-four items were sung and it was much enjoyed. Ted's part in the evening was not as great as had been hoped and this was probably due to the overawing presence of Jack Couldwell of Worrall,[88] a singer whom he much admires and respects. During the evening Ted took the lead for The Farmer's Boy,[89] Thora[90] and Among my Souvenirs,[91] but perhaps more interesting was the interchange he had with Frank Hinchliffe. In several songs Frank, knowing that it was Ted's evening, hesitated and encouraged him to take the lead. This Ted did with the last verse of The Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime[92] and The White Cockade,[93] and with the second verse of Grandfather's Clock[94] and The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill.[95] However, in The Weaver's Daughter[96] and the third verse of The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill Frank corrected Ted and underlined the relationship between the two singers. Furthermore Frank was responsible for ten items to Ted's three.

Before completing this discussion of Stannington singing there are two members of the older generation whom we shall consider. Joe Womack is Bert's uncle and a former ganister miner. Born in 1898, he is very hard of hearing and lives in a 'prefab' in the village. Joe sang verses from several songs for which he was noted in his younger days including We Are All Jolly Fellows,[97] Nothing Else to Do,[98] The White Cockade[99] and Jim the Carter's Lad.[100] He had sung mostly in the Peacock and his version of The Wild Rover records the fact.

I go to the Peacock as I oft used to do.
I said to the landlord, My pockets are low.
Will you strap me a jar, Sir? The answer was No,
I could 'ave lots of customers like you in a day.[101]

He also sings a comic song probably of music hall origin called My Yorkshire Farm[102] and a wassail song.[103] Wesseling at New Year's Eve was common in his childhood and the children would carry with them a bough of decorated holly, a wessel-bow and would also sing Tinwood[104] and Another Year Has Passed Away.[105] 'Girls used to go round village. We used to go farther out to farms. We used to get a bit more money.'[106]

Another old man who had been a regular customer at the Peacock was Col Goodison, a former cutler who now lives with a younger brother, Horace, in a council house. The Goodisons are noted singers in the area, especially of Christmas carols, and another of Col's younger brothers, Lol of Loxley, features as a soloist on a local record.[107] Although Col himself would only sing one fragment he provided some interesting information. Despite a crippled foot, he was a bowler of some fame and became South Yorkshire champion. His father William Copley Goodison had also been a noted sportsman especially in knur and spell and Col still keeps his potties. But besides his sporting prowess his father was well known for his songs and the recitations he wrote in praise of local worthies or the local sports teams. For example one begins,

Now the season of cricket has come to an end,
And our wins out of sixteen league matches are ten;
Two we have lost and four we have drawn
And this shows the good all round play that we've shown.[108]

Col mentioned some of the favourite old songs that were to be heard at the Peacock and the old Hare and Hounds. A glee called Greenland Hunters[109] was particularly well liked as were Thora and The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill. William Inman sang, 'Give me the spade and the man that can use it', and Col's father, 'Bancroft's the lad, there'll never be another', which concerned a champion knur and spell player. Willis Womack, another uncle of Bert, was the last Stannington huntsman (the hunt finished about 1912) who sang The Rosy Morn, Harry Milner sang

We Are All Jolly Fellows, and Edwin Wright, known as 'old Rookey' sang Nothing Else to Do and 'Jackson from Barnsley', a song that celebrated a local sprinter.

Because it was not possible to record much non-Christmas singing in Stannington, a reconstructed repertoire is included as Appendix 4. There was, however, a considerable amount of Christmas singing, for its auspiciousness must have exempted it from police censure. The sessions were held from the end of November, Saturday and Sunday nights and occasionally Sunday lunchtime. Like the Lodge Moor sessions they were unaccompanied and the singing was very vigorous led by either Granville Vickers or Ted Wragg. The repertoire was the same as Lodge Moor for sixteen out of the eighteen items that were recorded. The two exceptions were Hark Hear Ye Not,[110] which is set to The Star of Bethlehem tune, and Angels from the Realms of Glory.[111] James Montgomery wrote and first published the text of Angels from the Realms of Glory in his Iris, 24 December 1816, a Sheffield newspaper, and it must have been enormously popular within the district for it was set to several tunes and quickly achieved national popularity.[112] The version performed at the Peacock is extremely complex in form and may even be the amalgamation of two original tunes.[113]

The carol is also sung at the Royal Hotel Dungworth where the Christmas singing at Sunday lunchtime is more formal and extremely well patronised. By twelve o'clock there is always a queue of carollers waiting to get in and so make sure of getting a seat for within five minutes of opening the pub is absolutely full. At least one hundred persons, predominantly male, take part in the sessions and they come from various villages and suburbs within a five mile radius of the pub, including a strong contingent from Lodge Moor, Fulwood and Crosspool. The singing is led and accompanied on the electric organ by Lol Loy, a chargehand blacksmith at Wragg's brickworks. Although he has only been playing at the Royal since 1960, his knowledge of the carols dates back to his childhood, for his father was a keen caroller and member of 'The Big Set'.[114] Moreover, his manuscript is largely based on that belonging to Duncan Colley, a former leader of 'The Big Set' between the wars. Lol's accompaniment, although outside the scope of this study is remarkable for the introductions and symphonies that he plays between the verses of the carols. These date back to the first performance of

the tunes when they would be accompanied by small orchestras. Many symphonies have probably been improvised and added by later accompanists, but one or two including that belonging to Old Foster[115] are played by Lol almost as it was originally composed and published.[116] The sessions nearly always begin with Good News and finish with Merry Christmas, but in between the order is arbitrary. The repertoire is identical with Lodge Moor with the exceptions of Angels from the Realms of Glory, another setting of Malin Bridge,[117] Bradfield a modern carol composed in 1970 by Mrs Dyson[118] and the standard Silent Night. Among the soloists who regularly perform at Dungworth are Lol Goodison and Charlie Fretwell, who was born in the village and is a nephew of Charles Green.[119]

The final session which we shall consider was at the Sportsman at Stephen Hill, Crosspool and was recorded by an associate, A.C. Dent.[120] Because of the alterations, which took place early in 1971, it was not possible to follow up the recording. The session began late on a Saturday evening and although only eleven carols were heard the unaccompanied singing was vigorous. All the carols were led by David Smith and were duplicates of items recorded elsewhere. One non-seasonal item also performed,'I'm Always Glad to See a Man Like Thee',[121] suggest that there was a substantial tradition at other times of the year, a fact which has been confirmed by Frank Hinchliffe and David Smith.

It is hoped that this survey has broadened the picture of traditional singing in West Sheffield, not only by its consideration of pub singing but also by the brief studies made of many of the secondary performers. Perhaps the tradition lacked the strength of former years and may have undergone a gradual decline since the last war, but it was nonetheless ongoing with ample enthusiasm from its participants until interference from another source. The obliteration of the environment conducive to pub singing must be the single most important factor in the decline and possible extinction of the tradition, and one is reminded of a comment made by Frank Hinchliffe in this respect.

> They're alterin' all the public houses now and they're doin' away with singing . . . 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.[122]

Footnotes

1. The repertoires of the pubs are shown in Appendixes 8 and 9. The recorded sessions were:- the Three Merry Lads, Lodge Moor, 20 December 1969; the Sportsman, Lodge Moor, 22 August 1970, 3 October 1970, 7 November 1970, 28 November 1970, 30 January 1971, 2 March 1971, 27 November 1971, 11 December 1971, 4 March 1972, 1 July 1972, 29 July 1972, 5 August 1972, 19 September 1972, 2 December 1972; Sportsman, Crosspool, 12 December 1970; Peacock, Stannington, 5 December 1970, 12 December 1970, 11 March 1971; Royal, Dungworth, 29 November 1970, 6 December 1970, 26 May 1971, 5 December 1971. No separate reference is made in the text to the session recorded at the Three Merry Lads because the group of singers that sang there moved to the Sportsman when the Three Merry Lads was modernised in 1970.
2. See p.85.
3. Colin Cooper, 'The Old Coffee House', in More of Mayfield Valley with Old Fulwood, edited by Muriel Hall (Sheffield, 1974), pp.34-6.
4. Ian Russell, 'Carol-Singing in the Sheffield Area', Lore and Language, 1, No.3 (August 1970), 12-15, and 'A Survey of a Christmas Singing Tradition in South Yorkshire — 1970', Lore and Language, 1, No. 8 (January 1973), 13-25.
5. See transcript Chris 10.
6. Recorded 28 November 1970.
7. John Foster of High Green House near Sheffield, 1752-1822, wrote and published the music to the carol now known as Old Foster in his Second Collection of Sacred Music (York [about 1820]), p.25.
8. Field note 5 March 1971.
9. See transcript BroB 6.
10. Russell, 'A Survey', Table 5, p.19.
11. These are Chorley Road, identified by Frank Hinchliffe, and Gorse Lane identified by Lewis Ward.
12. These were Walter Goddard's Collection of Old Favourite Christmas Tunes (Hillsborough [about 1920]), and Ye Old Christmas Carols (Sheffield [1968]).
13. Recorded 2 March 1971. Frank quotes from The Garden Gate.
14. After the player has laid his domino the exposed ends are totalled. If this sum is a multiple of three or five, one point is scored for each three or five contained in the sum. Eg. a sum of fifteen

would score eight points, being five threes as well as three fives but fourteen would score zero. They played up and down a crib-board in partners for a small sum of money.

15. See p.30.
16. I have not been able to verify this information given by Frank Hinchliffe.
17. See transcript Hin 62.
18. Recorded 30 January 1971.
19. Ibid.
20. Recorded 2 March 1971.
21. Recorded 30 January 1971.
22. Recorded 2 March 1971.
23. Recorded 4 March 1972.
24. Transcript PubS 7.
25. The fragment of Where There's a Will There's a Way, recorded 4 March 1972, was intended to persuade Frank Hinchliffe to sing the complete song.
26. Recorded 29 July 1972.
27. Frank Hinchliffe brought these modifications to my attention, 4 June 1972.
28. See transcript Tay 3.
29. See pp.108-9.
30. See transcript Tay 4.
31. See for example transcript Chris 3.
32. An exception was Won't You Buy my Pretty Flowers sung with Edith Lawson, see transcript PubS 36.
33. See p.61.
34. Recorded 4 June 1970.
35. For example Sheffield Park, 22 August 1970, transcript PubS 27.
36. Frank Hinchliffe to Wilf Broomhead, recorded 2 March 1971.
37. Recorded 5 August 1972.
38. See transcript PubS 11.
39. See transcript PubS 22.
40. See transcript PubS 14.
41. See transcript Chris 19.
42. See pp.28-38.
43. See transcript BroA 7.

44. See transcript PubS 21.
45. See transcript PubS 28.
46. Noted 12 April 1970.
47. See transcript BroA 9.
48. See transcript Mar 31.
49. See transcript Chris 14.
50. See transcript PubS 9.
51. Recorded 29 July 1972.
52. See pp.54-66.
53. See transcript HanB 4.
54. See transcript HanB 5.
55. See transcript HanB 2.
56. See transcript HanB 6.
57. See transcript HanB 7.
58. See transcript PubP 3.
59. Recorded 22 June 1971.
60. See transcript War 1.
61. See transcript War 6.
62. See transcript War 8.
63. Recorded 22 June 1971.
64. Ibid.
65. Recorded from Stanley Marsden, 5 October 1972, and Jack White, 8 May 1973.
66. 'This little lad 'e went to this new school. Course teacher saw that 'e were a new boy at school. She were a lady teacher; you know, and she says, "Oh! We've got a new pupil in the class this morning", she says, "I'll have to take particulars down". She says "Come to t'desk. What is your name?" So 'e says "They call me Archibald Asholeden". "Ooh!" she says "What a funny name! I'll never get used to that". He says "You will teacher, if I spell it you in syllables you'll never forget it. A-R-C-H, there's your Arch; I, there's your I, there's your Arch-I; B-A-L-D, there's your bald, your I-bald, your Arch-I-bald; A-S, there's your As [arse], your bald-As, your I-bald-As, your Arch-I-bald-As; H-O-L-E, there's your hole, your As-hole, your bald-As-hole, your I-bald-As-hole, your Arch-I-bald-As-hole; D-E-N, there's your den, your hole-den, your As-hole-den, your bald-As-hole-den, your I-bald-As-hole-den, your Arch-I-bald As-hole-den.

That's where you get your Archibald Asholeden!.' Recorded 22 June 1971.

67. See transcript War 4.
68. See transcript War 7.
69. See pp.103-113.
70. Ted Wragg, recorded 11 March 1971.
71. See F. Morris, A Set of Old Favourite Christmas Tunes (Sheffield [no date]).
72. Clive Turner.
73. Referred to 11 March 1971.
74. See transcript WomB 1.
75. See transcript Whi 16.
76. Recorded 11 March 1971.
77. See transcript WomB 3.
78. See transcript PubP 15.
79. See transcript PubP 7.
80. See transcript PubP 8.
81. See transcript PubP 13.
82. See transcript Hin 40.
83. See transcript Mar 39.
84. See transcript PubP 11.
85. See transcript PubP 14.
86. See transcript PubP 1.
87. Recorded 26 May 1971.
88. Jack 'Finney' Couldwell is the pianist at the Blue Ball at Worrall, which together with Dungworth, has the best patronised carol sessions in the district. A retired ganister miner in his late seventies, he was a member of the carol party known as 'The Big Set'. Besides the piano, he also plays the double bass and sings in the chapel choir. Ye Old Christmas Carols (Sheffield [1968]), is largely his own work.
89. See transcript Tay 1.
90. See transcript Mar 36.
91. See transcript PubR 1.
92. See transcript Hin 74.
93. See transcript PubP 18.
94. See transcript PubR 3.

95. See transcript BroA 7.
96. See transcript Hin 59.
97. See transcript WomJ 5.
98. See transcript WomJ 3.
99. See transcript WomJ 6.
100. See transcript WomJ 1.
101. See transcript WomJ 7.
102. See transcript WomJ 2.
103. See transcript WomJ 4.
104. See transcript Chris 33.
105. Noted from Mrs Middlemas, Pond Lane, Stannington 10 April 1971.
106. Recorded 10 April 1971.
107. Bradfield Evening Institute Choral Society, An Album of Ye Olde Worrall Carols, with the Stocksbridge Orchestra, Deroy 551, (1969).
108. Handwritten copy in possession of Col Goodison.
109. Mr H.E. Hall, a former local headmaster, mentioned that Greenland Hunters was a local composition by three huntsman, Womack, Rose and Horsefield. It was composed during the course of a single day in the old Hare and Hounds when wet weather had prevented hunting. Only these three originators with Copley Goodison, Ernest and Wilton Wild were permitted to sing it. Noted 28 March 1971.
110. See transcript Chris 12.
111. See transcript Chris 1.
112. The Mount family manuscripts of the carols, in the possession of Mrs Ethel Dawson of Worrall, contain two settings, World's Jubilee and Realms of Glory. The text is included under the title The New-Born King in the famous collection by G.A. Walters, A Good Christmas Box (Dudley, 1874), facsimile reproduction by M. and J. Raven (Wolverhampton, 1967).
113. See Ralph Dunstan, The Cornish Song Book (London, 1929), p.102, where there is a setting of the carol identical to the Stannington refrain or second passage.
114. 'The Big Set' was an all male carol party based on Wadsley and Worrall that toured the district from Malin Bridge to Oughtibridge on Christmas Day. The singing was in four parts with boy altos and a stringed accompaniment, first and second violins, cello and double bass.

115. See transcript Chris 24.

116. See Foster, _op.cit._

117. See transcript Chris 15.

118. Recorded 5 December 1971. There was hardly any singing as the carol was not known.

119. See pp.41-9.

120. A.C. Dent was a member of the team that worked in conjunction with The Survey of Language and Folklore (now designated The Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language) at Sheffield University in a survey of the carol singing tradition. See Russell, 'A Survey'.

121. See transcript BroB 13.

122. Recorded 20 October 1971.

III THE TRADITION

10 AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

That a strong relationship exists between the traditional song repertoire of West Sheffield and popular song of the last few centuries is indisputable and indeed inevitable. Although for the singer the origins of particular songs have little bearing on the composition of his repertoire, it is valuable to approach the whole collection from this point of view, for the presence of particular genres helps to indicate some of the factors that have made songs a part of the tradition. Like a sedimentation of cultures, layers of popular song can be distinguished within the West Sheffield repertoire. For example, one layer that is clearly identifiable is the parlour or drawing room ballad. These sentimental products of the Victorian era are strongly represented in the present collection by songs such as The Mistletoe Bough,[1] The Pardon Came Too Late,[2] The Volunteer Organist[3] and The Blind Boy.[4] Similarly, the more light-hearted, boisterous and sometimes bawdy vein of the music hall is to be found in songs such as 'The Old Gamecock',[5] 'Nowt to Do with Me'[6] or Down in the Fields Where the Buttercups All Grow.[7] The 1840s had seen the coming of the black-face minstrel shows from America[8] and their songs are represented by such items as Poor Old Joe,[9] Old Virginia[10] and Kitty Wells.[11] The heyday of the glee lasted from 1750 to 1830,[12] and one or two examples notably Hail Smiling Morn[13] and Pratty Flowers[14] are to be found in the local repertoire. It is doubtful whether the repertory of the eighteenth century London pleasure gardens ever directly affected West Sheffield, nevertheless certain such items are now part of the local tradition, for instance The Spotted Cow,[15] The Jolly Waggoner[16] and Jockey to the Fair.[17]

It would be naive to assume that every phase or fashion of popular song is represented within the tradition. Some types of song have disappeared without trace or, although found to be part of other traditions are non-existent locally. For example, the songs of the ever-popular Gilbert and Sullivan or even more recently those of Rogers and Hammerstein do not feature in West Sheffield. Joseph Mather (1737-1804) is considered to be Sheffield's most famous and prolific writer of street ballads[18] and yet none of his songs have been recorded. Clearly the great bulk or even the complete mass of any popular genre may be quickly forgotten.

It is not only true that some types of song have disappeared without trace but also that others are not represented according to the extent

of their initial popularity. For example, the recordings of black-face minstrel songs in West Sheffield are quite insignificant by comparison with the enormous popularity this genre once enjoyed in Victorian England.[19]

The composition of the repertoire is constantly subject to change. The complete replacement of one song type by another, or the influence of one song style on another to produce a hybridised form are important features. These changes have been referred to as acculturation[20] and can best be observed in the repertoire of the Christmas items. The largest group among the carols are the contrapuntal tunes. The history of this style has been documented elsewhere,[21] and their heyday, from about 1780 to 1830, represented a tremendous upsurge of interest in hymn-singing engendered by the activity of the non-conformist groups. Although popularly known as Old Methodist Tunes, they were not the prerogative of one sect but were sung in both church and chapel. However, when these tunes became particularly associated with Christmas,[22] they largely supplanted an older repertoire of carols including items such as The Joys of Mary and The Virgin Unspotted.[23] There was a certain amount of compromise for many of the older texts such as 'While Shepherds Watched',[24] 'Behold the Grace Appears'[25] and 'Hark, Hark What News'[26] were set to new tunes, some of which were local compositions in the fuguing idiom. Perhaps the best example of this hybridisation is Merry Christmas,[27] which, it appears, has been reworked from a secular house-visiting song into something essentially Christian and hymn-like. The effects of this hymn-singing revival on the contemporary song culture must have been as momentous as that of American popular music over the past century. The pressure of a dominant hymn-singing culture resulted in the disappearance of an older Christmas repertoire, just as by the 1850s the Old Methodist Tunes themselves became forcibly ousted from the official centres of worship under the weight of educated musical and ecclesiastical opinion.[28] Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1860-1, for instance, contains no such melodies. The non-conformists soon replaced their affection for these melodies with the latest fashion for the evangelical style popularised by the Americans, Moody and Sankey.[29] It is revealing that the tremendous popularity formerly enjoyed by these hymns is not reflected in the present West Sheffield repertoire for only three complete items originated in Sankey's hymnbook, namely The Model Church, Little

Mary and Beulah Land.[30] By the time of the Methodist Hymnbook's first edition in 1904, fuguing tunes were officially regarded as quaint relics and relegated to an appendix by editors who felt that they needed to offer an apology for their very inclusion:

> Owing to the revived interest manifested in what are commonly known as 'Old Methodist Tunes', the Committee has felt justified in placing in an Appendix a select number of those melodies most widely known and used. For these it must assume entire responsibility.[31]

The life-cycle of a traditional song was earlier explained in terms of its function.[32] A different perspective is offered if we consider this factor in relation to acculturation. When two genres compete for the same audience and supply the same function, as with the Christmas carols cited above, the dominant genre, which is often the exotic one, completely replaces the other. The singer cannot be expected to keep in his repertoire indefinitely two types of Christmas carol tradition, especially when the one is monophonic and the other polyphonic.

The comparison of the composition and formation of the total repertoire with the process of sedimentation has obvious drawbacks. Not only is the word normally used to refer to the inaminate but also it implies the 'dregs'. Needless to say this is not the implication intended here but rather the term is used to focus attention on the constituent song types of the repertoire, which considered diachronically have been described as layers. The total repertoire presents a cross-section of these layers not all of which have origins which are identifiable on external grounds. For example, The Pear Tree,[33] Edward,[34] and The Twelve Apostles[35] fall within this unidentifiable category. It is interesting to note that it was largely this layer with which the early fieldworkers, with exceptions,[36] were particularly concerned. These were their 'folk songs'. It would seem that much of the work undertaken in the 1950s and early 1960s for the BBC was similarly influenced.[37]

It would be reasonable to expect that if this close bond exists between the traditional song of West Sheffield and erstwhile popular material that some evidence of this might be found in the contemporary media of communication, especially the broadside and the publications associated with the music hall. A study of broadside printers who

operated from the city shows that there was a considerable amount of activity. However, few locally printed ballad sheets survive and none of the songs contained in them have been recorded in West Sheffield. A reason for the dearth of locally printed sheets may have been the fact that many printers acted as agents for outside firms. Mrs Harvey of Sheffield Park, for example, was agent for James Catnach of Newcastle and Seven Dials, London.[38] A neighbouring printer who had Sheffield connections was Thomas Ford of Irongate, Chesterfield.[39] Those items that have been recorded in West Sheffield and were printed by Catnach or Ford or on other locally distributed broadsheets are given as an appendix.[40] Their number is quite substantial especially when one considers that many other broadsides must have disappeared without trace. However, only one of the singers, Charles Green, had any recollection of having seen any broadsheets and these were purchased by an elder brother at Le Bijou Music Hall. It would therefore be presumptuous to suggest that all the songs listed in the appendix owe their currency to a broadsheet. The broadsheet may have been initially responsible for a song's distribution but has obviously played no significant part during the lifetime of the present singers.

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, Sheffield had over a dozen music halls.[41] These ranged from the most respectable and grandiose such as the Theatre Royal, the Alexandra and the Grand, to converted public houses, many of which were probably never documented. Most of the older and smaller halls were conveniently situated for West Sheffield around West Bar, and Le Bijou which Charles' brother frequented stood below the Black Swan on Snig Hill. Although it was still open in the 1920s, run by two Irishmen who acted as chairmen or comperes 'in the old style',[42] only a hint survives as to what was sung there, in that the proprietors, both tenors, preferred their native songs. Apart from the fact that Dan Leno performed there in the 1880s, when he was world champion clog-dancer, no handbills or programmes or contemporary accounts have been traced that list the sort of performance, and specifically the songs, encountered in these alehouse music halls. Of the handbills inspected all advertise the better class halls whose musical diet was inevitably more highbrow. Nonetheless many of the songs recorded in West Sheffield were originally popular in the halls. Harold Scott, for example, notes <u>Over the Garden Wall</u>, <u>Dear Old Pals</u>, <u>Paddle Your Own</u>

Canoe and Two Little Girls in Blue.[43] Of course, many others were first introduced via the concert platform, at ballad concerts or operetta, at temperance meetings or on the seaside bandstand.[44]

A third and readily identifiable strand of communication is formal education. During the first quarter of this century great emphasis was laid upon the teaching of singing, especially those songs identified by Cecil Sharp and others as folk songs.[45] Among the West Sheffield repertoire there are some obvious examples including The Cuckoo,[46] The Lark in the Morn,[47] The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington,[48] 'Turn, Turn the Good Brown Earth',[49] 'At the Brush of an Early Day',[50] The Wraggle Taggle Gipsies,[51] as well as some of the versions of The Jolly Waggoner[52] and Barbara Allen.[53]

A consideration of the main lines of communication of popular song during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has shown that although an obvious relationship exists it is not one that can always be positively identified or detailed from surviving documentation.

It might reasonably be expected that songs recorded by previous workers in this or neighbouring districts would relate closely to the present study. Unfortunately there has not been any systematic investigation into songs in the Sheffield area with the exception of work contempory with this study.[54] By far the most relevant work was undertaken by an acquaintance of Ralph Vaughan Williams, Reginald Gatty, from 1907-14.[55] He noted songs at Bradfield, which is two miles north of Dungworth, at Elsecar, nine miles due north of the city, and Treeton, Thrybergh, Wickersley, Braithwell and Stainton which all lie to the north-east. A further area in which he worked was Staithes, the north Yorkshire fishing village; he also recorded several Irish fiddle tunes in London. Many of the songs he noted around Sheffield are children's singing games which this study has not included, being a separate area of investigation. However, the following local items from Gatty's collection were also recorded in West Sheffield, We Are All Jolly Fellows from Braithwell, Forty Long Miles and Jim the Carter's Lad from Treeton, versions of The Derby Ram from Wickersley and Stainton, The Oughtibridge Trail Hunt, a wassail song, and Spencer the Rover from Bradfield, which is about seventeen percent of the total songs and fragments in his collection excluding children's singing games. Perhaps the most interesting item is entitled Bradfield Doggerel Rhymes, noted from a Mrs Barnes. The first of the three stanzas reads,

Joe Brown at Castle Bents
Keeps cade [pet] lambs.
You can see him at Sheffield every day
Rattling his old milk cans.

Closely resembling Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours,[56] it is obviously an example of a song of the same genre concerning residents of the neighbouring Loxley valley. Harold Armitage an enthusiastic local historian, antiquarian and novelist noted a couplet from the Fulwood version and commented that similar 'town songs' existed at Norton, Cold Aston (Coal Aston) and Whiston.[57] Moreover, other items recorded in Yorkshire and elsewhere demonstrate that although each particular song is obviously of local composition the genre itself is far more widely distributed.[58]

Another antiquarian, one who specialised in folk tales, superstitions, customs, dialect and architecture as well as local history was Sidney Oldall Addy. He was not primarily interested in songs but noted them down whenever they arose out of his main investigations. Like Gatty he recorded versions of Forty Long Miles, entitled The Lovers from Crookes,[59] and a wassail song from the 'Sheffield vicinity'.[60] In North Derbyshire he noted a version of The Twelve Apostles[61] and several versions of The Derby Ram.[62] He also gives a version of The Golden Glove[63] from an East Riding source.

Although the links between the present research and that of previous workers are so few in number, they are strong enough to suggest not only that there has been continuity over the past sixty years, but also that the West Sheffield repertoire is fairly representative of the wider Sheffield region. After all, most of the songs noted down by Gatty or Addy were of particular antiquarian interest to them and were not chosen because they gave a typical sample of the traditional singing of the day.

Another instance of fieldwork that was not representative of extant tradition around Sheffield was the BBC project led by Peter Kennedy in the 1950s.[64] Because of the pressure placed on the team to produce the optimum results in the shortest possible time, the initial failure to locate noteworthy singers or to record songs of the type they were interested in resulted in their early departure from the district. In fact, only two songs were recorded, Six Jolly Miners from Louis Wroe of Wortley and The Derby Ram from George 'Cavill' Hoyland of Chapeltown,[65]

both of whom were senior members of the Grenoside Sword Dancers. A resident of Fulwood who shared the enthusiasm engendered by the BBC project, being also a member of the English Folk Dance and Song Society was Margaret Marsden. Her relationship with Tom White has been referred to elsewhere,[66] and it is probable that she came into contact with other singers in the district. Unfortunately all her fieldnotes and transcriptions, undertaken without the help of a tape recorder, were lost during her emigration to Australia. The sole surviving record of her activities is a tape recording of her performance of three songs she had learnt locally. These are The Broken Token, The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea, and Betsy the Serving Maid, all of which have been copied for this study.[67]

Footnotes

1. See for example transcript HanG 16.
2. See transcript Mar 30.
3. See for example transcript Mar 39.
4. See for example transcript Hin 4.
5. See transcript HanB 7.
6. See transcript Wal 18.
7. See transcript PubS 7.
8. Harold Scott, The Early Doors: Origins of the Music Hall (London, 1946), p.127.
9. See for example transcript HanB 8.
10. See transcript Hin 45.
11. See transcript Hin 33.
12. Percy Scholes, Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music, fifth impression revised (London, 1960), p.234.
13. See transcript PubS 9.
14. See transcript BroA 8.
15. Printed on a Vauxhall Garden song-sheet of the 1740s cited by Pete Bellamy, in notes to Fox Jumps Over the Parson's Gate, 12T200 (Topic Records Ltd.).
16. See Reginald Nettel, Sing a Song of England (London, 1954), p.252.
17. See William Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time, reprinted edition, 2 vols (New York, 1965), II, 711.
18. Songs of Joseph Mather, edited by J. Wilson(Sheffield,1862),pp.vii-xxiv.
19. Michael R. Turner, The Parlour Song Book (London, 1972), p.11.
20. George List, 'Acculturation and Musical Tradition', Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 16 (1964), 18.
21. James T. Lightwood, Hymn-Tunes and their Story (London [1905]), pp.217-66.
22. A series of local hymn sheets dating from 1820-52 contain Christmas carols set to 'Old Methodist Tunes'. See Sheffield City Libraries, Pamphlets Connected with Sheffield, vol.250.
23. See Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Sidney O. Addy, MS, Christmas Carols; and Ben Dawson, MS, Christmas Carols (Worrall), photocopy in the Archives of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies, University of Leeds.

24. First published about 1700 and attributed to Nahum Tate, see The Oxford Book of Carols, twenty-fifth impression (London, 1964), p.67.
25. Isaac Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 2 vols (London, 1707), a, No.3.
26. Cited by William Hone in Ancient Mysteries Described (London, 1823), p.98.
27. See transcript Chris 18.
28. About 1850, one of the leading societies for the reform of Church Music, The Cheadle Association for the Promotion of Church Music stated its principles, notably, 'congregational singing should be in unison . . . metrical psalmody should be confined to tunes in common time, as being more simple and solemn than triple time'. Cited by Lightwood, p.286.
29. Sacred Songs and Solos (London [1873]). The 1903 edition contained 1200 items. Over eighty million copies were sold in the first fifty years. See William Jensen Reynolds, A Survey of Christian Hymnody (New York, 1963), pp.105-6.
30. Sankey, Nos.608, 371 and 277 respectively.
31. Methodist Hymn Book (London, 1904), p.ix.
32. See 'Introduction' p.7.
33. See transcript Wal 22.
34. See transcript Hin 12.
35. See transcript Whi 21.
36. See Alfred Williams, Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames (London, 1923), for an example of a catholic approach to traditional song.
37. The published work of this survey confirms this opinion. See The Folk Songs of Britain, 10 vols, Topic Records, 1968 -71, and Folksongs of Britain and Ireland, edited by Peter Kennedy (London, 1975).
38. Cambridge University Library, Sir Frederick Madden, MSS, Collection of Broadsides, M17, 420.
39. Norman Taylor, 'Derbyshire Printing and Printers before 1800', Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 70 (1950), 38-69.
40. See Appendix 5.
41. G.J. Mellor, Northern Music Hall (Newcastle, 1970), pp.126-7 cites the Adelphi Circus which became the Alexandra, the Empire, the Grand, the Hippodrome, the Surrey Music Hall, the Music Hall, and the Albert

Hall; and at Attercliffe, the Alhambra, the Palace and the People's Theatre Royal. In Sheffield City Libraries, Newspaper Cuttings relating to Sheffield, 28, 120, the following are also mentioned, the Gaiety, the Britannia, Le Bijou, the Canterbury, the Lyceum and the Old London Apprentice Music Hall. E.D. Mackerness, Somewhere Further North: A History of Music in Sheffield (Sheffield, 1974), p.56, mentions the Nottingham Hotel and Old Tankard at West Bar, the Cock Inn at Paradise Square, and the Fitzwilliam Hotel at Broomhall Street, as providing musical entertainment.

42. See article by Arthur Williams from The Sheffield Independent in Sheffield City Libraries, Fred Bland Collection, 15.
43. Scott, pp.243-8.
44. Turner, p.8.
45. See Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers, Board of Education (1905), cited by S. Baring Gould and Cecil J. Sharp, English Folk-Songs for Schools (London, [1906]), p.iii.
46. See transcript Mar 9.
47. See transcript Hin 34.
48. See transcript PubP 1.
49. See transcript Mar 37.
50. See transcript Gre 2.
51. See transcript Hin 71.
52. See transcript Mar 20.
53. See transcript Whi 2.
54. See The Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, University of Sheffield.
55. Birmingham Public Libraries, Reginald Gatty, MSS, Folk Songs, 1907-14, 661164.
56. See transcript Wal 6.
57. Harold Armitage, Chantreyland (London, 1910), p.332.
58. For example The Song of Upper Wharfedale (City of Bradford Corporation, 1972), The Song of Swale Dale, transcript BroB 19, and The Boghead Crew and The Ardlaw Crew, in Gavin Greig, Folk-Song of the North-East, reprinted edition (Pennsylvania, 1963), III and XCII.
59. Sidney Oldall Addy, Household Tales with other Traditional Remains (London and Sheffield, 1895), p.145.
60. Ibid., p.107.
61. Ibid., p.149.

62. *Ibid*., p.xx and Addy 'Guising and Mumming in Derbyshire', *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 29 (1907), 1-12.
63. Addy, *Household Tales*, p.146.
64. The recordings are housed in the BBC Sound Archives with copies at Cecil Sharp House, headquarters of the English Folk Dance and Song Society.
65. BBC Sound Archive, LP 26582.
66. See p.114, footnote 7.
67. See the Appendix to the transcriptions.

11 THE CENTRAL THEME

Before embarking an a discussion of meaning it is important to consider the problem of classification as it affects the present study. Thus far we have considered the composition of the song repertoire from an historical perspective, not as an attempt at a classification but to demonstrate that the tradition represents a synthesis of the memorable popular songs of the past two hundred or more years, further that the songs were initially communicated by a variety of media, and that the tradition in West Sheffield relates both synchronically and diachronically to a wider geographical and an historical context. Barbara Allen, for example, is one of the oldest items in the repertoire,[1] and arguably one of the most widely known, and yet it appeared on broadsides,[2] was burlesqued on the stage,[3] was performed with due solemnity on the concert platform,[4] was and perhaps still is taught in schools,[5] and appeared on popular records during the fifties.[6] For this song as for others, an historical classification would tend to obscure the contemporaneous aspects of its development. We have no accurate way of knowing whether Barbara Allen, as sung by Frank Hinchliffe,[7] for example, has been passed down by entirely oral means for at least three hundred years since the song was first documented; or that his version has been influenced by one of the circumstances mentioned above; or even that it owes its origin to one of these.

It is for a similar reason that a thematic approach to classification has not been adopted, for however carefully such a classification is chosen it invariably leads to ambiguities. For instance, a recent publication includes the variant of Six Jolly Miners mentioned above, under the heading, 'Songs of Occupations',[8] when the same variant had previously been classified on disc as a 'Song of Ceremony'.[9] Every attempt at the classification of traditional song has encountered similar drawbacks; even the monumental ballad collection of Francis James Child, which relies on a numerical ordering of loose thematic groups has been justifiably criticised both for excluding and for including particular material.[10] It is to overcome this problem that no classification is used in this study except the alphabetical ordering of song titles for each singer's repertoire. However, that is not to deny the importance of certain themes within the West Sheffield material, but rather to suggest that a thematic analysis could only be successful with

extensive cross referencing.

The local repertoire consists of over two hundred and fifty different items and among them are examples of many types of song. There are Child ballads, broadside ballads, minstrel songs, hymns and so forth. Their subjects concern love, through courtship and marriage to old age, and between a parent and child, death and bereavement, recreation, occupations, religion and social comment. In fact, an analysis of the songs in terms of themes, form, and style would demonstrate many of the different genres associated with English culture. However, it is questionable whether such an approach is appropriate to the present study or for that matter entirely relevant. Certainly it is important to know which songs characterise the repertoire, and why, but to answer this question we need to look further than the abstract items themselves. The context of a song and its function must also be considered. Within the scope of the studies of individual singers there has been an attempt to identify the meaning of the songs they sing. We must now try to establish a consensus from among the different singers and to identify its nature. In so doing we will be moving towards an understanding of the singers' aesthetic. Moreover, we will have found out not what sort of song is sung (that we know already),but rather what sort of songs are mutually enjoyed and admired, and even what it is that recommends them.

During the course of recording it was not uncommon for the singers to make value judgements on the material they were performing. Stanley would say 'it really is a good song that when you can sing it',[11] or Frank would comment 'this _is_ an owd un'.[12] During the course of conversation singers occasionally referred to songs they wished to learn or to ones they especially liked. They might also indicate for which songs they have little regard. Charles Green announced that his favourite was _The Fields of Waving Corn_.[13] Stanley showed a great liking for _The Irish Emigrant_ and _Thora_ but had little respect for _The Jolly Waggoner_. He also expressed a desire to learn _The Old Wooden Rocker_.[14] Frank wanted to learn _Old Shep_ and his present favourite, which was not recorded, is _Nobody's Child_.[15] On one occasion Frank silenced Grace Walton when she began a song with a syncopated rhythm by decrying it as 'ragtime'.[16]

It might also help to ascertain which songs are most readily recalled as opposed to those which survive only in a fragmentary form. To this

end an appendix of the common core repertoire has been compiled which includes those songs performed by three or more singers.[17] This provides an objective assessment of popularity. The list of 'favourites' includes thirty-nine items excluding the Christmas carols and features strongly songs such as Pratty Flowers, Break the News to Mother, The Garden Gate, Love at Home, The Mistletoe Bough, The Farmer's Boy, The Nobleman and the Thresherman, The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill, Two Little Girls in Blue and The Volunteer Organist. Here, as suggested by the examples above, the largest single group is the parlour or sentimental ballads. It is a worthwhile exercise to examine some of these songs more closely in order to identify their appeal.

Two Little Girls in Blue is certainly well-liked in West Sheffield and features in the repertoires of Charles Green, Frank Hinchliffe and Stanley Marsden.[18] Briefly it relates the story of an old man who remembers his broken marriage. The scene is set as the old man examines the photograph of his wife in his locket. It is an experience that upsets him and attracts the attention of his nephew who then provides him with an audience. The tale is suitably sweetened with stock epithets; two brothers fall in love with 'two little girls in blue' one day at school, a story 'strange but true'. It appears that ill-founded suspicion of unfaithfulness was the cause of separation and the marriage has never been repaired. In the eyes of the old man, the girls are idealised and the wife completely exonerated. The essential ingredients are therefore nostalgia tinged with pathos and regret as the old man remembers his youth and his failure to establish a lasting marriage. It is the finality of this failure and the simplicity of both language and melody that makes the song so memorable for it is still regularly heard on radio and television.[19] Frank was well aware of the song's popularity when he remarked 'I don't know whether it's owt in your line or not'.[20] Perhaps more interesting than Frank's comment were Stanley's remarks as to the existence of a third verse. An inspection of a Francis, Day and Hunter edition[21] certainly reveals no third verse and Frank and Charles make no reference to it. Of course, it would not be impossible for the song to be published in two forms, as The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill most certainly was.[22] However, it is Stanley's account of the third verse which is most fascinating for in it the old man enlarges on the reasons for his 'fancy of jealousy' which had 'wronged her heart'; ''e caught 'er kissing this man like. He turned out to be 'er brother'.[23] In fact

it seems most probable that Stanley is describing the third verse of another song After the Ball, which has a similar theme. Apart from the element of confusion between the two songs he clearly feels a need for the events of Two Little Girls in Blue to be properly motivated, which for him the narrative fails to do. It is interesting to note that Stanley's interpolation relates closely to that given by James Lyons of Batley to the song, McCaffery.[24] James Lyons considers the Irish religious conflict to be of primary importance to his meaning of the song, a factor which does not feature in the narrative. Thus both singers supply additional reference to their respective songs in order to satisfy the need for a 'moral structure';[25] and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that were they living in a culture where composing was commonplace such interpolations would readily be incorporated in the text.

After the Ball is not the only example of a song in which the final verse reveals some unfortunate coincidence. Break the News to Mother is sung by Charles, Stanley, Frank and George White and is considered by all of them to be a good song.[26] The setting is a battlefield where a youth heroically saves his company's flag but is mortally wounded in the attempt. In his dying words he protests his love for his mother. The irony comes when the general who rushes to congratulate the youth on his bravery realises that it is his own son. The heroic deed, the general's grief, even the death itself seem to pall alongside the song's main sentiment, the severing of the mother/son relationship.

A third song that has won universal favour in West Sheffield is Love at Home. Frank, Charles and Jack Couldwell sing it,[27] and it seems to have enjoyed traditional currency since at least the turn of the century.[28] The song poeticises the qualities of a home in which there is love. It pervades the house, the garden, the countryside, the weather and even God. The message is simple enough, that harmonious family relationships are the key to a happy life and a happy world. Such a platitude, however commonplace, has strong appeal to the West Sheffield singers. Moreover the simple melodic structure without modulation or even passing inflection recommends the song to chorus singing. The central theme of the family and the universality of the sentiment provide a key to understanding the popularity of this genre of songs. For just as Love at Home can be seen as portraying the ideal situation so both the preceding songs can be considered as exemplifying the frustration of this ideal. In Two Little Girls in Blue, the old man regrets the behaviour

that led to his being instrumental in his own failure to achieve fulfilment in the family unit. The young hero of Break the News to Mother is untimely snatched from the bosom of his family, not just a victim of chance, for there is also an element of self-sacrifice about his deed.

Approached from this standpoint even the bizarre story of The Mistletoe Bough is concerned with the attainment of this ideal, also by by inversion. Lovell's hopes of family life are thwarted when his bride becomes entombed in a forgotten chest. In character with so many songs of this genre there is the dramatic revelation of the final stanza.

> At length an oak chest that had long lay hid
> Was found in the castle, they raised the lid,
> And a skeleton form lay mouldering there
> With the bridal wreaths of a lady fair.[29]

Certainly the West Sheffield audience finds the appeal of this remarkable story irresistible for it is a great favourite in the pubs at Christmas, and is sung by David Smith, Charles Green, George Hancock, Edith Lawson, and Grace Walton who observed that her family used to sing it all the year round.[30]

Another favourite that relates an equally contrived set of circumstances is The Volunteer Organist. Significantly the narrator looks back into the past to recall one memorable moment; the virtuoso performance of a drunkard who stands in for the regular organist at a Sunday morning church service.

> The sermon of the preacher was no lesson to compare
> With that of life's example now sat in the organ chair.[31]

The moralising sentiment of the song stands out and can be understood in two ways; firstly that drunkenness could have degraded a man capable of such acts of beauty; secondly that beauty is to be found even among the meanest social outcasts. This ambiguity provides one of the keys to the song's popularity in that persons of a strictly teetotal outlook through to those who are themselves heavy drinkers can all find in it an expression of their own ideology. The congregation are appropriately dumbstruck by the experience and all that the preacher can do is to offer up a prayer.

The sweet spirituality of the piece delivered in such explicit narrative provides a heady mixture, but one for which the local audience have no reservations. They join in wholeheartedly with the hymn-like chorus without the slightest reticence or affectation;

> The scene was one I'll ne'er forget as long as I may live,
> And just to see it o'er again all earthly wealth I'd give.[32]

and to Stanley Marsden, Bernard Broadhead, and Doug Thompson it is an unquestionable favourite.[33] The volunteer organist himself represents a solitary figure deprived of the warmth of family relationships with his drinking proving either the cause of his separation or the result. Whichever is the case it relates to our universal theme by providing further anathema for the ideal of the family, already we have had jealousy and war, and now we must add drunkenness.

In few songs is the nostalgia more pervasive than in The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill. Its popularity was such that no Saturday night at the Sportsman in Lodge Moor would have been complete without a rendition. Because this love song is primarily lyrical and lacks the poignant narrative of for example The Volunteer Organist, it has a wider, less specific, frame of reference. A similar situation is found to that of Two Little Girls in Blue, for it is also a recollection of a romance that failed. However, in most of the versions recorded, we receive no insight as to the cause of the separation; and only when Frank sings his extra verse are we told that it was a mutual decision; 'But one day we parted in pain and regret our vows we could not fulfil'.[34] Most of the song relates the man's undying love and lavishly describes the scenery of the courtship venue. It is this preoccupation with the non-specific that allows for much personalisation. Hence Albert Broadhead is put in mind of the stone bridges of the Peak where he has spent so much of his time rambling.[35] Moreover, it has a central relationship with our main theme.

Before concluding this discussion of some of the most popular sentimental ballads in West Sheffield, we must consider two songs that are firm favourites of both Stanley Marsden and Frank Hinchliffe. The Irish Emigrant bids farewell to his country and to his dead lover as he is forced to emigrate. Just as time separates the old man from his little

girl in blue, so here it is time and distance.

> I'm bidding you a long farewell, my Mary kind and true,
> But I'll not forget you in the land I'm going to.
> They say there's bread and work for all
> and the sun shines always there,
> But I'll ne'er forget old Ireland were it fifty times as fair.[36]

The Blind Boy receives the full attentions of his family but because their relationship with him is motivated by pity as well as love, we become aware that his handicap proves a barrier to its fulfilment.

> They love me, yes they love me, and to me they are so kind,
> They love me, yes they love me,
> yes they love me because I'm blind.[37]

In pursuit of the underlying theme of this genre it is hoped that other elements by which it is characterised have not been completely eclipsed. The melody, in particular, with its compelling chorus should be mentioned. Within its compass of up to sixteen phrases, it demonstrates a complex pattern of harmonic progression that may involve passing inflections as well as modulations into the relative minor and dominant keys. The effect, though generally predictable, serves to heighten the dramatic element of the narrative. In their 'Introduction' to The Second Parlour Song Book Turner and Miall make the following comment on the importance of the chorus melody of the more elaborate songs.

> The later school, however, finds the verse paling into insignificance beside its monolithic chorus. It is the chorus that gives every appearance of having been composed and indeed written first — for the title is almost invariably found there. The verse acts merely as a recitative and closes more often than not in the dominant key leaving the chorus that follows as the only harmonic way home.[38]

We have also not mentioned the morality that emanates from many of these songs. The conventions that war is heroic, that drunkenness is abhorrent, that woman be idealised, that death be elegised, that home is sweet, that

mother is dear, and that the tragedy of a broken romance ennobles the soul, are commonly encountered. However, the performance of songs conveying such sentiments does not necessarily imply their acceptance. Certain individuals obviously subscribe to one or more of these, for George and Bob Hancock and Charles Green seem to have an obsessional devotion towards their mothers, just as Frank is preoccupied with death. But it is the acceptance of an overall philosophy that the West Sheffield singers show in their preference for this type of song. As we have seen, this can be understood in terms of the ideal of family unity, or even more widely still as a general reaffirmation of the old values of which this is the most important, most easily recognisable, and most readily identified with. Moreover it closely relates to Frank's conservatism, Stanley's attitude towards his vocation, Grace's desire to return to the land, and the Hancock family's devotion towards craftsmanship.

In our consideration of the regional repertoire we have attempted to identify the meaning of the principal group of songs. We must now turn to the remaining material within the common core to determine whether the central theme is upheld or to what extent it must be modified.

Three songs based in an agricultural setting and of a somewhat longer pedigree than the parlour balladry are The Farmer's Boy, The Nobleman and the Thresherman and We Are All Jolly Fellows.[39] Despite the obvious differences of melodic structure and versification, they are not so removed in their meaning. Admittedly there is little nostalgia; however there is some sentimentalisation, and significantly all three suspend their outcome until the final verse. The Farmer's Boy is arguably the best known song in West Sheffield for it is sung by Stanley Marsden and Charles Green, and features strongly in pub singsongs where it has been led by John Taylor, David Smith, Albert Broadhead and Ted Wragg.[40] The simple progressive narrative with its pleading tone has unquestionable local appeal. The fate of the fatherless child, who must leave home to fend for himself, is held in the balance until we learn that not only did he get a job, but subsequently has inherited the farm and is to marry the daughter. Such blatant wish fulfilment also found great favour with our nineteenth century forebears. Evidence of this exists in George White's Victorian diorama of the song which depicts the events of the story above each verse, and was bought and framed by his grandmother to hang in the parlour.

Another example of wish fulfilment is to be encountered in The Nobleman and the Thresherman. Although there is much less overt sentimentality, some is still to be found.

> My wife she is willing to join in the yoke
> We live just like two turtle doves and seldom do provoke.[41]

The narrative relates an interview of the thresherman by the nobleman, who is so impressed with his employee's dedication to both his job and family that he rewards him with a farm of his own.

> I've fifty acres of good land, I'll freely give to thee
> To maintain thy wife and thy large family.[42]

The suggestion that hard work and a good life be rewarded in abundance with a parcel of land is an attractive message to the local singers especially as their community is largely comprised of small tenant farmers and farm labourers. Performances have been recorded from George White, George Hancock, Stanley Marsden, John Taylor and Frank Hinchliffe.[43]

We Are All Jolly Fellows also enjoys wide popularity but its outcome is not as fantastic. A routine day's work on a farm is detailed, before of course the advent of mechanisation, and the main labour of ploughing an acre becomes a good-humoured bone of contention between the farmer and his men. His leg-pulling suggestion that they have not completed their work meets with an outburst of righteous indignation. The humour of the situation becomes more easy to appreciate when the farmer makes amends by offering the men some refreshment to soothe their wounded pride.

> Now the master turned round and he laughed at the joke.
> It's two o'clock, boys, it's time to unyoke.
> Unharness your horses and rub them well down,
> And come and I'll give you some good bread and cheese,
> And a pint of my very best ale;
> For I'll swear and I'll vow
> That you're all jolly fellows that follows the plough.[44]

The way in which all three of these songs relate to our main theme can readily be demonstrated. The Farmer's Boy, by force of circumstance, must leave his family unit, and his reward does not simply represent the just deserts of his labour or a change in his luck, but rather the opportunity to re-establish family life on a far more favourable footing than before. The Nobleman and the Thresherman provides few problems of interpretation, for the ideals of family life and honest labour are clearly stated. The generous bequest does credit to the nobleman but also contains a grain of social comment, that poverty and insecurity should not be the deserts of a man who lives according to such a laudable code.

> Sometimes we are hard up, sometimes we're very poor,
> But still we keep those raging wolves away from our door.[45]

It is the idealised statement of a social norm that characterises We Are All Jolly Fellows. Firstly there is the fact that the men always give an honest day's work, and secondly that ultimately their bosses are generous men who appreciate dedicated workmanship. Thus the old values are clearly reaffirmed.

Songs of courtship, successful or otherwise, are central to our theme, and the West Sheffield repertoire includes several examples among its common core besides those of the parlour balladry. The Garden Gate is a great favourite with the Hancock family and is also sung by Grace Walton and Frank Hinchliffe.[46] It follows a simple chronological structure with the girl being stood up by her lover for first one hour and then another.

> The day being spent, the moon shone bright,
> the village clock struck nine,
> Which made poor Mary sigh and say, Thou never shalt be mine.[47]

But fortunately William arrives just in time; his excuse is irreproachable for he has been delayed while buying the wedding ring. The ceremony follows the next day with the inevitability of the dawn.

> Up with the morning sun they rose, to church they went straightway.[48]

It is not difficult to appreciate the appeal of The Garden Gate, with its simple narrative structure and its attractive melody which is made so effective by an unusual switch from compound duple to simple quadruple time. However, the appeal of The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea is not so easy to understand, for its lyric is characterised by clumsy expression and long-windedness.

They welcomed me home to her cottage, soon after to wedlock did join;
And soon they erected a castle most beauty and splendour to 'shorne'.
Now this young gay Irishman, a stranger,
to all pleasures and pastimes can be,
Like the daughter of a gentle Matilda
on the green mossy banks of the Lea.[49]

George White, Frank Hinchliffe, Grace Walton and Edith Lawson all sing it despite its vagueness of meaning.[50] Perhaps it is the theme of successful wedlock set to a gently undulating melody that finds favour. The details of the courtship are rather odd, for it is the approach to the father with a declaration of wealth that wins the bride for the rich young Irishman. The moral of the last verse is no less strange: it warns poor girls against false flattery, pointing out that they may be equally beautiful as those who are wealthy. Perhaps the suggestion is that a good looking girl ought to use her gift to become wealthy by marriage, like the heroine of the song, but it seems unlikely that the West Sheffield singers are concerned with such specific details. Rather they prefer to accept the song in terms of its main dramatic motif, that of the young man winning his bride. Confirmation of this is implied in the complete lack of criticism for the textual inadequacies of the lyric.

Sheffield Park also lacks clarity of meaning, a fact which Frank Hinchliffe alone questions: 'That last verse, it's not right.'[51] George White concludes his version with an extra verse which is like a riddle and does little to resolve the confusion.

This brings to mind the past and gone,
Night after night brings all things on.
You do a question ask of me,
May this in answer prove to be.[52]

The servant girl is the victim of love, possibly unrequited, which it seems is the cause of her death-wish. The acceptance on the part of all but one of the singers of such inconsistencies endorses the suggestion that in this instance, as with The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea, criticism of specific narrative details has been waived in favour of a general approval for the overall philosophy of the song.[53]

The romantic encounter is a common formula whose outcome is not always treated in simplistic terms. In The Weaver's Daughter the young man's attentions are turned down, but the repercussions are scarcely tragic. Dutifully she decides she must stay at home to attend to her infirm old father; undramatically he wishes her luck, compliments her on her manner, hopes that she will find a lover to her liking, and presents her with a gift of a golden ring. George White obviously finds the song delightful and commented 'one of best int' lot'.[54]

Few songs are more lacking in points of reference than Pratty Flowers and Frank Hinchliffe for one finds this difficult to equate with the song's great popularity.[55] Inevitably much of the enjoyment for the singers lies in the actual performance of such a song, and although the narrative is exceptionally thin, the disjointed sentiments find a great deal of sympathy among the local singers. Ostensibly it concerns a successful romantic encounter between possibly a soldier and a girl who has been jilted by her shepherd lover; but even these few facts are not absolutely clear. Thus it is to the evocative nature of these lyrics we must turn if we are to appreciate their appeal. The opening phrase, 'abroad for pleasure' sets a light-headed atmosphere that conjures up in the mind of Albert Broadhead, for example, the joys of walking and, in particular, his pastime of rambling. The encounter with a damsel in distress brings to mind feelings of gallantry. The calm is momentarily disturbed by a fear of separation, which presumably was ill-founded for, by the last verse, the mood is one of stability and promise for the future;

> But I will take thee to yon green garden
> Where those pratty flowers grow,
> Where those pratty, pratty flowers grow.[56]

The meaning of the song would seem to lie in a symbolic representation

of the happiness of a fulfilled relationship.

Vying in popularity with Pratty Flowers and also belonging to both the Christmas and non-Christmas repertoires of some of the pubs is Hail Smiling Morn. Its glee form provides a single stanza of which the music is in two parts both repeated, and which reaches its climax in the penultimate bar. Although it merely proclaims the beauties of the dawn in figurative language, it undoubtedly has, like Pratty Flowers, a highly evocative point of reference. This is the unequivocal statement of the inevitability of the phenomenon of the earth's rotation, a verity older than man himself and fundamental to our theme.[57]

In our relation of the common core repertoire to the central theme of the family and of the restatement of the time-honoured truths, we have encountered negative elements of frustration, failure and tragedy. Nowhere do these become more sharply focused than in the horror of fratricide that is found in Edward. The song has such a primeval quality that Frank Hinchliffe had no hesitation in suggesting that it was 'going back into 1500'.[58] George White's comments quoted earlier show the extent to which he identified with the truth of the song.[59] Thus Edward's crime makes a deep impression on the singers, because it shakes to the very foundations their belief in the sanctity of the kinship group.[60] Moreover his self-imposed punishment of exile, is as inevitable as it is dreadful. It represents an irreversible step that deprives him of the succour of his family. Among the total repertoire only McCaffery seems to echo a similar note of disaffection.[61] Like Edward he takes the law into his own hands, commits a heinous and almost motiveless crime of passion and with stoic fatalism accepts the consequences.

The popularity of the two hunting songs within the common core presents an interesting situation. Despite the fact that both songs are essentially recreational and in praise of the sport, their function would seem to be less tangible. There has been no local hunting for over fifty years, and the singers who relish these songs would seem to share the ambivalence shown by George Hancock. He has great affinity for the occasion of the hunt but is honestly revulsed by the actual blood sport. We might therefore suggest that the allure of The Rosy Morn[62] and 'A Few Jovial Sportsmen'[63] is not in a subliminal wish to revive fox or hare hunting, but to recall the conviviality and excitement of such an occasion when a whole community was in festal mood.

Such a mood is still to be encountered during the season of Christmas carolling and the ritual function of these occasions has been referred to.[64] We must now consider them in respect of their meaning for they are paradigmatic of our universal theme. There exists in the religious outlook of the singers of West Sheffield a similar sort of ambivalence as encountered in their attitude to hunting. Thus they may hold Christian beliefs but rarely attend a place of worship; or they may be openly agnostic and yet play a leading role in the performance of the carols in the pubs. A similar relationship was revealed in Frank's attitude to the Sabbath, whereas the practice seemed unnecessarily restrictive and even wasteful: 'I wouldn't say its a feelin' as you're doing wrong because, I always tell 'em at home, it's a bigger sin to have stuff int' field rotten than what it is to get it'; he had to admit, 'I think they [the older generation] were right to a certain extent. I think Sunday wants to be more or less Sunday'.[65] Furthermore Frank remarks that when he is singing the carols he experiences a feeling of spiritual uplift. This would seem to be a mutual experience among the carollers judging by the euphoria encountered at such sessions. Moreover this feeling is not exclusively a religious one: the carollers are not simply restating the nativity in song but rather the beliefs and observances of their forefathers. It is this, primarily, that characterises such a ritual. It gives the carols their significance and renders the occasion auspicious.

It has been demonstrated that the unifying theme within the West Sheffield repertoire has been concerned with the reaffirmation of the old values and problems, and especially those concerned with marriage and family relationships. By way of reinforcement to this argument there is an almost total absence of historical or topical songs. <u>The Oughtibridge Trail Hunt</u>, although referred to by many singers, has only been recorded in fragments.[66] Similarly fragments of <u>Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours</u> are commonly encountered but it is only with the aid of handwritten copies of the words that complete versions were recorded.[67] 'The Rotherham Wedding',[68] 'The Greatest Cricketer',[69] 'Bancroft's the Lad'[70] and 'Jackson from Barnsley'[71] are examples of such songs that have slipped from the consciousness of the local singers. There are no songs concerning famous generals or admirals, land or sea battles, and yet such topics are or have been readily encountered among the repertoires of singers from other parts of the country.[72] Moreover, songs of a

political nature such as the ballads of Mather referred to above are non-existent.[73] Our overall impression is that the local singers show little affinity towards any item that is essentially journalistic or tendentious.

The scarcity of bawdy or risqué songs would seem to stress further the lack of importance attached to any items that appreciably diverge from the main theme. Such songs where they have been recorded are the property of individuals and are not found within the common core repertoire. Perhaps this is the reason why both <u>The Outlandish Knight</u>[74] and <u>The Highwayman Outwitted</u>[75] have only been recorded as fragments. Both contain in their usual form[76] reference to female nakedness which is integral to the plot, but in West Sheffield this significantly is one of the forgotten elements. By contrast experience has shown that further north, particularly in the pub singing, this type of song makes an important and often dominant contribution to the evening singsong.[77]

It has been the purpose of this discussion to demonstrate the existence of an overall philosophy among the local singers through an examination of their common core repertoire. A central theme has been identified as the reaffirmation of eternal verities and in particular the inviolability of the family unit. As it is this concern that distinguishes their repertoire from other neighbouring regions, it is perhaps significant to associate it with an attitude engendered by the particular nature of their existence. The encroachment of the city into West Sheffield and the constant threat of further advance together with the loss of amenities catering for the local people, namely through the conversion of public houses, would seem to be responsible for a defensive and conservative outlook. To describe it as a siege philosophy may be an exaggeration and yet in terms of its cultural significance it is almost as far-reaching; for it would seem to be as a direct result of this, that among the local singers, there exists lack of interest in those songs whose themes are trivial and peripheral to their life style. Thus their anxieties and fears at the changes are manifested by a single-mindedness in their selection of material or more precisely through their concern with the central theme.

Footnotes

1. Samuel Pepys' Diary for 2 January 1666. See The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, edited by Francis James Child, reprinted edition, 5 vols (New York, 1965), II, 276.
2. There is a black letter version in The Roxburghe Ballads, I - III edited by William Chappell (London, 1871-80), IV - VII edited by J.W. Ebsworth (London, 1883-93), II, 25. Of the many nineteenth century sheets, versions were printed by Such and Catnach of London, Kendrew of York and by Fordyce of Newcastle and Hull.
3. See Helen Hartness Flanders, Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England, 3 vols (Philadelphia, 1961), II 246.
4. For example it is among the repertoire of the Deller Consort. See Folk Songs, RCA Records, LSB4074.
5. For example it was included in the BBC Schools Programme, Singing Together (Summer Term, 1959).
6. See Burl Ives, Brunswick Records, LA8641, and the Everley Brothers Songs Our Daddy Taught Us, Philips International Records, 6467500, originally released by Cadence Records.
7. See transcript Hin 3.
8. Folksongs of Britain and Ireland, edited by Peter Kennedy (London, 1975), p.524.
9. Folk Songs of Britain, 10 vols, Vol.9, 12T197 (Topic Records Ltd.).
10. For example see A.L. Lloyd, Folk Song In England (London, 1967), p.135.
11. Recorded 5 October 1972.
12. Recorded 20 October 1970. See p.88 footnote 4.
13. Noted 12 July 1973.
14. Noted 5 October 1972.
15. Noted 5 November 1975.
16. "Who's Your Ladyfriend?" recorded 30 April 1970, S10.
17. See Appendix 6.
18. See transcripts Gre 37, Hin 55 and Mar 38.
19. For example BBC Television, The Good Old Days.
20. Recorded 2 September 1970.
21. Sixty Old Time Variety Songs (London [no date]), pp.26-7.
22. Compare Ibid., pp.120-1, and disbound pocket songster belonging to Doug Marsden, Lodge Moor, pp.41-2, photocopy in the archives of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies, University of Leeds.

The second verse is

How often dear Maggie, when years passed away,
and we plighted lovers became,
We rambled the path to the bridge, day by day,
the smiles of each other to claim.
But one day we parted, in pain and regret,
our vows then we could not fulfil,
Oh! may we soon meet and our fond love repeat
on the old rustic bridge by the mill.

23. Recorded 24 February 1971.
24. A.E. Green, 'McCaffery: A Study in the Variation and Function of a Ballad', Part Two, Lore and Language, 1, No.4 (January 1971), 3-12(7).
25. Ibid.
26. See transcripts Gre 4, Mar 8, Hin 7 and Whi 4.
27. See transcripts Hin 38, Gre 23 and PubR 6.
28. Sheffield City Libraries, Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Sheffield, 37, 20, 'Old Time Carol Singing' (25 December 1906).
29. Transcript HanG 16.
30. Recorded 7 September 1972.
31. Transcript Mar 39.
32. Ibid.
33. See transcripts BroB 20 and Mar 39.
34. See transcript Hin 44.
35. Noted 12 April 1970.
36. Transcript Mar 18. See also Hin 28.
37. Transcript Mar 7. See also Hin 4.
38. Just a Song at Twilight, edited and introduced by Michael R. Turner and Antony Miall (London, 1975), p.15.
39. The Farmer's Boy is thought to date from the end of the eighteenth century. See Robert Bell, Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry (London, 1857), p.148.
The Nobleman and the Thresherman was first recorded as a black letter broadside, see The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads, introduced by John Holloway (Glasgow, 1971), No.159b.
We Are All Jolly Fellows is listed in A Catalogue of Songs and Books, published by J. Catnach (Seven Dials, London, 1832) cited by kind permission of R.S. Thomson.

40. See transcript Mar 12, Gre 10 and Tay 1.
41. Transcript Hin 42.
42. Ibid.
43. See transcripts Whi 17, HanG 18, Mar 28 and Tay 4.
44. Transcript Hin 58. See also War 8, Wal 29, WomJ 5 and Tay 6.
45. Transcript Hin 42.
46. See transcripts HanG 13, HanB 4, Hin 18 and Wal 7.
47. Transcript HanG 13.
48. Ibid.
49. Transcript Whi 12.
50. See transcript Hin 24 and Wal 11.
51. Recorded 30 April 1970. See Hin 51.
52. Transcript Whi 20.
53. See ibid., and transcript Tay 5.
54. Recorded 14 October 1970. See Whi 23.
55. Recorded 4 June 1970. See Hin 50.
56. Ibid.
57. It should be stated that within the Christmas repertoire Hail Smiling Morn undoubtedly evokes the morning of Christ's birth.
58. Recorded 30 April 1970. See Hin 12.
59. See p. 110.
60. For a consideration of the ballad see Archer Taylor, 'Edward' and 'Sven i Rosengard' (Chicago, 1931).
61. See transcripts Whi 16 and WomB 1.
62. See transcript HanG 23.
63. See transcript HanG 8.
64. See p.118.
65. Recorded 20 October 1971.
66. See transcript Gre 29, HanG 19 and Hin 47.
67. See transcripts Whi 10 and Wal 6.
68. See transcript Wal 24.
69. See transcript BroA 2.
70. Referred to by Col Goodison 16 March 1971.
71. Ibid.
72. See for example the recorded repertoire of Sam Larner of Winterton, Norfolk, listed in the notes to Now is the Time for Fishing (Folkways Records), FG3507; and the recorded repertoire of the Copper family

of Rottingdean, Sussex, <u>A Song for Every Season</u>, LEA 4046-9 (Leader Records, 1971).

73. <u>Songs of Joseph Mather</u>, edited by John Wilson (Sheffield, 1862).
74. See transcript Wal 20.
75. See transcripts Law 1 and Hir 25.
76. See Child, I, No.4 for <u>The Outlandish Knight</u>, and G. Malcolm Laws, <u>American Balladry from British Broadsides</u> (Philadelphia, 1957), L2.
77. For example at a session at the Stanhope Arms, Dunford Bridge, noted 5 November 1974 about half the items were of a suggestive nature, including <u>Old King Cole</u>, 'Piddling Pete', 'The Dogs Assembly', <u>The German Clockmender</u>, 'The Toilet Seat', 'Twice Daily', <u>The Bold Grenadier</u>, 'Side by Side Parody', <u>The Nutting Girl</u>, 'Mrs Olroyd', <u>You'll Never Get to Heaven</u>, <u>She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain</u>, 'Three Old Ladies Locked inthe Lavatory', and 'The Parson and the Curate'.

The existence of strong elements for both stability and change is evident within the singing tradition of West Sheffield. These have been referred to in the Introduction by terms such as variation and continuity. Although it is not possible to appreciate the extent of this phenomenon within the short period of research, nor for that matter to establish patterns of change, we can at least examine the evidence that has been recorded. We can also profitably compare versions of songs recorded within the region with others recorded here or elsewhere, contemporary or otherwise. Of course, from such evidence any conclusions will be somewhat speculative but in the absence of a comparative study of a singing tradition over a generation or more, it will provide a profile of some of the important characteristics. Thus our discussion must take into account the susceptibility of tune and text to change, the effects of dispersion in either time or place, and such evidence of the process that has been observed during the period of fieldwork.

It would appear that the tunes of songs are more prone to change than their texts and the cause of this would seem to relate directly to the comparative state of verbal and musical literacy over the last four hundred years as well as the comparative availability of printed song texts and tunes. George White's version of The Nobleman and the Thresherman shows great textual affinity with the broadside versions of the song. Not merely does it follow the nineteenth century version published by Ford of Chesterfield,[1] but goes beyond it to include elements of the much older black letter version, The Nobleman's Generous Kindness; or, The Country Man's Unexpected Happiness. Consider the final verse which is not found on the later sheet;

> No tongue then was able in full to express
> The depth of their joy, and their true thankfulness,
> With many a courtesie and bow to the ground.
> But such Noblemen there is few to be found.[2]

George's stanza is almost identical;

> Their tongues were unable in full to express
> The depth of their joy and their thankfulness.
> They make many courtesy and bow to the ground;
> Such noblemen there are few to be found.[3]

Although no comparable evidence exists for the tune this is an example of textual stability over a period approaching three hundred years.

There is similarly extraordinary evidence to demonstrate the existence of stability with reference to remoteness of place. Before 1970 only one version of The Pear Tree had to my knowledge been noted in this country and certainly none had been published.[4] Since the recording of Grace Walton's and Frank Hinchliffe's versions, a fourth has been recorded in Kent. The singer, Joseph Jones, is of gipsy stock and so demonstrates cultural as well as geographical distance from the singers of West Sheffield. Yet his version of the melody is almost identical. In the extracts from the three versions below it can be seen that as much rhythmic and melodic variation exists between the cousins' versions as between those of Frank and Joseph Jones. Consider especially the second, fourth and eighth bars.[5]

Example 14

Grace Walton

Frank Hinchliffe

Joseph Jones

Their texts are also closely related and the variation that occurs would seem to result from the fragmented nature of the Kent version. They only differ in one essential, in that the owner of the coat is found in the Kent version, although he denies having been under the tree.

From such evidence it is apparent that just as songs reached all corners of this country through the various media they did so by other less-stereotyped means — itinerant workers of all kinds, including

navvies, ballad singers and sellers, other travelling tradesmen and, of course, gipsies. It is indicative that of the very few English versions of the ballad Edward recorded one is similarly from a Kent gipsy.[6] However the variants of this ballad are not as close as those of The Pear Tree. The West Sheffield versions show most similarity in their melodic form to those recorded from George Dunn of Staffordshire and Savile Ramsden of Wakefield, which broadly speaking belong to the same tune family, The Mermaid ('One Friday morn as we set sail').[7]

Evidence of stability among older songs, and especially those that were not printed, as far as we know, on broadsheets, is comparatively rare. More common is the stability shown by songs of a later origin, such as The Volunteer Organist, Break the News to Mother or The Faithful Sailor Boy. However, even among this group there is substantial melodic variation between traditional variants as well as between such variants and a printed source, where one exists. Stanley Marsden's The Song of the Thrush varies substantially from a version recorded from Bob Hart of Suffolk.[8] Similarly Charles Green's The Rose of Allandale is quite distinct from that recorded by the Copper family of Sussex.[9] The nature of such variation can be seen by comparing two such songs with their printed 'originals'. In Grandmother's Chair, as sung by Frank Hinchliffe, hardly a phrase of the melody is the same. It is almost totally recast within the same overall contour (the form of the song is AABACD).[10]

Example 15

Frank-Phrase A

Songbook - Phrase A

Frank - Phrase B

Song book - Phrase B

Frank - Phrase C

Songbook - Phrase C

Frank - Phrase D

Songbook - Phrase D

Stanley Marsden's I Wouldn't Leave my Little Wooden Hut also demonstrates this type of variation, but it is restricted to the verse passages. The chorus follows the standard version undoubtedly because it is subject to regular reinforcement by television and radio, and because of its use as a pub chorus.[11]

Example 16

Stanley

Songbook

Stanley

Songbook

Stanley

Songbook

Stanley

Songbook

Just as versions of a song from different parts of the country may vary to a lesser or greater degree, so within West Sheffield the extent of such variation may be equally significant. The ubiquitous, We Are All Jolly Fellows has been recorded from several singers. The dominant melody, Villikins and his Dinah, is represented here by the version recorded from Grace Walton and contrasts with the Richard of Taunton Dean variant sung by her cousin Frank Hinchliffe. Frank's former

workmate, Lewis Ward sings a distinct third version which contains elements of both the other melodies.[12]

Example 17

Grace

Frank

Lewis

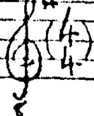
A further example of melodic variation is shown by Frank's William and Dinah which differs so greatly from the standard tune associated with the burlesque, that he is unable to detect the relationship.[13]

Example 18

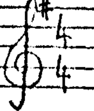
For several other songs there are distinct melodic variants for example The Wassail Song as performed by Frank Hinchliffe and Charles Green,[14] The Jolly Waggoner as performed by Stanley Marsden and John Taylor,[15] and The Derby Ram as performed by Charles Green and Bernard Broadhead.[16] Even within the same rendition distinct variation has been recorded. Thus when Frank Hinchliffe sang Nothing Else to Do with Grace Walton they disagreed at the third phase.[17]

Example 19

Frank IIIc



Grace Ic



Although the importance of writing and print as a reinforcing agent has been emphasised, the essential method of transmission still remains largely aural. Several performers have printed copies of songs which are within their repertoires and yet these are clearly not the source of their versions. Lawrence Loy, who is the organist at the carol singing sessions at the Royal Hotel, Dungworth, has a published copy of Hail Smiling Morn,[18] but he never plays from it because the local version is significantly different. Similarly Albert Broadhead had a copy of a hunting songbook open when he was first recorded singing The Rosy Morn.[19] It proved more of a hindrance than a help. Stanley Marsden also produced a songbook[20] but quickly closed it adding 'if I put that [the book] down I shall get on, sha'n't I', for he realised that his versions varied from the printed ones: 'There's words not just same as I sing in this book.'[21]

It has earlier been suggested that textual variation is less extensive than its melodic counterpart. However, the singers themselves seem to be more conscious of disagreements in the words. On several occasions Frank would comment on this to Grace, for example after The Garden Gate, 'you see, what's happening in places. We're not just same with words;'[22] whereas their melodic discordance would pass largely unnoticed. The implication is that the West Sheffield singers tend to associate a song with its text and consider the melody as a vehicle of performance. The stylistic implications of this will be considered later. There are several examples of textual variation. The final verse of a song would seem particularly susceptible especially in versions of Sheffield Park,[23] The Nobleman and the Thresherman[24] and The Jolly Waggoner.[25] Even in songs that have been learnt from the same source by two singers minor textual differences can be observed. Thus Frank and Stanley both learnt The Blind Boy from Stanley's father. Their points of variation in the

second verse are shown below;

Stanley:
With my fingers I can trace every line on mother's face,
For with smiles on me she beams, I can see her in my dreams.
Father takes me on 'is knee, brothers are so kind to me,
Sisters' arms around me twine, yes, they love me because I'm blind.[26]

Frank:
With my fingers I can trace every line on mother's face.
Oft a smile upon me beams, I can see it in my dreams.
Father takes me on his knee, brothers are so kind to me,
Sister's arms around me twine, kisses me because I'm blind.[27]

Similarly in Break the News to Mother they vary at the start of the second verse:

Stanley:
From afar a note to the general that witnessed this brave deed.[28]

Frank:
Then up came the dear old general who heard of this brave deed.[29]

Having attempted to show the nature of variation as it has been recorded in West Sheffield, we must now consider some of the forces that have produced these changes. Without doubt the major cause of both melodic and textual variation is forgetting, and the need to substitute or improvise to preserve the song from fragmentation. Thus the melody of Betsy the Serving Maid is suitably adapted in the first verse to accommodate a two line stanza.[30]

Example 20

Sweet Bet-sy up to— Lon-don went

To— seek some ser—vice, To — seek some ser—vice with dis-con— -tent.

Frank's last verse to The Nobleman and the Thresherman demonstrates a similar contraction.[31]

Example 21

So well has thou spo-ken of thy – wife

I'll make thee to live hap-py all the rest – of thy – life

There are many other examples of melodic change to accommodate material irregularities and these may affect the whole form of the song. Thus George White's version of The White Cockade is uniformly a three line stanza in contrast to the usual four line form.[32] Under exceptional circumstances a song may assume an irregular character throughout as has happened with Frank's version of Young Henry the Poacher, the melodic form of which is BC'BCBCDD/ABCDD/ABC'BC'BCDD/ABCDD/ABCDD.[33] Although the second, fourth and fifth verses appear to conform to a pattern it is worth noting that this is not the form noted by Kidson (ABCDEE)[34] or that recorded from the Norfolk singer, Walter Pardon (ABCDE).[35] Frank's form is fixed, as a second recording has shown,[36] and there is every reason to believe that the song is performed as it was learnt from his father. However, in Mary of the Wild Moor Frank completely recreates a song from half forgotten fragments,[37] as later requests made by him for the words confirm.[38]

Two other ways in which songs become altered are by rationalisation and localisation. Rationalisation generally takes place when an element of a song becomes confused or misunderstood. Thus when Grace was last recorded singing The Broken Token she substituted 'ring' for 'hoop' probably because at an earlier performance a friend had queried its meaning.[39] A similar incident occurred after Frank's performance of The Bold Grenadier over the sense of 'queen' [quean?]; and it would be interesting to see if he chooses to modify this text in a similar manner.[40]

In this context it can be seen that the audience as well as the singers exert a critical function over the songs and thereby contribute to the process of rationalisation. For Hail Smiling Morn the printed version has 'who the gay face of nature doth enfold',[41] but in West Sheffield it has become 'all the green fields that nature doth enfold'[42] or even 'o'er green fields that nature doth enfold'.[43]

Localisations are also to be found in the repertoire. For example the squire in Young Henry the Poacher is called Dungworth,[44] in a'Kiss and Nothing More' the youth wanders 'around Lodge Moor',[45] and in some versions of The Wild Rover the name of the pub is mentioned e.g. the Peacock.[46] This process of giving the songs a local identity is paralleled in some of the carol titles, which seemingly refer to local landmarks such as Spout Cottage, Back Lane, Tinwood or Tyre Mill.

One aspect of change which has been touched on above and is arguably implicit in some of the examples of melodic variation is creativity. In a sense it is true to say that each performance of the same song represents a creative act on the part of the singer. However, in objective terms, from experience in West Sheffield, it would seem that each performance provides little to distinguish it from any other. Although the pitch and pulse may vary slightly as may the vocal control of the performer, such details can hardly be described as examples of creativity, especially when text and tune are substantially unaltered except for passing notes and slides. Only when a song is in a fragmented form can innovations be observed, as in the version of Mary of the Wild Moor cited above or in Stanley's reconstructed first line to The Song of a Thrush.[47] A clear example of creativity does exist, nonetheless, in the local composition, Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours[48] and in Frank Hinchliffe's own song.[49] George Hancock's reworking of Barbara Allen not only provides a further example of localisation but also demonstrates the ease with which such recreation can take place when it complies with the existing formulae.

At Carsick I was bred and born,
At Sheephill is my dwelling.
I fell in love with a pretty fair maid
And 'er name were Edith Allen.[50]

Edith herself significantly prefaces the song by describing it as 'his own'.

From our discussion of stability and change it is apparent that the West Sheffield repertoire exhibits uniqueness not only through the existence of variants but in the composition of the repertoire itself. Perhaps it is no longer possible, given the twentieth century's social and geographical mobility, to establish distributions for individual songs, groups of songs, or styles of performance in the way that dialectologists have been able, by systematic recording, to map dialect areas.[51] However, a comparison with neighbouring areas and with those in which substantial fieldwork has taken place confirms this claim. The following incident provides an example of the process of transmission. We can observe the way in which a song was selected, learnt and subsequently recreated in its new variant thereby contributing to the unique character of the local tradition. In November 1974 Frank, in my presence, heard a young singer perform <u>Old Shep</u>. He obviously enjoyed it very much for he indicated his approval by applauding and commenting 'that's a good un!'. The following year at the same gathering the song was performed once more and this time Frank's comment was unequivocal, 'that's one I want'. Over the next few months he obtained a handwritten copy of the words, and I first heard Frank perform the song in August 1976.[52] Its undoubted appeal to Frank was the pathos of the separation in death of the dog from his master, a mood already prominent in his repertoire in such songs as <u>The Letter Edged in Black</u>,[53] <u>The Blind Boy</u>[54] and <u>Nobody's Child</u>.[55] But in Frank's version the melody becomes subtly altered and the effect is to emphasise the pathos. In the skeletal melodic representations shown below it can be seen that Frank does this, in harmonic terms, by extending the duration of the relative minor and introducing an inflected passing note. The songs melodic form is ABCB and Frank's variation occurs in the first, second and fourth of the phrases.[56]

Example 22

Standard

Frank's variation

It is only through the observation of singers over a number years that one can hope to witness the actual transmission of a song. But here it is more than just transmission, it is regeneration and recreation, which is the essence of an active as opposed to a moribund tradition.

Footnotes

1. Derby Public Libraries, Derbyshire Collection, 8607, Thomas Ford, Ballads.
2. The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads, introduced by John Holloway (Glasgow, 1971),No.159b.
3. Transcript Whi 17.
4. Michael Yates informs me that a Cheshire version exists in manuscript.
5. Transcripts Wal 22 and Hin 49. See also Michael Yates, 'English Gypsy Songs', Folk Music Journal, 3 (1975), 77. Reproduced by kind permission.
6. Angela Brasil, 'The Child Ballads 1', Folk Songs of Britain, 10 vols, Vol.4, 12T160 (Topic Records Ltd.).
7. George Dunn, LEE4042 (Leader Records, 1973). Savile Ramsden was recorded by A.E. Green of The Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies, University of Leeds, see Tape Archive B42.
8. Bob Hart, Percy Webb and Ernest Austin, Flash Company, 12TS243 (Topic Records Ltd., 1974).
9. 'Tater Beer Night', A Song for Every Season, LEA4046 (Leader Records, 1971).
10. Transcript Hin 23. See also Just a Song at Twilight, edited and introduced by Michael R. Turner and Antony Miall (London, 1975), p.229.
11. Transcript Mar 19. See also Sixty Old Time Variety Songs (London [no date]), pp.144-5.
12. Transcripts Wal 29, Hin 58 and War 8.
13. Transcript Hin 70.
14. See transcripts Gre 38 and Hin 57.
15. See transcripts Mar 20 and Tay 3.
16. See transcripts Gre 8 and BroB 7.
17. Recorded 23 April 1970, S9. See transcripts Hin 43 and Wal 17.
18. Christmas Carols, enlarged edition (Marks and Spencer, Manchester [no date]).
19. Hunters' Songs (Holmfirth, 1948), No.10. See BroA 9.
20. Community Song Album, No.3 (Francis and Day, London [no date]).
21. Recorded 24 February 1971.
22. Recorded 23 April 1970.

23. Compare transcripts Whi 20 and Tay 5.
24. Compare transcripts Tay 4 and Whi 17.
25. Compare transcripts Tay 3 and Mar 20.
26. Transcript Mar 7.
27. Transcript Hin 4.
28. Transcript Mar 8.
29. Transcript Hin 7.
30. Transcript HanG 3.
31. Transcript Hin 42.
32. See transcript Whi 25.
33. See transcript Hin 73.
34. <u>Traditional Tunes</u>, collected and edited with notes by Frank Kidson, reprinted edition (Wakefield, 1970), p.130.
35. <u>A Proper Sort</u>, LED2063 (Leader Records, 1975).
36. Recording made by David Bland of Leader Records, 20 September 1972.
37. See transcript Hin 39.
38. For example Sportsman, Lodge Moor, 30 January 1971, S24.
39. See Wal 3. The initial query was recorded 30 March 1970. See p.112.
40. See transcript Hin 5.
41. <u>Christmas Carols</u> (Marks and Spencer).
42. See transcript PubS 9.
43. See 'Albert and Bernard Broadhead' p.32.
44. See transcript Hin 73.
45. See transcript Hin 32.
46. See transcript WomJ 7.
47. See transcript Mar 33.
48. See transcripts Whi 10 and Wal 6.
49. See transcript Hin 17.
50. Transcript HanG 1.
51. See for example <u>Survey of English Dialects: Basic Material</u>, edited by Harold Orton and others, Introduction and 12 vols (Leeds, 1962-71), and Harold Orton and Nathalia Wright, <u>A Word Geography of England</u> (London and New York, 1974).
52. Bell Hagg Inn, 21 August 1976.
53. See transcript Hin 35.
54. See transcript Hin 4.
55. Performed at Stanhope Arms, Dunford Bridge on 5 November 1974.

56. Standard version noted from Tony Colwill, 5 November 1974 and 5 November 1975. It follows that popularised by Elvis Presley. Frank's version was noted 21 August 1976. Checked against recording, 1 September 1976.

TAPROOM IN THE SPORTSMAN, LODGE MOOR

'after throng 'ad gone'

Wilf Broomhead and Stanley Marsden

Billy Mills, Doug Marsden and Frank Hinchliffe

13 ATTITUDES AND RELATIONSHIPS

In the studies of individual singers reference was made to their attitudes towards each other, and in the section on pub singing their interaction was examined. The relationship of one performer with another and with the community is an important aspect of this discussion. It sets the tone of the tradition and helps us to identify its implicit concepts.

Among the singers the primary cause of insecurity is the fear that the group should lose its corporate identity through the encroachment of the city. This problem manifests itself in two related ways. Firstly the pubs have become increasingly popular with the city dwellers, and secondly to cater for the new influx into the area the breweries have been altering and expanding them. If the first development makes singing more difficult, the second renders it impossible. Even during the days of the regular Saturday night sessions at the Sportsman, Lodge Moor, most of the singing took place 'after throng 'ad gone',[1] for the presence of strangers noticeably delayed the start. The conditions necessary to create the right atmosphere for singing are finely poised. At times such a situation might lead to conflict and hostile exchange as when Frank Hinchliffe was criticised for singing local carols with which the town-dwellers visiting the Bell Hagg were unfamiliar;[2] or even the impasse reached in Stannington where the singers believe that they are being laughed at by the newcomers and censured by the police.[3] It is this persecution, imagined or real, that has driven singers like George Hancock and Stanley Marsden out of the pubs and has put others on the defensive. A request for an old favourite might be met by remarks such as 'they don't know it' or 'they won't listen'.[4] That the rebuilding of pub interiors has had a catastrophic effect on the tradition in the district was emphasised in a recent conversation with Frank. When he was asked why he had not been out for at least six months, he replied that there was simply nowhere left for him to go.[5]

If there is little cause for hope for the future at least the singers demonstrate a certain resolve tempered by obligation towards their fellows. This can best be seen in Lewis Ward's remarks which refer to the expectation that each member actively contributes towards the entertainment of the group.[6] The attitude is exemplified by Albert Broadhead's unselfish role as striker in the pub sessions; 'You're wrapt up in it. Some chaps don't mind what it is, long as you're having a go'.[7] Under such

circumstances members of the group become particularly noted for certain items and even nicknamed after their party-piece. Thus Lewis is affectionately referred to as 'Archibald' after his favourite joke,[8] John Taylor was nicknamed 'The Farmer's Boy' by fellow drinkers at the Sportsman and further north there is a 'Piddling Pete' and a 'Mrs Yo-yo'.[9] Other instances of this mutual obligation have been observed in George Hancock's behaviour in hospital[10] and in Grace Walton's contribution to the entertainment at the Mayfield's Community Centre.[11] It is remarkable how important the regular repetition of a favourite song may become. It is greeted with renewed enthusiasm and its meaning or humour never seem to pall. The exchange between David Smith and Eric Walker to encourage the performance of 'A Few Jovial Sportsmen', one of Albert's specialities is pertinent;

Eric: How about 'Hills to Echo'?
David: 'Make the hills to echo and the valleys to ring'. We 'aven't 'ad it for a while.
Eric: We 'aven't 'ad it sin' last week!.[12]

Equally as important as the attitude of the singers towards outsiders and towards their responsibility as performers, is that shown towards each other. This ranges from warm appreciation through quiet co-operation to friendly rivalry and occasional hostility. The prompting of songs within the pub sessions provides positive encouragement.[13] Similarly when a singer forgets the words, others will step in to help him. When Stanley hesitated in When Irish Eyes Are Smiling, Frank was ready to supply the next phrase.[14] In much the same manner Frank had once helped Riley Marsden in the completion of Kitty Wells.[15] Before a performance of The Nobleman and the Thresherman Frank himself had appealed to Grace for help; 'Get ready for swinging on to t'end of lines 'cos I break down nearly at end'.[16] Other forms of encouragement consist of brief compliments such as 'good un!' or 'good ol' Bill!' and for an exceptional performance a round of applause.[17] On some occasions the remarks would be a little more critical. When Doug Marsden followed John Taylor's version of The Jolly Waggoner he laid himself open for scorn. Doug sang ''twas a cold and frosty morning I was wet through to the skin', but broke down and Billy Mills was quick to see the humour, 'you ought 've 'ad some Trill

[bird seed]'. When Stanley took up the same line again, Frank could no longer contain himself and interjected 'wait a minute'. What's thou want "a cold and frosty morn" when thou goes drinking beer? It's "a cold and frosty night"'.[18] John Taylor bore the brunt of much comment and after another rendition of the same song, which he refused to lead or join in, came an ironic 'good old John!'[19] If the pitch of a song is too low it will also be criticised, 'we'd our bellies to t'ground'.[20]

This type of comment is an example of the good natured belligerence that is common in the pub sessions. More serious are the differences of opinion that have occasionally come to the surface. In two such cases Frank has been involved. Firstly he criticised, with others, the Broadheads' performance of songs out of season.

> Same as Broadheads are, they don't bother. They've got me vexed a time or two. I bet it were two month sin' int' Sportsman they were 'We Plough the Fields and Scatter', I mean harvest hymns . . . . Anyhow I says we better have 'Hark Hark' [Christmas carol] now. I were playin' at dominoes. I don't know if they knew it were me what had said it.[21]

Secondly he was criticised in turn by Jack Couldwell for breaking down during a performance of The Model Church.[22] Jack said that he would never start a song unless he could finish it.

One aspect of the tradition that would seem to be vital to its well-being is the relationship between parent and child. As pub singing becomes more difficult so the future of the tradition might be seen to depend solely on the success of such links. The evidence of relationships which clearly indicate transmission are scarce. Of course, the Broadheads, John Taylor and Bert Womack are excluded by virtue of their bachelor status. There are, however, some possibilities. Barry White, like Frank's son Roger, participates wholeheartedly in the carols. Furthermore Roger appears to have strengthened his ties by his marriage to Billy Mills' daughter, Eileen. Although Ted Wragg's bachelor status would seem to preclude him from this role, it was noted that a young nephew was one of his regular drinking companions and an audience for his songs. Unfortunately I was not able to ascertain whether Charles Green's children had followed their father in his love of singing, although a grandchild had

recorded from him The Titanic[23] in connection with a project at school. One of the relationships for which we have firm evidence is also between a grandparent and grandchild. George Hancock had taught some of his songs including The Rosy Morn to his grandchild Keith before he started school.[24] The other relates to Grace who is in the process of writing out her songs for her daughter, Fay.[25] Insubstantial as this evidence would seem, the picture is not without hope as additional research may yet confirm.

From this discussion of relationships we might usefully turn to consider attitudes towards music. Popular singers are generally ignored with a few exceptions, notably Jim Reeves,[26] whereas choral singing and brass band music have much greater appeal, especially the Christmas carol concerts such as the one George Hancock goes to at Earl's Cement Works at Bradwell in Derbyshire or that which Frank attended in the Church at Stannington.[27] The Bradfield Choral Society, the Stannington Silver Band and the Bolsterstone Male Voice Choir are other organisers of major concerts in the area. It is perhaps this respect for choral singing and the implied approval of its style that is responsible for the general admiration shown towards the singers from the neighbouring district of Worrall. For example Charles Green simply remarks 'they've some good singers at Worrall'.[28] Stanley's appraisal is more discerning.

> Used to get one or two good ones at Dungworth. Better singers at Royal than we 'ave up 'ere really. And there's been one or two good ones at Shoulder at Worrall but there's some bad ones there as well. Bradfield, I've heard one or two good ones.[29]

The type of singing that is admired is that exemplified by Jack Couldwell of Worrall who was recorded at Dungworth.[30] His reputation both as a singer and a pianist for the Christmas carols at the Blue Ball at Worrall is widely respected. During his younger days he was a friend of Walter Colley, a noted Wadsley singer who is now dead, and together they would visit and perform at many pubs throughout the district including the Three Merry Lads at Lodge Moor. Their repertoire contained such items as the duet, Larboard Watch, The Old House and comic songs like the one Jack sang at the Royal, 'Now I'm Going to Sing a Song to You This Evening'.[31] It is not the songs, however, for which the West Sheffield singers have

great respect but rather the style of performance. Jack's voice has never been trained although in some respects his singing gives this impression. It is essentially basso profundo, declamatory and dramatic, with accompanying gestures. Although he did not actually stand up to sing, it would have been natural for him to have done so. His voice is produced well to the back of the throat such that his enunciation becomes distorted and drawled. The overall effect is of a forced, highly-stylised and self-conscious performance. The appeal of this demonstrative style to the West Sheffield singers is indisputable, but it is perhaps more significant that they have not chosen to imitate it.

Throughout our discussion of relationships and pub singing in particular, one factor would seem to be of fundamental importance, that is the existence of an hierarchal structure within the singing fraternity, referred to earlier as a pecking order.[32] It is this factor that dictates what a singer performs, when he performs and if he performs at all in a group situation. The workings of this principle are not only related to seniority of age but also to other factors. For example, David Smith's standing is greatly enhanced by his vocal prowess, Albert's by his ability to lead the chorus, Bernard's by his knowledge of Irish songs and Frank's by his large repertoire. Another factor that was seen to operate related to the vocal form of a singer. It was observed that from time to time different singers would take a particularly active role in the session, and the rest of the company would usually warm to their efforts.[33] However, if the singer's standing within the group was unsure or unestablished such persistence would become subject to disapproval and non-participation.[34] It was clearly a dispute over pecking order that led to the confrontation between Jack and Frank at Dungworth referred to above. Initially Frank was prepared to stake his claim by arguing, but such was the uncomprising attitude of the older man that Frank gave way and for the rest of the session he participated with great enthusiasm as if to earn Jack's respect and thereby acknowledged his seniority. Although it would seem that seniority of age overrides other criteria, it is also true that Frank is a very mild mannered man and respectful of his elders, especially with reference to their knowledge of songs. Moreover Jack was in one of his local pubs whereas Frank was in effect a stranger. Undoubtedly further research is needed to determine the integration of temperamental and social factors in this

area.

We have shown earlier the way in which this hierarchy not only governs the ownership of songs but also affects the composition of the local repertoire, a phenomenon identified as complementarity.[35] We might usefully here enlarge upon those comments. Complementarity of repertoires among different singers exists as a result of specialisation. Both Lewis Ward and Billy Mills favour comic songs, Frank and Stanley share an enjoyment for sentimental ballads, Albert and Bernard specialise in Irish songs, whereas George White and George Hancock prefer the older type of song associated with broadsides. Broadly speaking these partialities are reflected in the repertoire; however, it is essentially a social feature in that only by singing in company can such specialities become known and respected. Furthermore there seems to be some evidence of pairing among the performers in this respect. For example, if a spiritual item such as The Old Rugged Cross was called for at the Sportsman, Lodge Moor, David Smith would probably take the lead but Bernard Broadhead could also be relied upon;[36] similarly an older song such as The Nobleman and the Thresherman would be led by John Taylor or Frank Hinchliffe depending on their availability.[37] It is through the working of such arrangements and the observance of convention that the West Sheffield singers ensure the continuance of their tradition.

Footnotes

1. Frank Hinchliffe, recorded 16 September 1970.
2. See p.85.
3. See pp.128-9.
4. Frank Hinchliffe, noted 21 August 1976.
5. Ibid.
6. See p.127.
7. Recorded 13 May 1973.
8. See p.137 footnote 66.
9. These nicknames refer to Arthur Howard of Hazelhead, who regularly performs a recitation, 'Piddling Pete', and Betty Dawson of Wadsley who sings 'Show Me your Yo-yo Tonight'.
10. See p.54.
11. See p.106.
12. Recorded 19 September 1972.
13. See p.121.
14. See transcript Mar 45.
15. See p.73.
16. Recorded 23 April 1970. See transcript Hin 42.
17. Recorded 30 January 1971. See for example transcript PubS 7.
18. Recorded 2 March 1971.
19. Recorded 4 March 1972. Also see p.122.
20. Recorded 21 August 1976.
21. Recorded 20 October 1971.
22. Recorded 26 May 1971, S27. See Hin 40.
23. See transcript Gre 35.
24. See p.63.
25. Noted 25 September 1976.
26. See p.109 and p.96.
27. See p.76.
28. Recorded 12 July 1973.
29. Recorded 5 October 1972.
30. Recorded 26 May 1971. See Appendix 7.
31. See transcript PubR 8.
32. See pp.125-6.
33. See for example Bernard Broadhead's contribution at the Sportsman, 5 August 1972, when he led almost half of the songs (S39).

34. On 29 July 1972 at the Sportsman a stranger started singing. Although the songs were known no-one joined in.

35. See p.8.

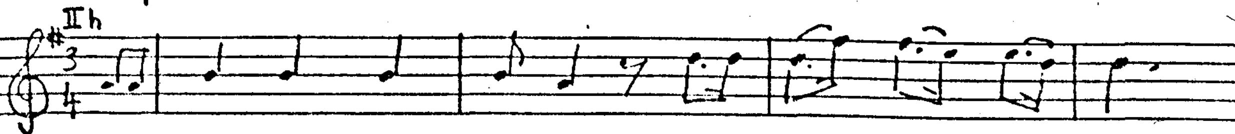
36. See transcript PubS 22.

37. See 22 August 1970, S13 and 2 March 1971, S27.

Just as with many other aspects of the tradition, there are diversifying and unifying elements in performance style. Each singer performs a song differently to his fellow and these points of divergence can be seen to provide a further instance of complementarity... In the sections on the individual singers attention was drawn to this aspect. It is equally true that just as singers tend to have an individual style, so a group of singers from the same area exhibit common features and it is this with which we shall now be concerned.

The West Sheffield singers usually sing unaccompanied in a manner we might describe as introversive: they perform seated without showing any recognition of an audience through facial expression, gesture or dramatisation of their material. The singing is robust, towards the top of the vocal range and commonly employing a slight rise in pitch. It is free from crooning and excessive use of vibrato, nor is their much nasalisation. There is, however, diversity in voice production, for some singers employ a declamatory technique whereas others are more lyrical. Albert Broadhead, George Hancock and Charles Green are more forceful and vigorous singers than either Lewis Ward or Frank Hinchliffe. Similarly not all the singers use the same ornamentation but the common stock includes passing notes and slides, with the occasional use of turns, inflected passing notes, tremolo and vibrato. That such decoration is often of an anticipatory kind can be seen in the example below from 'A Few Jovial Sportsmen' as sung by Albert Broadhead.[1]

Example 23



Anticipation may also take the form of slides as in this example from Grace Walton's version of Edward.[2]

Example 24

Another form of anticipatory ornamentation is a vocal scoop. It takes the form of a slide up into a note of the melody from about a third below. It is particularly employed by the two ladies, Grace Walton and Edith Lawson, and can be seen in Edith's first phrase of The Highwayman Outwitted.[3]

Example 25

It was a rich farm-er of Chesh - ire

If a turn is used it is normally reserved for the phrase final as in Stanley Marsden's 'Another Year Has Passed Away'.[4]

Example 26

An- o—ther— year has passed—a-way time swift-ly speeds—a-long.

In a similar manner vibrato is employed to emphasise the final or the climax of the phrase which usually corresponds to the peak of the melodic contour. This can be seen in the chorus of Frank's Young Henry the Poacher.[5]

Example 27

Young men all be a - ware lest you're drawn in-to a snare —

Another technique that is associated with the melodic peak is the tremolo. George Hancock's 'A Few Jovial Sportsmen' contains some clear examples.[6]

Example 28

Id. For the sound of the 'unts- man ·(h)and 'is mel - low tone hom—

The use of an aspiration to punctuate a melodic phrase, as George demonstrates above, or to initiate a word spelt with a redundant aitch, such as honour or hour, is sometimes encountered.[7] Finally in the songs that already demonstrate modulation there are often inflected passing notes as Charles Green employs in the phrase below from 'We Were Sweethearts'.[8]

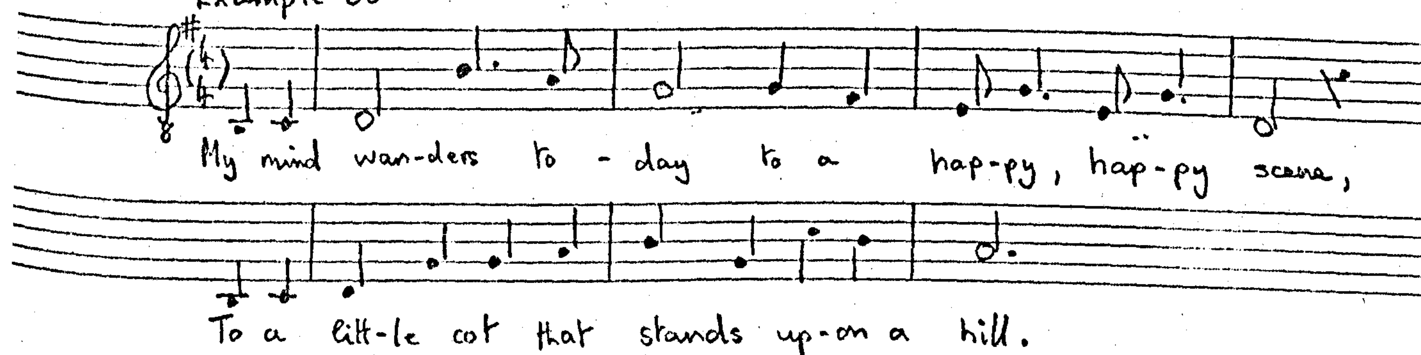
Example 29

We were sweet'earts do I re- mem - ber those dear hap-py days of old,

When we went to school to- ga th - er, fair love stor-ies sweet you told.

These examples illustrate the principal melodic decorations that characterise the local tradition.

There is a great deal of contrast in rhythmic terms between the different singers of West Sheffield. Some perform their songs in strict tempo, others employ a varying pulse. Moreover there are those singers who regularly alter the character of the metre by truncation or extension of the measure or in some cases by recasting the measure itself with different emphasis. Thus compound time may become simple, just as duple, triple and quadruple times may be interchanged. This rhythmic complexity is most often encountered in rubato singing but is evident throughout the repertoire. Thus simple changes may take place in the pause between phrases or at the caesura as in Charles Green's The Fields of Waving Corn which is in strict tempo.[9]



Simple time may similarly be varied within the phrase as shown in the opening of George White's Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime;[10]

and similarly in the second phrase of Frank's Young Henry the Poacher.[11]

When a bar is extended in compound duple time the effect may not interfere with the overall rhythm. Thus Grace unobtrusively introduces a bar of $\frac{9}{8}$ into Jockey to the Fair.[12]

However, when the measure is truncated to $\frac{5}{8}$ for instance it clearly gives a sense of urgency to the phrase as can be seen in Frank's second verse of The Spotted Cow.[13]

Example 34

Good morn-ing, to this maid said I, What makes you up so soon?

On some occasions divergence is so complete that the original $\frac{6}{8}$ character is obscured. Consider the first two phrases of Stanley's The Pardon Came Too Late which demonstrate an extraordinary rhythmic subtlety.[14]

Example 35

Rubato

A - round the camp-fire burn-ing bright the sto-ry was then told,

Of a moth-er on 'er dy-ing bed called forth her son so bold.

Renditions of such rhythmic complexity are not exceptional and there are several examples in the transcriptions.[15] Perhaps more unusual are those examples of rhythmic change that demonstrate a recognisable pattern. Bernard Broadhead begins Beautiful Swale Dale in $\frac{6}{4}$ but switches to $\frac{4}{4}$ after the first phrase.[16]

Example 36

♩126

I'll sing of a song that is dear to my heart of a place where I al-ways would dwell,

♩184

And if you will kind-ly lend me your ear a few of its beau-ties I'll tell,

In Frank's Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime, he changes for the second phrase from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{2}{4}$.[17]

Example 37

As I strolled down by the old Roy-al Al-bi-on,

So dark was the night and so cold was the day

Here there is a difference in emphasis that would seem to characterise the rhythmic interpretation of the two singers. Bernard's switch provides melodic interest and is consistent throughout the song. Frank's switch, however, is not and has its basis in the text. Because the line sets the scene and is essentially non-narative Frank chooses not to dwell on it. He achieves the desired effect with an ease that completely overshadows the conflict between the two rhythms. In this sense Frank and Bernard represent opposite poles on a continuum of rhythmic interpretation. At one end there are the renditions whose rhythmic character is dictated by melodic precepts: they conform to the accepted pattern of vocal music without irregularities. At the other end there are those renditions that depend upon the singer's interpretation of the meaning of a song; they are individualised and idiosyncratic, free from the straight-jacket of metrical conformity. In certain instances this is borne out by the singer's own stated aesthetic. Albert Braodhead and Charles Green, who both perform in an even-paced style, stress the importance of melody in their choice of song;[18] whereas Frank Hinchliffe and Stanley Marsden, who have been noted for their rubato approach, emphasise the meaning of the song.[19] To a certain extent the chorus singing in the pub minimises such differences, but even here there are singers who hustle a song along and must pause to wait for those who let the melody take its full course.

The ways in which performance style manifests itself in the language that a singer uses in a song are difficult to determine. In the first place they may be integral features of that variant, and secondly the

acceptance of Standard English as the register for song tends to preclude dialectal usage.[20] Nonetheless there are several instances that might profitably be considered. In Grace's second verse of The Garden Gate she clearly uses repetition to emphasise the meaning.

> She paced the garden o'er and o'er, the village clock struck nine,
> And Mary vowed and vowed and said, Thou shalt not, thou shalt not be mine.[21]

It is also for emphasis that Frank's first verse of The Wild Rover lists an extra vice.

> I've been a wild rover for many a long year.
> Spent all of my money on whisky, women and beer.[22]

In Edward, Frank appears to have embroidered the text by sentimentalising the father.

> What wilt thou do with thy children three?
> My son, come tell it unto me.
> I shall leave them in my good old father's care
> To keep him company.[23]

There are examples of non-standard usage. The term 'hoop' to denote a finger ring in The Broken Token is probably an archaism,[24] as is certainly the case with George White's relic form of the participle in The Golden Glove.

> A waistcoat and trousers she then did put on
> As she went y-hunting [ɪ'hʌntɪŋ] with 'er dog and 'er gun.[25]

Moreover there are some examples of dialect within the local repertoire. Most of these are integral to the text such that there are songs of Irish, Scottish, Northumbrian, Tyneside, Yorkshire Dales, and Lancashire descent that are characterised by examples of their respective dialects.[26] However, there are a few items that display local dialectal features. Bernard Broadhead's 'I'm Always Glad to See a Man Like Thee' contains

An' then I fell in love with a bonny village lass.
I thought o' nowt but her both night and day,

and

Draw thee chair reet up to t'table,
stop as long as thou art able.[27]

Frank Hinchliffe's song about the angler provides additional interesting examples;

While forgin' of me scales an' springs an' blowin' up me bellows ['bɛləz
Another line or two I'll penned about my shopmate Joe Ellis.
In mekin' flights an' fishing tools, thin's all as goes int' Darren ['darən]
I'll nimbly trip it o'er yon moss till I comes to t'River Darren.[28]

However, because both these songs were probably originally conceived in the vernacular, which is also true of Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours,[29] their usage of dialect can hardly be considered as stylistic features of performance. This is certainly not the case with John Taylor's version of The Nobleman and the Thresherman which contains the following

The children they are playin' and sprottlin' [sprawling, struggling helplessly] with their toys,
For that is all the pleasure that a poor man enjoys.[30]

Similarly Frank's version of The Spotted Cow has

All in the grove we spent the day
That semp to pass too soon.[31]

Finally in Grace's version of The Pear Tree there is

Me an' two other boys we went for a spree
An' on our way we let for [chance upon, find] a pear tree.

as well as

> Come all ye fair maids wherever you may be,
> Nivver go a-courting under a pear tree.[32]

Although such examples are unusual, they at least confirm the existence of such features in the performance style.

In the course of this discussion we have sketched out a relationship between a singer's approach to rhythm and his aesthetic. Moreover, we have demonstrated that there is not a single style associated with West Sheffield, though certain stylistic elements are held in common by most or all of the singers, but rather that at least two distinct approaches to performance exist. These have been identified by the correlation of a declamatory delivery with an even pulse, and by that of a lyrical, contemplative delivery with a freer rhythm. This is not to suggest the existence of a distinctly local singing style or styles, for there is not enough external evidence, in the shape of published regional studies, to support such a claim — a lack which, in its turn, is partly a result of as yet unsolved methodological problems in the description of singing style. In fact, the local stylistic features may represent idiolects rather than a musical dialect. With reference to language it has been shown that dialect itself does not play an important role but serves to flavour songs that otherwise conform to a generalised poetic diction. We might reasonably conclude that if there is a regional distribution of performance styles it is in the music rather than the words that it is likely to appear most strongly. Within the context of the present study which covers only a few square miles of South Yorkshire we cannot hope to answer such crucial questions but rather to raise them in order that the local findings may help to contribute towards an empirical consideration of singing style within Anglo-American song culture as a whole.

Footnotes

1. Transcript BroA 1.
2. Transcript Wal 5.
3. Transcript Law 1.
4. Transcript Mar 2.
5. Transcript Hin 73.
6. Transcript HanG 8.
7. See transcript Wal 7.
8. Transcript Gre 40.
9. Transcript Gre 11.
10. Transcript Whi 27.
11. Transcript Hin 73.
12. Transcript Wal 13.
13. Transcript Hin 54.
14. Transcript Mar 30.
15. See for example transcripts Mar 22, Hin 63, BroB 20 and Whi 16.
16. Transcript BroB 1.
17. Recorded 23 April 1970, S9. See transcript Hin 74.
18. See p.35 and p.47.
19. See p.75 and pp.97-8.
20. See A.E. Green, 'Folk-Song and Dialect', Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, Part LXXII, 13 (1972), 20-46 (p.30).
21. Transcript Wal 7.
22. Transcript Hin 69.
23. Transcript Hin 12.
24. See transcript Wal 3.
25. Transcript Whi 11.
26. See for example We're No Awa' tae Bide Awa', transcript BroA 11, Blaydon Races, transcript BroB 4, and The Song of Swale Dale, transcript BroB 19.
27. Transcript BroB 13.
28. Transcript Hin 63.
29. See transcripts Whi 10 and Wal 6.
30. Transcript Tay 4.
31. Transcript Hin 54.

32. Transcript Wal 22. Frank Hinchliffe and Joseph Jones both sing 'met a pear tree'. See Hin 49 and Michael Yates, 'English Gypsy Songs', <u>Folk Music Journal</u>, 3 (1975), 77.

15 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter has been twofold. Firstly we have restated in general terms the major elements of the tradition. Secondly we have attempted to analyse these to establish the underlying principles that govern their working.

In an earlier consideration of the function of traditional song we isolated the two main factors of meaning and usage.[1] We have already demonstrated in the sections on individual singers how both these operate; and we have also shown in this chapter how meaning relates the repertoire to the singers in a wider perspective through the central theme. Just as a singer is united to his song by its meaning so he is by the occasion of its performance. We might therefore profitably conclude our discussion by summarising the instances of usage that have been encountered.

The most common occasion for singing was at work or about the house. Charles Green and several others had accompanied hand-milking with a song, Frank sings when he is driving a tractor, Stanley remembers that he sang whilst following the horses, Lewis recalled singing at his work under Redmires dams, and Grace sings about her housework, especially the washing. The relief of tedium would seem to be the common motive here, as it was when George Hancock sang in hospital, as it is when Frank sings on his walk home up to Fulwood Head, or when Rhoda and her sisters have a singsong during a car journey. It was also one of the reasons that Tom White wrote out his songs for George when his son was conscripted into the army during the last war; 'Learn them through it will pass your time on'.[2] All these examples represent instances when songs were performed not merely for their own sake but as an integral part of their singer's experience.

It is recognised that while this study of traditional singing in West Sheffield has established several kinds of usage, it has observed only one at first hand, the recreational function of pub singing. There are certainly many other types of occasion in which singing naturally features such as the family reunion, perhaps at Christmas, the celebration of a birthday, a wedding or a christening, the get-together of a club or other organisation, as well as the working situation. Thus our main conclusion will not depend upon the interpretation of such information for that much has already been attempted in our section on pub singing, but rather we will look beyond this study to consider its implications.

For the last eighty years most field studies of traditional song in Britain seem to have been preoccupied with a frenzied, almost panic-stricken amassing of texts and tunes at the expense of all other information, especially that relating to the singers, who are all too often peremptorily dismissed as 'carriers'.[3] Contextual study must surely be the prime area in which traditional singing should be researched. Fortunately there is some recognition of this need as testified by the recent reprinting of the pioneering autobiography of Henry Burstow,[4] and the publication of those of Bob Copper[5] and John Maguire.[6] The alternative would be deplorable, that investigation in this country forever remains the province of the dilettante or collector who, with his romantic vision, is unable to think beyond Cecil Sharp's hastily formulated precepts. Resources are too limited to forever gamble them away on the faulty premise that, 'in less than a decade . . . English folk singing will be extinct',[7] or under the belief that the collection of song necessarily saves it from oblivion or even ensures its traditional survival. Traditional singing in West Sheffield is ongoing, as it undoubtedly is in other geographical and social milieux, despite the cultural effects of industrialisation, urbanisation, commercialisation, and the development of mass media. It has been the primary aim of this study to recognise, to record and to describe this tradition.

Footnotes

1. See p.7.
2. From material consulted from photo-copies of the original ballads donated to the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, University of Sheffield, by George White.
3. See Michael Yates, 'Editorial', Folk Music Journal, 3 (1975), 2 and Tom Munnelly 'The Singing Tradition of Irish Travellers' in ibid., pp.3-30 (p.4). It is believed that the term was first coined by Ewan MacColl for his radio series, 'The Song Carriers', BBC Midland Home Service, 1965.
4. Reminiscences of Horsham [edited by William Alberry], reprinted edition (Pennsylvania, 1974).
5. A Song for Every Season (London, 1971).
6. Come Day, Go Day, God Send Sunday, collated by Robin Morton (London, 1973). It is recognized that there is a growing body of published work of this kind on American singing traditions, beginning, in a rather isolated way with Halpert's study of New Jersey singers (1939), and taken up again in the 1960s by the blues scholars, Charters and Oliver, followed by scholars such as Abrahams and Ives. See Bibliography.
7. Cecil Sharp, English Folk Song: Some Conclusions, fourth (revised) edition, prepared by Maud Karpeles (East Ardsley, Wakefield, 1972), p.150.

APPENDIX 1

Reconstructed repertoire of Tom White.

Baby's Prayer
Banks of Sweet Dundee
Barbara Allen
Betsy the Serving Maid
Bonny Blue Handkerchief
Break the News to Mother
Brennan on the Moor
Broken Token
Come to the Bower
Edward
Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours
Garden Gate
Geordie
Gipsy Girl
Golden Glove
Green Mossy Banks of the Lea
Highwayman Outwitted
If Those Lips Could Only Speak
Jockey to the Fair
Jolly Waggoner
Little Brown Jug
Mary of the Wild Moor
Mistletoe Bough
Nobleman and the Thresherman
Nothing Else to Do
Nowt to Do with Me
Nutting Girl
Outlandish Knight
Over the Garden Wall
Pear Tree
Pratty Flowers
Ranmoor Inn
Rotherham Wedding

Sheffield Park

Take That Ring

There Came a Cold Wind from the North

Twelve Apostles

Ump Jump Jack

We Are All Jolly Fellows

Weaver's Daughter

What's the Use of Gold

When the Fields Are White with Daisies

White Cockade

White Cockayne

Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime

APPENDIX 2

The Christmas repertoire recorded at the Sportsman and the Three Merry Lads, Lodge Moor in rank order of popularity.

Back Lane (6)*
Good News (6)
Jacob's Well (6)
Liverpool (6)
Sweet Chiming Bells (6)
Tyre Mill (6)
Awake Arise Good Christians (5)
Egypt (5)
Crimond (While Shepherds) (4)
Merry Christmas (4)
Tinwood (4)
Christmas Tree (3)
Diadem (3)
Hail Smiling Morn (3)
Hark Hark Hark Hark (3)
How Beautiful upon the Mountain (3)
Mistletoe Bough (3)
Song for the Time (3)
Spout Cottage (3)
Star of Bethlehem (3)
Mount Moriah (2)
Pentonville (2)
(Items listed above this point are referred to as a common core repertoire.)
Bright and Joyful (1)
Fern Bank (1)
First Nowell (1)
Lloyd (1)
Mount Zion (1)
New Celestial (1)
O Come All Ye Faithful (1)

* The number of recordings is shown in parentheses.

Old Foster (1)
Pratty Flowers (1)
Sovereignty (1)
Stannington (1)

APPENDIX 3

The non-Christmas repertoire, recorded at the Sportsman, Lodge Moor, in rank order of popularity.
Only those items recorded more than once are listed and are referred to as a common core repertoire.

Old House (7)*
Smiling Through (7)
Jolly Waggoner (6)
Pratty Flowers (6)
Bless This House (5)
Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill (5)
Rosy Morn (5)
Sunshine of your Smile (5)
Farmer's Boy (4)
Soldier's Farewell (4)
Cwm Rhondda (3)
Love's Old Sweet Song (3)
Passing By (3)
With Someone Like You (3)
Few Jovial Sportsmen (2)
Garden Gate (2)
Green Mossy Banks of the Lea (2)
Hail Smiling Morn (2)
Holy City (2)
Hooley in the Kitchen (2)
Jerusalem (2)
Nobleman and the Thresherman (2)
Where There's a Will There's a Way (2)

* The number of recordings is shown in parentheses.

APPENDIX 4

The non-Christmas repertoire of Stannington pubs — reconstructed. Most items were only mentioned or sung in a fragmentary form. The source of the information is shown in parentheses as follows —

Col - Col Goodison
George - George White
Bert - Bert Womack
Jim - Jim Womack
Joe - Joe Womack
Ted - Ted Wragg

Among my Souvenires (Ted/Jim/Joe)
Bailiff's Daughter of Islington (Ted)
Bancroft's the Lad (Col)
Banks of Sweet Dundee (George)
Bluebells Are Bluebells (Ted)
Break the News to Mother (Ted/George)
Cock-a-doodle-do (Jim)
Come to the Bower (Ted/George)
Days of Long Ago (Ted)
Farmer's Boy (Ted)
Flower Girl (Ted)
Galway Bay (Bert)
Give Me the Spade (Col)
Grandfather's Clock (Ted)
Grandmother's Chair (Ted)
Greenland Hunters (Col)
He's Been a Long Time Gorn (Ted)
If Winter Comes with Bitterness (Ted)
I'll Take You Home Again Kathleen (Ted)
I'm Riding Along on a Free Train (Ted/Bert)
In a Churchyard in the City (Ted)
Irish Emigrant (Ted)
Jackson from Barnsley (Col)
Jim the Carter's Lad (Joe)
Jolly Ploughboy (Bert)

Kevin Barry (Bert)
Larboard Watch (Ted)
Log Cabin (Ted)
Long Live School (Bert)
McCaffery (Bert)
Mary (Bert)
Meeting of the Waters (Bert)
Mother Machree (Ted)
Mountains of Mourne (Ted)
My Yorkshire Farm (Joe)
Nobleman and the Thresherman (George)
Nothing Else to Do (Ted/Joe/Col)
Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill (Col/Ted)
Old Virginia (Ted)
Over the Deep Blue Hills (Ted)
O Who Will O'er the Downs So Free (Bert)
Pack Up your Troubles (Bert)
Passing By (Ted)
Pratty Flowers (Ted)
Ring your Mother Wore (Ted)
Rosy Morn (Col)
Sheffield Park (Ted)
Sing Nightingale Again (Ted)
Some Was Poor Soldiering (Bert)
Star of the Evening (Ted)
Sunset Light Was Fading (Ted)
Tall Stalwart Lancer (Ted)
There's a Long Long Trail A-winding (Bert)
There's No Shame in an Irish Name (Bert)
Thora (Ted/Col)
Through the Old Church Door (Bert)
Volunteer Organist (Bert)
We Are All Jolly Fellows (Ted/Joe/Jim)
Weaver's Daughter (Ted)
When Father Papered the Parlour (Bert)
When This Bloody War Is Over (Bert)
When You Played the Organ (Bert)

Whispering Pines of Nevada (Ted)
White Cockade (Ted/Joe/George)
White Wings (Bert)
Why Do I Weep (Ted/Bert)
Wild Rover (Ted/Joe/Jim)
Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime (Bert/Ted)

APPENDIX 5

Songs printed on local broadsides and in chapbooks.

Allan Water [Banks of], Catnach.
At Jacob's Well, chapbook cutting.
Awake Arise Good Christians, chapbook cutting.
Barbara Allen, Catnach.
Bonny Blue Handkerchief, Catnach.
Early One Morning [. . . just as the sun was rising], Ford.
Endearing Young Charms [Belive me if all those . . .], Catnach.
Fair Phoebe and her Dark-eyed Sailor, Ford.
Farmer's Boy, Catnach.
Flowing Bowl [Landlord fill the . . .], Ford.
Gallant Hussar, Ford.
Garden Gate, Catnach.
Garden Gate, Ford.
Golden Glove, Catnach.
Golden Glove, Ford.
Good News [Hark Hark What News], Ford.
Henry's Downfall [Young Henry the Poacher], Ford.
Henry the Poacher [Young Henry the Poacher], Catnach.
Here we come a-wassailing [Wassail Song], chapbook cutting.
Jockey to the Fair, Catnach.
Jolly Fellows that Follow the Plough [We Are All Jolly Fellows], Catnach.
Lucky Farmer's Boy [Farmer's Boy], Catnach.
Lucky Farmer's Boy [Farmer's Boy], Ford.
Mary of the Moor, Catnach.
Nut Girl [Nutting Girl], Catnach.
Nut Girl [Nutting Girl], Ford.
Oughtibridge Trail Hunt [no imprint], Sheffield City Libraries.
Outlandish Knight, Catnach.
Outlandish Knight, Ford.
Poor Mary on the Moor [Mary of the Wild Moor], Ford.
Rose of Allandale, Ford.
Sheffield Park, Catnach.
Spencer the Rover, Ford.

Spotted Cow, Catnach.

Squire and the Thrasher [Nobleman and the Thresherman], Ford.

Star of Bethlehem, Catnach.

Undaunted Mary [Banks of Sweet Dundee], Ford.

Weaver's Daughter, Catnach.

White Cockade, Catnach.

Wild Rover, Catnach.

William and Dinah, Catnach.

William and Dinah, Ford.

Will You Come to the Bower [Come to the Bower], Catnach.

Young Squire and the Thrasher [Nobleman and the Thresherman], Catnach.

Information from -

Derby Public Libraries, Derbyshire Collection 8607, Thomas Ford, Ballads.

J. Catnach, Catalogue of Songs and Books (Seven Dials, London, 1832), by kind permission of R.S. Thomson.

Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, MS, Sidney O. Addy, Christmas Carols [local chapbook cuttings pasted in].

APPENDIX 6

The common core repertoire. Non-Christmas items performed by three or more singers.

Bless This House
Blind Boy
Bonny Mary of Argyl
Break the News to Mother
Cwm Rhondda
Edward
Farmer's Boy
Few Jovial Sportsmen
Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours
Garden Gate
Grandfather's Clock
Green Mossy Banks of the Lea
Hail Smiling Morn
Irish Emigrant
Jolly Waggoner
Love at Home
Love's Old Sweet Song
Mistletoe Bough
Mountains of Mourne
Nobleman and the Thresherman
Nothing Else To Do
Old House
Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill
Passing By
Pratty Flowers
Rosy Morn
Sheffield Park
Smiling Through
Soldier's Farewell
Sunshine of your Smile
Two Little Girls in Blue
Volunteer Organist

Wassail Song

We Are All Jolly Fellows

Weaver's Daughter

White Cockade

Wild Rover

With Someone Like You

Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime

APPENDIX 7

The recorded repertoires of the singers in alphabetical order with reference to the transcriptions.

Atkins, Joe

Dido Bendigo	PubR 2
Joe Bowman	PubR 4
Mardale Hunt	PubR 7
Nobleman and the Thresherman	see Hin 42

Broadhead, Albert

Bless This House	PubS 1
Bonny Mary of Argyl	PubS 2
Cockles and Mussels	PubS 3
Crimond	PubS 5
Cwm Rhondda	PubS 6
Farmer's Boy	see Tay 1
Few Jovial Sportsmen	BroA 1
Grandfather's Clock	see PubR 3
Greatest Cricketer	BroA 2
Irish Rover	BroA 3
John Peel	BroA 4
Larboard Watch	BroA 5
Lark in the Clear Air	BroB 15
Lift on the Way	BroA 6
Old House	PubS 21
Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill	BroA 7
Passing By	PubS 24
Pratty Flowers	BroA 8
Rosy Morn	BroA 9
Smiling Through	PubS 28
Soldier's Farewell	PubS 29
Star of the County Down	BroA 10
Sunshine of your Smile	PubS 30
Tideswell Anthem	PubS 32
We Plough the Fields and Scatter	PubS 33
We're No Awa' tae Bide Awa'	BroA 11

(Albert also recited parts of a monologue 'The Sheffield Ship Canal' see S4 and notes John Brown's Body.)

Broadhead, Bernard

Beautiful Swale Dale	BroB 1
Biddy Mulligan	BroB 2
Billy McGee	BroB 3
Blaydon Races	BroB 4
Brian O'Lynn	BroB 5
Christmas Tree	BroB 6
Cockles and Mussels	PubS 3
Come Ye Thankful People Come	PubS 4
Derby Ram	BroB 7
Few Jovial Sportsmen	see BroA 1
Fine Hunting Day	BroB 8
Garden Where the Praties Grow	BroB 9
Hills of Donegal	BroB 10
Hooley in the Kitchen	BroB 11
If You Ever Go to Ireland	BroB 12
I'm Always Glad to See a Man Like Thee	BroB 13
Jerusalem	PubS 15
Jolly Grinder	BroB 14
Larboard Watch	BroA 5
Lark in the Clear Air	BroB 15
Lift on the Way	BroA 6
Men of Harlech	BroB 16
Old Fashioned Town	BroB 17
Old Rugged Cross	PubS 22
Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill	BroA 7
Pratty Flowers	BroA 8
Queen of Connemara	BroB 18
Shall We Gather at the River	PubS 26
Song of Swale Dale	BroB 19
Sunshine of your Smile	PubS 30
Volunteer Organist	BroB 20
We Plough the Fields and Scatter	PubS 33

(The following songs have since become an active part of Bernard's repertoire but were not recorded during the period of fieldwork — Any Dirty Work Today, In Other Words and Phil the Fluter's Ball.)

Broomhead, Wilf

	Green Mossy Banks of the Lea	see Hin 24
	Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime	see Hin 74

Couldwell, Jack

	Grandfather's Clock	PubR 3
	Larboard Watch	PubR 5
	Love at Home	PubR 6
	Now I'm Going to Sing a Song to You This Evening	PubR 8
	There's a Dear Little Lady	PubR 11

Davis, Russell

	Among my Souvenirs	PubR1
	Hail Smiling Morn	see PubS 9
	Larboard Watch	PubR 5
	O See You Not my Lady	PubR 9
	Passing By	see PubS 24

(Russell also refers to Bye-Bye Blackbird.)

Dronfield, Rhoda

	Die an Old Maid	Dro 1
	Golden Glove	Wal 10
	Jockey to the Fair	Wal 13
	Mistletoe Bough	Wal 16
	Pratty Flowers	Hin 50
	Soldier and a Man	Dro 2

Goodison, Col

	Give Me the Spade	Goo 1

(Col referred to numerous songs, see Appendix 4.)

Green, Charles

	All Hail the Power	Gre 1
	At the Brush of an Early Day	Gre 2
	Bonny Mary of Argyl	Gre 3
	Break the News to Mother	Gre 4
	Come Landlord Fill the Flowing Bowl	Gre 5
	Dear Old Home	Gre 6
	Dear Old Pals	Gre 7
	Derby Ram	Gre 8
	Faithful Sailor Boy	Gre 9
	Farmer's Boy	Gre 10

Fields of Waving Corn	Gre 11
Grandfather's Clock	Gre 12
Grandmother's Chair	Gre 13
Help a Lame Dog Over a Stile	Gre 14
In the Valley of Switzerland	Gre 15
Jim the Carter's Lad	Gre 16
Just after the Battle Mother	Gre 17
Just before the Battle Mother	Gre 18
Just Like the Ivy	Gre 19
Lass of Richmond Hill	Gre 20
Lincolnshire Poacher	Gre 21
Lonesome Pine	Gre 22
Love at Home	Gre 23
Love Me and the World Is Mine	Gre 24
Miner's Dream of Home	Gre 25
Mistletoe Bough	Gre 26
Nellie Ray	Gre 27
One Day at the Dock	Gre 28
Oughtibridge Trail Hunt	Gre 29
Paddle your own Canoe	Gre 30
Rose of Allandale	Gre 31
Sing Us a Song of Bonny Scotland	Gre 32
Song that Reached my Heart	Gre 33
There's a Picture in my Heart that Lives Forever	Gre 34
Titanic	Gre 35
Tramp Boys Tramp by the Waggonside	Gre 36
Two Little Girls in Blue	Gre 37
Wassail Song	Gre 38
We Are All Jolly Fellows	Gre 39
We Were Sweethearts	Gre 40
When It's Springtime in the Rockies	Gre 41
When We Went to School Together	Gre 42
White Cockade	Gre 43
Wild Rover	Gre 44
Will You Love Me in December as You Do in May	Gre 45

(Charles also sang a snatch of Barbara Allen, She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain as he dangled his dog, and Home Sweet Home as his wife talked about the planned modernisation of their cottage. He talked about Christmassing, Caking and his wife talked about the mummers at Caunton, Nottinghamshire.)

Hancock, Bob

Barbara Allen	HanB 1
Bonny Mary of Argyl	HanB 2
Come to the Bower	HanB 3
Garden Gate	HanB 4
It's my Mother's Birthday Today	HanB 5
Mocking Bird Hill	HanB 6
Old Gamecock	HanB 7
Poor Old Joe	HanB 8
Rosy Morn	HanB 9
Sheffield Park	HanB 10.
She Wears Red Reathers	HanB 11
'Tis But a Little Faded Flower	HanB 12
Wild Rover	HanB 13

(Bob also mentioned Pratty Flowers, Farmer's Boy, Betsy the Serving Maid and Break the News to Mother.)

Hancock, Edith

I Do Love my Mother As my Life	HanG 14
When You and I Were Young Maggie	Hin 61

Hancock, George

Barbara Allen	HanG 1
Believe Me if All Those Endearing Young Charms	HanG 2
Betsy the Serving Maid	HanG 3
Bonny Young Scotch Lassie	HanG 4
Can't Change It	HanG 5
Come to the Bower	see Hin 8
Dear Old Mother	HanG 6
Don't Go Down in the Mine Dad	HanG 7
Few Jovial Sportsmen	HanG 8
Friendship	HanG 9
Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours	HanG 10

	Gallant Hussar	HanG 11
	Galway Bay	HanG 12
	Garden Gate	HanG 13
	I Do Love my Mother As my Life	HanG 14
	Man Who Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo	HanG 15
	Mistletoe Bough	HanG 16
	Mountains of Mourne	HanG 17
	Nobleman and the Thresherman	HanG 18
	Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill	Hin 44
	Oughtibridge Trail Hunt	HanG 19
	Ragtime Cowboy Joe	HanG 20
	Rest of the Day's your Own	HanG 21
	Rose of Tralee	HanG 22
	Rosy Morn	HanG 23
	What's the Use of Gold	HanG 24
	Where Is Now the Merry Party	HanG 25
Hinchliffe, Frank		
	Banks of Sweet Dundee	Hin 1
	Banks of the Clyde	Hin 2
	Barbara Allen	Hin 3
	Blind Boy	Hin 4
	Bold Grenadier	Hin 5
	Bonny Young Scotch Lassie	Hin 6
	Break the News to Mother	Hin 7
	Come to the Bower	Hin 8
	Dark-Eyed Sailor	Hin 9
	Don't Go Down in the Mine Dad	Hin 10
	Don't Send my Poor Boy to Prison	Hin 11
	Edward	Hin 12
	Farmhouse on the Hill	Hin 13
	Few Jovial Sportsmen	Hin 14
	Fine Hunting Day	Hin 15
	Forty Long Miles	Hin 16
	(Frank's Song)	Hin 17
	Garden Gate	Hin 18
	Gipsy Girl	Hin 19
	Gipsy's Warning	Hin 20

Golden Glove	Hin 21
Golden Vanity	Hin 22
Grandfather's Clock	PubR 3
Grandmother's Chair	Hin 23
Green Mossy Banks of the Lea	Hin 24
Highwayman Outwitted	Hin 25
I'll Ne'er Forget the Day	Hin 26
I'm a Man that's Done Wrong to my Parents	Hin 27
Irish Emigrant	Hin 28
I Tramp with my Gun in my Pocket	Hin 29
Jim the Carter's Lad	Hin 30
Jolly Waggoner	Hin 31
Kiss and Nothing More	Hin 32
Kitty Wells	Hin 33
Lark in the Morn	Hin 34
Letter Edged in Black	Hin 35
Lincolnshire Poacher	Hin 36
Little Mary	Hin 37
Love at Home	Hin 38
Mary of the Wild Moor	Hin 39
Model Church	Hin 40
Mother Machree	Hin 41
Nobleman and the Thresherman	Hin 42
Nothing Else to Do	Hin 43
Old Folks at Home	Mar 29
Old House	see PubS 21
Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill	Hin 44
Old Virginia	Hin 45
Old Wooden Rocker	Hin 46
Oughtibridge Trail Hunt	Hin 47
Outlandish Knight	Wal 20
Over the Garden Wall	Hin 48
Pear Tree	Hin 49
Pratty Flowers	Hin 50
Rose of Tralee	HanG 22
Rotherham Wedding	Wal 24
Sheffield Park	Hin 51

Ship that Never Returned	Hin 52
Spencer the Rover	Hin 53
Spotted Cow	Hin 54
Two Little Girls in Blue	Hin 55
Village Blacksmith	Hin 56
Wassail Song	Hin 57
We Are All Jolly Fellows	Hin 58
Weaver's Daughter	Hin 59
When a Youngster at Home	Hin 60
When You and I Were Young Maggie	Hin 61
Where There's a Will There's a Way	Hin 62
While Forging of my Scales and Springs	Hin 63
While Sitting by the Side of a Fond and Loving Wife	Hin 64
White Cockade	Hin 65
White Wings	Hin 66
Why Don't You Marry the Girl	Hin 67
Wild Colonial Boy	Hin 68
Wild Rover	Hin 69
William and Dinah	Hin 70
Wraggle Taggle Gipsies	Hin 71
Wreck of the Northfleet	Hin 72
Young Henry the Poacher	Hin 73
Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime	Hin 74

(Frank also mentioned The Banks of Allan Water, Black Velvet Band, 'Come Meet Me by the Stream', Greensleeves, Johnnie Finnegan, Larboard Watch, Minstrel Boy, Rosy Morn, Stannington and ''Twas the Time of Frost and Snow'. He tells a story 'Christmas Tale', S33. The following songs have subsequently become an active part of his repertoire but were not recorded during the period of research — Ho Reapers of the Whitened Harvest, Nobody's Child, Old Shep and The Volunteer Organist.)

Lawson, Edith

Garden Gate	see Hin 18
Green Mossy Banks of the Lea	see Hin 24
Highwayman Outwitted	Law 1
Little Mary	Hin 37
Mistletoe Bough	Wal 16

	Pratty Flowers	Hin 50
	Sheffield Park	PubS 27
	Wassail Song	Hin 57
	William and Dinah	see Hin 70
	Won't You Buy my Pretty Flowers	.. PubS 36
	Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime	see Hin 74

(Edith mentioned <u>The Banks of Allan Water</u> and <u>Little Brown Jug</u>.)

Marsden, Doug		
	Rosy Morn	see BroA 9
	Won't You Buy my Pretty Flowers	PubS 36
Marsden, Stanley		
	All I Want Is You	Mar 1
	Another Year Has Passed Away	Mar 2
	Ash Grove	Mar 3
	Banks of Allan Water	Mar 4
	Believe Me if All Those Endearing Young Charms	Mar 5
	Bird in a Gilded Cage	Mar 6
	Blind Boy	Mar 7
	Break the News to Mother	Mar 8
	Cuckoo	Mar 9
	Danny Boy	Mar 10
	Don't Go Down in the Mine Dad	Mar 11
	Farmer's Boy	Mar 12
	Gipsy's Warning	Mar 13
	Goodnight Pretty Maiden Goodnight	Mar 14
	I'm a Daddy at Sixty-three	Mar 15
	I'm Away on the Hillside	Mar 16
	In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree	Mar 17
	Irish Emigrant	Mar 18
	I Wouldn't Leave my Little Wooden Hut	Mar 19
	Jolly Waggoner	Mar 20
	Just an Old Fashioned Lady	Mar 21
	Just Like the Ivy	Mar 22
	Lark in the Morn	Mar 23
	Little Brown Jug	Mar 24
	Londonderry Air	Mar 25

Maxwelton Braes	Mar 26
Mountains of Mourne	Mar 27
Nobleman and the Thresherman	Mar 28
Old Folks at Home	Mar 29
Pardon Came Too Late	Mar 30
Patsy Fagan	Mar 31
Poor Old Joe	Mar 32
Song of a Thrush	Mar 33
Spaniard that Blighted my Life	Mar 34
Tennessee Waltz	Mar 35
Thora	Mar 36
Turn Turn the Good Brown Earth	Mar 37
Two Little Girls in Blue	Mar 38
Volunteer Organist	Mar 39
Wassail Song	Mar 40
We Are All Jolly Fellows	Mar 41
Weaver's Daughter	Mar 42
What's Become of the Old Songs	Mar 43
When I Grow Too Old to Dream	Mar 44
When Irish Eyes Are Smiling	Mar 45
Why Do I Weep	Mar 46
Wild Rover	Mar 47
Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime	Mar 48

(Stanley also mentioned Marching through Georgia and The Old Wooden Rocker. The following song has since become an active part of Stanley's repertoire but was only referred to during the period of fieldwork, There's No Shame in an Irish Name.)

Mills, Billy

Down in the Fields Where the Buttercups All Grow	PubS 7
Garden Where the Praties Grow	PubS 8
I'll Be your Sweetheart	PubS 13
O It Seems Like Only Yesterday	PubS 20
Our Goodman	PubS 23
Pratty Flowers	see BroA 8
Where There's a Will There's a Way	see Hin 62

(Billy mentioned Excuse Me Shouting Out Like This and I'm a Daddy at Sixty-three.)

Smith, David

Bless This House	PubS 1
Farmer's Boy	see Tay 1
Holy City	PubS 11
I'll Take You Home Again Kathleen	PubS 14
Lost Chord	PubS 16
Mistletoe Bough	Chris 19
Old Rugged Cross	PubS 22
When You're Happy	PubS 34

(David also mentioned two hymns in Welsh and I Am a Pirate King.)

Taylor, John

Farmer's Boy	Tay 1
Fulwood Farmer's and Neighbours	Tay 2
Jolly Waggoner	Tay 3
Nobleman and the Thresherman	Tay 4
Sheffield Park	Tay 5
We Are All Jolly Fellows	Tay 6
White Cockade	Tay 7
Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime	Tay 8

(John also mentioned The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea.)

Thompson, Doug

Hymn that I Sang As a Boy	Tho 1

(Doug mentioned The Volunteer Organist and Grandmother's Chair.)

Walker, Eric

There's a Bridle Hanging on the Wall	PubS 31
Tideswell Anthem	PubS 32

Walton, Grace

Baby's Prayer	Wal 1
Banks of Sweet Dundee	Hin 1
Barbara Allen	see Hin 3
Bonny Blue Handkerchief	Wal 2
Bold Grenadier	Hin 5
Broken Token	Wal 3
Come to the Bower	Wal 4
Edward	Wal 5
Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours	Wal 6
Garden Gate	Wal 7
Geordie	Wal 8

Gipsy Girl	Wal 9
Golden Glove	Wal 10
Green Mossy Banks of the Lea	Wal 11
Highwayman Outwitted	Hin 25
If Those Lips Could Only Speak	Wal 12
Jockey to the Fair	Wal 13
Jolly Waggoner	Wal 14
Little Brown Jug	Wal 15
Mistletoe Bough	Wal 16
Nobleman and the Thresherman	Hin 42
Nothing Else to Do	Wal 17
Nowt to Do with Me	Wal 18
Nutting Girl	Wal 19
Outlandish Knight	Wal 20
Over the Garden Gate	Wal 21
Pear Tree	Wal 22
Pratty Flowers	Hin 50
Ranmoor Inn	Wal 23
Rotherham Wedding	Wal 24
Sheffield Park	Hin 51
Take That Ring	Wal 25
There Came a Cold Wind from the North	Wal 26
Twelve Apostles	Wal 27
Ump Jump Jack	Wal 28
We Are All Jolly Fellows	Wal 29
Weaver's Daughter	Wal 30

(Grace mentioned the following songs — The Beam that Shone on Zion's Hill,'Hold my Hand Little Girl It's Cold', My Wandering Boy, Shall We Gather at the River, When the Fields Are White with Daisies, 'The White Cockayne We'll Ride Again', and 'Whose your Ladyfriend'. She plays on her accordion — Grandfather's Clock, The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea, Hark Hark Hark Hark, Liverpool, Merry Christmas and Portugal. She plays on the piano — Awake and Arise, The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea, Hark Hark Hark Hark, Malin Bridge, Mary's Boy Child and Portugal. She recites a poem, 'The Stannington Legend' (S19), a rhyme, 'Down Lodge Lane' (see Hin 32), and fragments of recitations from The Clock Almanac including 'Me and Dobbin and the Old Grey Mare'. The following songs have

subsequently become an active part of Grace's repertoire, but were not recorded during the period of research. The Golden Glove (a complete version), 'Henry and Sarah' and The Knickerbocker Line.)

Ward, Lewis

Come to the Bower	War 1
Fox	War 2
Frost Looked Out	War 3
Knickerbocker Line	War 4
Mr Gallagher and Mr Sheen	War 5
O Joe the Boat Is Going Over	War 6
Three Men Went A-hunting	War 7
We Are All Jolly Fellows	War 8
When the Fields Are White with Daisies	War 9

(Lewis mentioned Sovereignty, Sweet Rosie O'Grady, Little Brown Jug and The Spaniard that Blighted my Life. He tells a joke, 'Archibald Asholeden', see pp.137-8, footnote 66.)

Ward, Mrs

Fox	War 2
Frost Looked Out	War 3

White, George

Banks of Sweet Dundee	Whi 1
Barbara Allen	Whi 2
Beulah Land	Whi 3
Break the News to Mother	Whi 4
Brennan on the Moor	Whi 5
Broken Token	Whi 6
Come to the Bower	Whi 7
Early One Morning	Whi 8
Edward	Whi 9
Fulwood Farmers and Neighbours	Whi 10
Golden Glove	Whi 11
Green Mossy Banks of the Lea	Whi 12
Jockey to the Fair	Whi 13
Jolly Waggoner	Whi 14
Little Pal	Whi 15
McCaffery	Whi 16
Mary of the Wild Moor	Whi 5
Nobleman and the Thresherman	Whi 17

Nothing Else to Do	Whi 18
Outlandish Knight	Whi 19
Sheffield Park	Whi 20
Twelve Apostles	Whi 21
We Are All Jolly Fellows	Whi 22
Weaver's Daughter	Whi 23
What's the Use of Gold	Whi 24
White Cockade	Whi 25
Wild Rover	Whi 26
Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime	Whi 27

(George mentioned The Black and Tan, The Pear Tree, The Highwayman Outwitted and The Bold Grenadier.)

Womack, Bert

Come to the Bower	PubP 4
I'm Riding Along on a Free Train	PubP 7
McCaffery	WomB 1
Through the Old Church Door	PubP 15
Wild Rover	WomB 2
Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime	WomB 3

(Bert mentioned several other songs, see Appendix 4.)

Womack, Jim

Cock-a-doodle-do	PubP 3
We Are All Jolly Fellows	PubP 16

(Jim mentioned The Farmer's Boy.)

Womack, Joe

Jim the Carter's Lad	WomJ 1
My Yorkshire Farm	WomJ 2
Nothing Else to Do	WomJ 3
Tinwood	see Chris 33
Wassail Song	WomJ 4
We Are All Jolly Fellows	WomJ 5
White Cockade	WomJ 6
Wild Rover	WomJ 7

Wragg, Ted

Among my Souvenirs	PubR 1
Bailiff's Daughter of Islington	PubP 1
Bluebells are Bluebells	PubP 2

Come to the Bower	PubP 4
Farmer's Boy	see Tay 1
He's Been a Long Time Gorn	PubP 5
If Winter Comes with Bitterness	PubP 6
I'm Riding Along in a Free Train	PubP 7
In a Churchyard in the City	PubP 8
Irish Emigrant	PubP 9
Larboard Watch	see PubR 5
Nobleman and the Thresherman	PubP 10
Nothing Else to Do	PubP 11
Sheffield Park	PubP 12
Sunset Light Was Fading	PubP 13
Tall Stalwart Lancer	PubP 14
Thora	see Mar 36
We Are All Jolly Fellows	PubP 17
Weaver's Daughter	see Hin 59
White Cockade	PubP 18

(Ted mentioned several other songs, see Appendix 4.)

APPENDIX 8

The recorded non-Christmas repertoires of the pubs in alphabetical order with reference to the transcriptions.

Peacock, Stannington

Song	Reference
Bailiff's Daughter of Islington	PubP 1
Bluebells Are Bluebells	PubP 2
Cock-a-doodle-do	PubP 3
Come to the Bower	PubP 4
He's Been a Long Time Gorn	PubP 5
If Winter Comes with Bitterness	PubP 6
I'm Riding Along in a Free Train	PubP 7
In a Churchyard in the City	PubP 8
Irish Emigrant	PubP 9
McCaffery	see WomB 1
Nobleman and the Thresherman	PubP 10
Nothing Else to Do	PubP 11
Old Virginia	see Hin 45
Sheffield Park	PubP 12
Sunset Light Was Fading	PubP 13
Tall Stalwart Lancer	PubP 14
Through the Old Church Door	PubP 15
We Are All Jolly Fellows (Jim Womack)	PubP 16
We Are All Jolly Fellows (Ted Wragg)	PubP 17
White Cockade	PubP 18
Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime	see WomB 3

(The following songs were mentioned or fragments of them sung inaudibly — Among my Souvenirs, Break the News to Mother, 'Days of Long Ago', Edward, Farmer's Boy, Jolly Ploughboy, Kevin Barry, 'Mary', 'Over the Deep Blue Hills', O Who Will O'er the Downs So Free, Pack Up your Troubles, 'Some Was Poor Soldiering', 'Star of the Evening', There's a Long Long Trail A-winding, There's No Shame in an Irish Name, When This Bloody War Is Over, White Wings and Why Do I Weep.)

Royal, Dungworth

Song	Reference
Among my Souvenirs	PubR 1
Blind Boy	see Mar 7
Break the News to Mother	see Hin 7
Dido Bendigo	PubR 2
Farmer's Boy	see Tay 1
Golden Glove	see Hin 21
Grandfather's Clock	PubR 3
Goodnight Pretty Maidens Goodnight	see Mar 14
Hail Smiling Morn	see PubS 9
Joe Bowman	PubR 4
Larboard Watch	PubR 5
Love at Home	PubR 6
Mardale Hunt	PubR 7
Model Church	see Hin 40
Nobleman and the Thresherman	see Hin 42
Now I'm Going to Sing a Song to You This Evening	PubR 8
Old House	see PubS 21
Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill	see Hin 44
Old Wooden Rocker	see Hin 46
O See You Not my Lady	PubR 9
Passing By	see PubS 24
Passing By (Deep Harmony)	PubR 10
Pratty Flowers	see BroA 8
There's a Dear Little Lady	PubR 11
Thora	see Mar 36
Weaver's Daughter	see Hin 59
White Cockade	see Hin 65 and PubP 18
Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime	Hin 74

Sportsman, Crosspool

Song	Reference
I'm Always Glad to See a Man Like Thee	see BroB 13

Sportsman, Lodge Moor

Song	Reference
Beautiful Swale Dale	BroB 1
Billy McGee	BroB 3
Bless This House	PubS 1
Bonny Mary of Argyl	PubS 2
Cockles and Mussels	PubS 3

Come Ye Thankful People Come	PubS 4
Crimond	PubS 5
Cwm Rhondda	PubS 6
Don't Go Down in the Mine Dad	Mar 11
Down in the Fields Where the Buttercups All Grow	PubS 7
Farmer's Boy	see Tay 1
Few Jovial Sportsmen	see BroA 1
Garden Gate	see Hin 18
Garden Where the Praties Grow	PubS 8
Goodnight Pretty Maiden Goodnight	Mar 14
Grandfather's Clock	see PubR 3
Grandmother's Chair	see Hin 23
Green Mossy Banks of the Lea	see Hin 24
Hail Smiling Morn	PubS 9
Happy Birthday to You	PubS 10
He's Been a Long Time Gorn	see PubP 5
Hills of Donegal	BroB 10
Holy City	PubS 11
Hooley in the Kitchen	see BroB 11
If You Ever Go to Ireland	BroB 12
If You Were the Only Girl in the World	PubS 12
I'll Be your Sweetheart	PubS 13
I'll Take You Home Again Kathleen	PubS 14
Irish Emigrant	see Hin 28 and Mar 18
Jerusalem	PubS 15
John Peel	BroA 4
Jolly Waggoner	Hin 31
Lark in the Clear Air	see BroB 15
Lost Chord	PubS 16
Love's Old Sweet Song	PubS 17
Mary of the Wild Moor	see Hin 39
Men of Harlech	BroB 16
Moonlight Bay	PubS 18
Mother Machree	PubS 19
Nobleman and the Thresherman	see Hin 42 and Tay 4

O It Seems Like Only Yesterday PubS 20
Old Fashioned Town BroB 17
Old Folks at Home Mar 29
Old House PubS 21
Old Rugged Cross PubS 22
Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill see BroA 7
Our Goodman PubS 23
Passing By PubS 24
Patsy Fagan see Mar 31
Poor Old Joe see Mar 32
Pratty Flowers see BroA 8
Rose of Tralee PubS 25
Rosy Morn BroA 9
Shall We Gather at the River PubS 26
Sheffield Park PubS 27
Smiling Through PubS 28
Soldier's Farewell PubS 29
Song of Swale Dale BroB 19
Sunshine of your Smile PubS 30
There's a Bridle Hanging on the Wall PubS 31
Tideswell Anthem PubS 32
Volunteer Organist see BroB 20
We Plough the Fields and Scatter PubS 33
We're No Awa' tae Bide Awa' BroA 11
What's Become of the Old Songs Mar 43
When Irish Eyes Are Smiling Mar 45
When You're Happy PubS 34
Where There's a Will There's a Way Hin 62
With Someone Like You PubS 35
Won't You Buy my Pretty Flowers PubS 36
Young Sailor Cut Down in his Prime see Hin 74

(The following songs were also mentioned — Bye-Bye Blackbird, 'Excuse Me Shouting Out Like This', I Am a Pirate King, 'I'm a Daddy at Sixty-three', John Brown's Body, Little Brown Jug, Mountains of Mourne, Pear Tree and a hymn in Welsh.)

APPENDIX 9

The recorded Christmas repertoire of the pubs in alphabetical order with reference to the transcriptions.

Peacock, Stannington

Title	Reference
Angels from the Realms of Glory	Chris 1
Awake Arise Good Christians	see Chris 2
Christmas Tree	see BroB 6
Diadem	see Chris 6
Egypt	see Chris 7
Good News	see Chris 10
Hail Smiling Morn	see PubS 9
Hark Hark Hark Hark	see Chris 11
Hark Hear Ye Not	Chris 12
Jacob's Well	see Chris 14
Lloyd	see Chris 17
Mistletoe Bough	see Chris 19
Pentonville	see Chris 25
Pratty Flowers	see BroA 8
Spout Cottage	see Chris 29
Star of Bethlehem	see Chris 31
Sweet Chiming Bells	see Chris 32
Tinwood	see Chris 33

Royal, Dungworth

Title	Reference
Angels from the Realms of Glory	see Chris 1
Awake Arise Good Christians	see Chris 2
Back Lane	see Chris 3
Christmas Tree	see BroB 6
Crimond (While Shepherds)	see Chris 5
Diadem	see Chris 6
Egypt	see Chris 7
Fern Bank	see Chris 8
Good News	see Chris 10
Hail Smiling Morn	see PubS 9
Hark Hark Hark Hark	see Chris 11
How Beautiful upon the Mountain	see Chris 13
Jacob's Well	see Chris 14

	Jesu Lover of my Soul	Chris 15
	Liverpool	see Chris 16
	Lloyd	see Chris 17
	Merry Christmas	see Chris 18
	Mistletoe Bough	see Chris 19
	Mount Moriah	see Chris 20
	O Come All Ye Faithful	see Chris 23
	Old Foster	Chris 24
	Pentonville	see Chris 25
	Pratty Flowers	see BroA 8
	Silent Night	Chris 26
	Song for the Time	see Chris 27
	Spout Cottage	see Chris 29
	Stannington	see Chris 30
	Star of Bethlehem	see Chris 31
	Sweet Chiming Bells	see Chris 32
	Tinwood	see Chris 33
	Tyre Mill	see Chris 34
Sportsman, Crosspool		
	Back Lane	see Chris 3
	Crimond (While Shepherds)	see Chris 5
	Hail Smiling Morn	see PubS 9
	Hark Hark Hark Hark	see Chris 11
	Liverpool	see Chris 16
	Lloyd	see Chris 17
	O Come All Ye Faithful	see Chris 23
	Silent Night	see Chris 26
	Spout Cottage	see Chris 29
	Sweet Chiming Bells	see Chris 32
	Tinwood	see Chris 33
	Tyre Mill	see Chris 34
Sportsman, Lodge Moor		
	Awake Arise Good Christians	Chris 2
	Back Lane	Chris 3
	Bright and Joyful	Chris 4
	Christmas Tree	BroB 6
	Crimond (While Shepherds)	Chris 5

Diadem	Chris 6
Egypt	Chris 7
Fern Bank	Chris 8
First Nowell	Chris 9
Good News	Chris 10
Hail Smiling Morn	see PubS 9
Hark Hark Hark Hark	Chris 11
How Beautiful upon the Mountains	see Chris 13
Jacob's Well	Chris 14
Liverpool	Chris 16
Lloyd	Chris 17
Merry Christmas	Chris 18
Mistletoe Bough	Chris 19
Mount Moriah	see Chris 20
New Celestial	Chris 22
O Come All Ye Faithful	Chris 23
Old Foster	see Chris 24
Pentonville	Chris 25
Pratty Flowers	see BroA 8
Song for the Time	Chris 27
Spout Cottage	Chris 29
Stannington	Chris 30
Star of Bethlehem	Chris 31
Sweet Chiming Bells	Chris 32
Tinwood	Chris 33
Tyre Mill	Chris 34

Three Merry Lads, Lodge Moor

Back Lane	see Chris 3
Christmas Tree	see BroB 6
Crimond (While Shepherds)	see Chris 5
Diadem	see Chris 6
Egypt	see Chris 7
Good News	see Chris 10
Hark Hark Hark Hark	see Chris 11
How Beautiful upon the Mountains	Chris 13
Jacob's Well	see Chris 14
Liverpool	see Chris 16

Merry Christmas	see Chris 18
Mount Moriah	Chris 20
Mount Zion	Chris 21
Sovereignty	Chris 28
Spout Cottage	see Chris 29
Sweet Chiming Bells	see Chris 32
Tinwood	see Chris 33
Tyre Mill	see Chris 34

APPENDIX 10

The tapes.

The field recordings are on two series of tapes, the one prefixed 'C' comprising of Christmas material, the other prefixed 'S' comprising of non-Christmas material. The non-Christmas tapes are in sequence S1 - S50; the Christmas tapes are numbered inclusively as follows, C1 - C25, C31 - C36, C40 - C42, C44, C50 - C57, C60 - C61, and C70 - C75. Many of the 'C' series contain recordings from areas outside West Sheffield as part of The Survey of a Christmas Singing Tradition in South Yorkshire (see Lore and Language, 1, No.8 (January 1973), 13-25). This is true to a lesser extent of the 'S' series. The amount of song material was so great that it was considered expedient to exclude from the study firstly such material as was recorded outside the area of study, and secondly that which was recorded after the main period of fieldwork, 1970-2. Finally, because the study was begun under the auspices of The Survey of Language and Folklore at the University of Sheffield (now designated The Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language) several of the tapes are the property of this body. Under mutual agreement of the Director of the Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies at the University of Leeds, and the Director of the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, an arrangement has been made whereby copies of both bodies' tapes will be made available to each other.

This appendix lists only those tapes that contain material relevant to the present study.

Tape No.	Date	Details
S2	20 December 1969	Three Merry Lads, Lodge Moor
S3	14 March 1970	Bernard Broadhead
S4	12 April 1970	Albert and Bernard Broadhead
S8	27 March 1970	John Taylor
	10 April 1970	John Taylor
S9	23 April 1970	Frank Hinchliffe and Grace Walton
	30 April 1970	Frank Hinchliffe and Grace Walton
S10	30 April 1970	Frank Hinchliffe and Grace Walton
S11	4 June 1970	Frank Hinchliffe, Grace Walton, Edith Lawson and Rhoda Dronfield.

Tape No.	Date	Details
S12	4 June 1970	Frank Hinchliffe, Grace Walton, Edith Lawson and Rhoda Dronfield.
S13	16 September 1970	George Hancock and Frank Hinchliffe
	22 August 1970	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
S14	1 October 1970	George Hancock and Frank Hinchliffe
	14 October 1970	George White
S15	3 October 1970	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
	10 June 1971	Charles Green
S16	2 September 1970	Frank Hinchliffe
S18	14 October 1970	George White
	25 February 1971	George White
S19	29 October 1970	Grace Walton
S22	20 January 1971	George Hancock
S23	28 January 1971	Bob Hancock
	25 May 1971	Charles Green
S24	30 January 1971	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
	24 February 1971	Stanley Marsden
S25	4 February 1971	Stanley Marsden
	26 May 1971	Royal, Dungworth
S26	25 February 1971	George White
	11 March 1971	Peacock, Stannington
	10 April 1971	Joe Womack (Dubbed from S28)
S27	2 March 1971	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
	26 May 1971	Royal, Dungworth
S28	16 March 1971	Col Goodison
	1 April 1971	Bert Womack
	10 April 1971	Joe Womack
S29	5 March 1971	Mrs Mina Dyson
	6 May 1971	Charles Green
	20 May 1971	Charles Green
S30	10 June 1971	Charles Green
	22 June 1971	Lewis Ward
S33	20 October 1971	Frank Hinchliffe
S34	13 May 1973	Albert and Bernard Broadhead
	12 July 1973	Charles Green
S35	4 March 1972	Sportsman, Lodge Moor

Tape No.	Date	Details
S36	8 June 1972	Frank Hinchliffe
S37	1 July 1972	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
S38	29 July 1972	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
S39	29 July 1972	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
	5 August 1972	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
S40	7 August 1972	George Hancock
S41	19 September 1972	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
	7 September 1972	Grace Walton
S44	5 October 1972	Stanley Marsden
S45	5 October 1972	Stanley Marsden
S48	7 September 1972	Grace Walton
S50	12 September 1973	Charles Green
C1	28 November 1970	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
C2	29 November 1970	Royal, Dungworth
C3	6 December 1970	Royal, Dungworth
C4	6 December 1970	Royal, Dungworth
C5	5 December 1970	Peacock, Stannington
	12 December 1970	Peacock, Stannington
C14	12 December 1970	Sportsman, Crosspool
C21	7 November 1970	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
C40	27 November 1971	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
	5 December 1971	Royal, Dungworth
C41	5 December 1971	Royal, Dungworth
C42	11 December 1971	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
C51	2 December 1972	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
C52	2 December 1972	Sportsman, Lodge Moor
S49	[1962]	Margaret Marsden (dubbed)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahams, Roger D. and George Foss, Anglo-American Folksong Style (New Jersey, 1968)

Abrahams, Roger D. and George Foss, A Singer and her Songs: Almeida Riddle's Book of Ballads (Louisiana, 1970)

Addy, Sidney O., Christmas Carols, MS, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, London

Addy, S.O., A Glossary of Words Used in the Neighbourhood of Sheffield including a selection of local names, and some notices of folklore, games and customs (London, 1888)

Addy, S.O., 'Guising and Mumming in Derbyshire', Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 29 (1907), 1-12

Addy, Sidney Oldall, Household Tales with other Traditional Remains Collected in the Counties of York, Lincoln, Derby and Nottingham (London and Sheffield, 1895), reprinted with a new introduction by J.D.A. Widdowson as Folk Tales and Superstitions (East Ardsley, Wakefield, 1973)

Addy, S.O., Supplement to the Sheffield Glossary (London, 1891)

Armitage, Harold, Chantrey Land: being an account of the North Derbyshire village of Norton (London, 1910)

Baldwin, John R., 'Song in the Upper Thames Valley, 1966 - 1969', Folk Music Journal, 1 (1969), 315-349

Barley, M.W., The English Farmhouse and Cottage (London, 1961)

Barry, Phillips, a collection of his writings, Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast, Bibliographical and Special Series, Vol.XI, with an introduction by Samuel P. Bayard (American Folklore Society, Philadelphia, 1960)

Baskervill, Charles Read, 'English Songs of the Night Visit', PMLA, 36 (1921), 565-614

Bell, Robert, Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry (London, 1857)

Boatright, Mody C., Wilson M. Hudson and Allen Maxwell, A Good Tale and a Bonny Tune, Texas Folklore Society Publication, XXXII (Dallas, 1964)

Brice, Douglas, The Folk-Carol of England (London, 1967)

Bronson, Bertrand Harris, The Ballad as Song (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969)

Buchan, David, The Ballad and the Folk (London, 1972)

Bunker, B., Cruck Buildings (Sheffield, 1970)

Bunker, B., A Portrait of Sheffield (London, 1972)

Burstow, Henry, Reminiscences of Horsham [William Albery, ed.] (Horsham, 1911), reprinted with a new foreword by A.E. Green and Tony Wales (Pennsylvania, 1975)

Carnell, Peter William, Ballads in the Charles Harding Firth Collection, typescript, 3 vols (Sheffield University Library, 1966)

Catalogue of Broadsheets in Sheffield City Library, typescript (Sheffield City Libraries)

Chadwick, H.M. and N.K., The Growth of Literature, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1940)

Chambers, T., 'Further Notes on Antrobus Soulcakers and other Cheshire Souling Plays', Lore and Language, 1, No.5 (July 1971), 13-14

Chappell, William, Popular Music of the Olden Time, first edition (London, 1859), reprinted with a new introduction by Frederick W. Sternfeld, 2 vols (New York, 1965)

Charters, Samuel, The Bluesmen: The Story and the Music of the Men who made the Blues (New York, 1967)

Child, Francis James, ed., The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, 5 vols (Cambridge, Mass., 1882-1898), reprinted edition, 5 vols (New York, 1965)

Christmas Carols, enlarged edition (Marks and Spencer, Manchester [no date]), photocopy deposited in the Archives of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies, University of Leeds

Clarion Ramblers' Handbooks (Sheffield, 1901-)

Coffin, Tristram Potter, The British Traditional Ballad in North America, revised edition (American Folklore Society, Bibliographical Series, Vol.2, Philadelphia, 1963)

Cole, G.D.H. and Raymond Postgate, The Common People, 1746-1946, fourth edition (London, 1961)

Copper, Bob, A Song for Every Season: A Hundred Years of a Sussex Farming Family (London, 1971)

Couldwell, John [Jack], Ye Old Christmas Carols (Bradfield Evening Institute Choral Society, Sheffield [1968])

Cox, John Harrington, Folk-Songs of the South, collected under the auspices of the West Virginia Folk-Lore Society, first published 1925, reprinted edition (New York, 1925)

Dawson, Ben, Christmas Carols (Worrall), MSS, photocopy in the Archives of the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies, University of

Leeds from the original in the possession of Mrs Ethel Dawson, Worrall.

Dearmer, Percy, R. Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw, The Oxford Book of Carols, first published 1928, twenty-ninth impression (London, 1972)

Derbyshire Ballads of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century, uncatalogued large black volume with worn spine containing sheets by various printers (Derby Public Libraries, Local History Section)

Derbyshire Broadsides, Ballads, Poems, Crime and Criminals, Politics etc., Derbyshire Collection, 8669 (Derby Public Libraries)

Disher, Maurice Willson, Victorian Song (London, 1955)

Dixon, James Henry, coll. and ed., Ancient Poems, Ballads, and Songs of the Peasantry of England, first published 1846, reprinted edition (East Ardsley, Wakefield, 1973)

Dorson, Richard M., The British Folklorists: A History (London, 1968)

Dundes, Alan, ed., The Study of Folklore (New Jersey, 1967)

Dunstan, Ralph, The Cornish Song Book (London, 1929)

Eastwood, Rev. J., History of the Parish of Ecclesfield (London, 1862)

Elbourne, Roger, 'The Study of Change in Traditional Music', Folklore, 86 (Autumn/Winter 1975), 181-9

Entwistle, William J., European Balladry (Oxford, 1939), corrected and reprinted edition (Oxford, 1951)

Erixon, Sigurd, 'Folk-life Research in Our Time: From a Swedish Point of View', Gwerin, 3 (December 1962), 275-91

Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads, The, introduced by John Holloway (Glasgow, 1971)

Evans, George Ewart, Where Beards Wag All: The Relevance of the Oral Tradition (London, 1970)

Firth Collection of Broadsides, Carols and Moral Verse, Ballads, and Broadsides and Ballads, 3 vols (Sheffield University Library)

Flanders, Helen Hartness, Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England, 3 vols (Philadelphia, 1961)

Ford, Thomas, Ballads, Derbyshire Collection, 8607 (Derby Public Libraries)

Forshaw, Charles F., ed., Holroyd's Collection of Yorkshire Ballads (London, 1892)

Foster, John, A Second Collection of Sacred Music (York [about 1820])

Gammond, Peter, ed., Best Music Hall and Variety Songs (London, 1972)

Gatty, Reginald, Folk Songs, 1907-14, MSS, 661164 (Birmingham Public Libraries)

Gerould, Gordon Hall, The Ballad of Tradition (Oxford, 1932), reprinted edition (Oxford, 1957)

Gilchrist, A.G., 'Folk Element in Early Revival Hymns and Tunes', Journal of the Folk Song Society, 8 (1929), 61-95

Glassie, Henry, Edward D. Ives, and John F. Szwed, Folksongs and their Makers (Bowling Green, Ohio [1973])

Goddard, Joseph H., Goddard's Revised Edition of Favourite Christmas Tunes (Oughtibridge, Yorkshire [about 1948]), photocopy in the Archives of the Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies, University of Leeds

Goddard, Walter, Collection of the Old Favourite Christmas Tunes (Hillsborough, Sheffield [about 1920])

Goldstein, Kenneth S., A Guide for Fieldworkers in Folklore (Hatboro, Pennsylvania, 1964)

Good Christmas Box, A (G. Walters, Dudley, 1847), facsimile reproduction edited by M. and J. Raven (Wolverhampton Folk Song Club, September, 1967)

Goodfellow, A.W., 'Sheffield Turnpikes in the Eighteenth Century', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 5 (1943), 71-90

Gould, S. Baring and Cecil J. Sharp, English Folk-Songs for Schools (Curwen, London [1906])

Green, A.E., 'Folk-Song and Dialect', Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, Part LXXII, 13 (1972), 20-46

Green, A.E., 'McCaffery: A Study in the Variation and Function of a Ballad', three parts, Lore and Language, 1, No.3 (August 1970), 4-9, No.4 (January 1971), 3-12 and No.5 (July 1971), 5-11

Greene, R.L., The Early English Carols (Oxford, 1935)

Greenway, John, American Folksongs of Protest (Philadelphia, 1953)

Greig, Gavin, Folk-Song in Buchan and Folk-Song of the North-East, reprinted with a foreword by Kenneth S. Goldstein and Arthur Argo (Pennsylvania, 1963), 'Folk-Song in Buchan' first published in Transactions of the Buchan Field Club, 9 (1906-7), 2-76; 'Folk-Song of the North-East', articles contributed to the Buchan Observer (December 1907 - June 1911), and published in book form as Folk-Song of the North-East, 2 vols (Peterhead, 1909 and 1914)

Hall, Muriel, ed., More of Mayfield Valley with Old Fulwood (Sheffield, 1974)

Hall, Muriel and Robert Blackwell, The Mayfield Valley (Sheffield, 1972)

Halliwell, James O., coll., The Yorkshire Anthology: A Collection of Ancient and Modern Ballads, Poems and Songs Relating to the County of Yorkshire (London, 1851), reprinted edition (East Ardsley, Wakefield, 1973)

Halpert, Herbert, 'Truth in Folk-Songs: Some Observations on the Folk-Singer's Attitude' in John Harrington Cox, Traditional Ballads from West Virginia, ed. by George Herzog and Herbert Halpert (New York, 1939), pp.ix-xiv

Halpert, Herbert, 'Vitality of Tradition and Local Songs', Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 3 (March 1951), 35-41

Halpert, Herbert and G.M. Story, eds., Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore and History (University of Toronto Press for Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1969)

Hamer, Fred, Garners Gay: English Folk Songs Collected by — — (EFDS Publications Ltd., London, 1967)

Hamer, Fred, Green Groves: More English Folk Songs Collected by — — (EFDS Publications Ltd., 1973)

Hammond, J.L. and Barbara, The Town Labourer, 1760-1832: The New Civilisation (London, 1917)

Hammond, J.L. and Barbara, The Village Labourer, 1760-1832: A Study in the Government of England before the Reform Bill (London, 1912)

Harker, D., 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Conclusions', Folk Music Journal, 2 (1972), 220-240

Harris, Helen, Industrial Archaeology of the Peak District (Newton Abbot, 1971)

Harrison, John, Survey and View of the Manor of Sheffield, 1637, ed. by J.G. Ronkesly (Worksop, 1908)

Harrison, Samuel, A Complete History of the Great Flood at Sheffield (London and Sheffield, 1864), reprinted with a new foreword by Mary Walton (Earlsheaton, Dewsbury, 1974)

Haywood, Charles, A Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksong (New York, 1951), reprinted edition, 2 vols (New York, 1961)

Herzog, George, 'Song: Folk Song and the Music of Folk Song', in Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, ed. by Maria Leach and J. Fried, 2 vols (New York, 1950), II, 1032-50

Hobson, Charles, 'Walkley: A Fifty Year Old Workingman's Garden Suburb', Miscellaneous Papers, 1838M (Sheffield City Libraries)

Hodgart, M.J.C., The Ballads (London, 1950).

Holme Valley Beagles Hunt, Hunters' Songs (Holmfirth, 1948)

Hone, William, Ancient Mysteries Described (London, 1823)

Howes, Frank, Folk Music of Britain - and Beyond (London, 1969)

Hunter, Joseph, Hallamshire: The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield, ed. by Alfred Gatty (London, 1869)

Ingledew, C.J. Davison, The Ballads and Songs of Yorkshire (London, 1860)

International Music Council, Notation of Folk Music, recommendations of the Committee of Experts, convened by the International Archives of Folk Music under the auspices of UNESCO (1952)

Ives, Edward D., Larry Gorman: The Man who Made the Songs (Bloomington, Indiana, 1964)

Jewitt, Llewellynn, Ballads and Songs of Derbyshire (London and Derby, 1867)

Jackson, George Pullen, White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands: The Story of the Fasola Folk, their Songs, Singings and 'Buckwheat Notes' (N. Carolina, 1933), reprinted edition (New York, 1965)

Johnson's New London Song Book: containing upwards of two thousand songs, toasts, and sentiments with a copious index (printed and published by W.S. Johnson, 60 St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross [about 1850])

Karpeles, Maud, 'The Distinction between Folk and Popular Music', Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 20 (1968), 9-12

Kennedy, Peter, ed., Folksongs of Britain and Ireland (London, 1975)

Kidson, Frank, coll. and ed., Traditional Tunes: A Collection of Ballad Airs (Oxford, 1891), reprinted edition with a foreword by A.E. Green (East Ardsley, Wakefield, 1970)

Krappe, Alexander H., The Science of Folklore (London, 1930)

Laws, G. Malcolm, American Balladry from British Broadsides: A Guide for Students and Collectors of Traditional Song (American Folklore Society, Philadelphia, 1957)

Leach, MacEdward, The Ballad Book (New York and London, 1955)

Lightwood, James T., Hymn-Tunes and their Story (London [1905])

Linton, D.L., ed., Sheffield and Its Region: A Scientific and Historical Survey (Sheffield, 1956)

List, George, 'Acculturation and Musical Tradition', Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 16 (1964), 18-21

Lloyd, A.L., Come All Ye Bold Miners (London, 1952)

Lloyd, A.L., Folk Song in England (London, 1967)

Lomax, Alan, 'Folk-Song Style', American Anthropologist, 61 (1959), 927-954

Lord, Albert B., The Singer of Tales (Cambridge, Mass., 1960)

Mackay, D., 'The Tradition of Pub Singing in the Villages of East Suffolk' (unpublished thesis as part requirement of English Special Study B.A., Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies, University of Leeds, June 1971)

McKelvie, Donald, 'Some Aspects of Oral, Social and Material Tradition in an Industrial Urban Area' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leeds, 1963)

Mackerness, E.D., Somewhere Further North: A History of Music in Sheffield (Sheffield, 1974)

McLachlan, H.J., The Old Non-Conformity in Fulwood (Sheffield, 1940)

Madden, Sir Frederick, Collection of Broadsides, 28 vols (Cambridge University Library)

Mann, P.H., An Approach to Urban Sociology (London, 1965)

Mather, Joseph, The Songs of — —, first published (Sheffield, 1811), new edition ed. by John Wilson with a 'Memoir of Mather' (Sheffield, 1862)

Matthews, J. and D. Price, 'The Old Coal Mines and Works at Ringinglow', Peak District Mines Historical Society Bulletin, 1, No.5 (1961), 41-5

Mayhew, Henry, London Labour and London Poor, 4 vols (London, 1861-2)

Mellor, G.J., Northern Music Hall (Newcastle, 1970)

Metfessel, Milton, Phonophotography in Folk Music: American Negro Songs in New Notation (N. Carolina, 1928)

Methodist Hymn-Book with Tunes, The, music ed. by Sir Frederick Bridge (London, 1904)

Miller, W.T., The Water-Wheels of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1949)

Morris, F., Old Favourite Christmas Tunes, 3 vols (Sheffield [about 1900])

Morton, Robin, (collated by), Come Day, Go Day, God Send Sunday: The songs and life story, told in his own words, of John Maguire, traditional singer and farmer from Co. Fermanagh (London, 1973)

Munnelly, Tom, 'The Singing Tradition of Irish Travellers', Folk Music Journal, 3 (1975), 3-30

Nettel, Reginald, Sing a Song of England (London, 1954), reprinted as A Social History of Traditional Song (London, 1969)

Nettl, Bruno, Folk and Traditional Music of the Western Continents (New Jersey, 1965)

Nettl, B., Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology (New York, 1964)

Oliver, Paul, The Story of the Blues, first published 1969, third impression (London, 1970)

Opie, Peter, 'The Collection of Folk-Lore in England', Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, 101 (21 August 1953), 697-714

Orton, Harold and others, eds., Survey of English Dialects: Basic Material, Introduction and 12 vols (Leeds, 1962-71)

Orton, Harold and Nathalia Wright, A Word Geography of England (London and New York, 1974)

O'Shaughnessy, Patrick, ed., More Folk Songs from Lincolnshire (London, 1971)

O'Shaughnessy, Patrick, ed., Twenty-One Lincolnshire Folk-Songs from the Manuscript Collection of Percy Grainger (London, 1968)

Owen, T.M., Welsh Folk Customs (National Museum of Wales, Welsh Folk Museum, Cardiff, 1968)

Palmer, Roy, ed., Songs of the Midlands (East Ardsley, Wakefield, 1972)

Pearsall, Ronald, Edwardian Popular Music (Newton Abbot, 1975)

Pevsner, Nikolaus, Yorkshire: The West Riding, second edition revised by Enid Radcliffe (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1967)

Pinto, Vivian de Sola and Allan Edwin Rodway, eds., The Common Muse: An Anthology of Popular British Ballad Poetry, Fifteenth to Twentieth Century (London, 1957)

Pound, Louise, American Ballads and Songs (New York, 1922)

Pound, Louise, Poetic Origins and the Ballad (New York, 1921)

Purslow, Frank, ed., The Constant Lovers: More English Folk Songs from the Hammond and Gardiner MSS (EFDS Publications Ltd., London, 1972)

Purslow, Frank, ed., Marrow Bones: English Folk Songs from the Hammond and Gardiner MSS (EFDS Publications Ltd., London, 1965)

Purslow, Frank, ed., The Wanton Seed: More English Folk Songs from the Hammond and Gardiner MSS (EFDS Publications Ltd., London, 1968)

Reeves, James, ed., The Everlasting Circle: English Traditional Verse from the MSS of S. Baring-Gould, H.E.D. Hammond and George B. Gardiner (London, 1960)

Reeves, James, ed., The Idiom of the People: English Traditional Verse from the MSS of Cecil J. Sharp (London, 1958)

Reynolds, William Jenson, A Survey of Christian Hymnody (New York, 1963)

Richardson, H., 'The Story of Fulwood' in Local Pamphlets, 196, No.3 (Sheffield City Libraries, 1931)

Ross, James, 'Folk Song and Social Environment: A Study of the Repertoire of Nan MacKinnon of Vatersay', Scottish Studies, 5, Part 1 (1961) 18-39

Routley, Erik, The English Carol (London, 1958)

Roxburghe Ballads, The, I-III ed. by William Chappell (London, 1871-80), IV-VII ed. by J.W. Ebsworth (London, 1883-93)

Russell, Ian, 'Carol-Singing in the Sheffield Area', Lore and Language, 1, No.3 (August, 1970), 12-15

Russell, Ian, 'A Survey of a Christmas Singing Tradition in South Yorkshire - 1970', Lore and Language, 1, No.8 (January, 1973), 13-25

Russell, Kenneth, The Principles of Dairy Farming, fifth edition revised (Ipswich, 1969)

Saer, D. Roy, 'The Christmas Carol-Singing Tradition in the Tanad Valley' Folk Life, 7 (1969), 15-43

Sankey, Ira D., Sacred Songs and Solos, first edition (London [1873]). The edition used is Sacred Songs and Solos with Standard Hymns Combined and New Hymns and Solos (888 pieces) (London [no date])

Scott, Harold, The Early Doors: Origins of the Music Hall (London, 1946)

Seeger, Charles, 'Oral Tradition in Music' in Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, ed. by Maria Leach and J. Fried, 2 vols (New York, 1950), II, 825-829

Shanin, Teodor, ed., Peasants and Peasant Societies (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1971)

Sharp, Cecil J., English Folk Song: Some Conclusions, first published 1907, third edition ed. by Maud Karpeles (London, 1954), reprinted fourth (revised) edition, prepared by Maud Karpeles (East Ardsley, Wakefield, 1972)

Shepard, Leslie, The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning (London, 1962)

Simpson, Harold, A Century of Ballads, 1810-1910: Their Composers and Singers (London, 1910)

Sixty Old Time Variety Songs (Francis, Day and Hunter, London [no date])

Smith, A.H., The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, English Place Names Society Vol.XXX (Cambridge, 1961)

Smith, H. Kirk-, A History of the Manor and Parish of Wadsley (Sheffield, 1955)

Smith, H. Kirk-, A History of Wadsley (Sheffield, 1957)

Smith, Margaret Dean-, A Guide to English Folk Song Collections (Liverpool, 1954)

Smith, Paul S., David A.E. Spalding and Frank Sutton, eds., Cum All Yo Cutlin Heroes: Songs from Sheffield and District (Sheffield City Museum, 1967)

Song of Upper Wharfedale, The (City of Bradford Corporation, 1972)

Songs of the Fell Packs [produced by the Hunt Show Committee of the Melbreak Hunt, 1971]

Spaeth, Sigmund, A History of Popular Music in America, first published in 1948, British edition (London, 1960)

Stainton, J.H., The Making of Sheffield, 1866-1914 (Sheffield, 1924)

Stambler, Irwin and Grelun Landon, Encyclopedia of Folk, Country and Western Music (London, 1969)

Stannington and District Favourite Christmas Carols [handwritten and duplicated collection, compiled by H.E. Hall, 1952], photocopy in the Archives of the Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies, University of Leeds

Steers, J.A., Field Studies in the British Isles, published for the Twentieth International Geographical Congress (U.K., 1964)

Stubbs, Ken, The Life of a Man: English Folk Songs from the Home Counties (EFDS Publications Ltd., London, 1970)

Szabolesi, B., 'Folk Music — Art Music — History of Music', Studia Musicologica, 7 (1965), 171-9

Tate, W.E., The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movement (London, 1967)

Taylor, Archer, 'Edward' and 'Sven i Rosengard' (Chicago, 1931)

Taylor, Norman, 'Derbyshire Printing and Printers before 1800', Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 70 (1950), 38-69

Thompson, E.P., The Making of the English Working Class, first published 1963, revised edition (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1968)

Turner, J. Horsfall, Yorkshire Anthology (Bingley, 1901)

Turner, Michael R., The Parlour Song Book: A Casquet of Vocal Gems, music ed. Anthony Miall (London, 1972)

Turner, Michael R. and Anthony Miall, Just a Song at Twilight: The Second Parlour Song Book (London, 1975)

Vansina, Jan, Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology, first published 1961, translated by H.M. Wright (London, 1965), new edition (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1973)

Walton, Mary, 'Population in Sheffield', Local History Leaflets, 2 (Sheffield City Libraries, 1968)

Walton, Mary, Sheffield: Its Story and Its Achievement, fourth revised edition (Wakefield, 1968)

Ward, G.H.B., Songs for Ramblers to Sing on the Moorlands (Sheffield Clarion Ramblers, 1922)

Water Supply to Sheffield and District, The, third edition (Sheffield City Council, Water Committee, 1964)

Watts, Isaac, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 2 vols (London, 1707)

Webb, Robert Kiefer, The British Working-Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension (London, 1955)

Wells, Evelyn K., The Ballad Tree: A Study of British and American Ballads, their Folklore, Verse and Music (New York, 1950)

Wilgus, Donald Knight, Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898 (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1959).

Williams, Alfred, Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames with An Essay on Folk-Song Activity in the Upper Thames Neighbourhood (London, 1923), reprinted with a new preface by Stewart F. Sanderson (East Ardsley, Wakefield [no date])

Williams, W.M., The Sociology of an English Village (London, 1969)

Wiora, Walter, 'Concerning the Conceptions of Authentic Folk Music', Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 1 (1949), 14-19

Wood, F.T., History of Underbank Chapel, Stannington (Sheffield, 1944)

Yates, Michael, 'English Gypsy Songs', Folk Music Journal, 3 (1975), 63-80

DISCOGRAPHY

Belton, George — : All Jolly Fellows, of Madehurst, Arundel, Sussex, LP 1008 (EFDSS Folk Classic Series, 1967)

Blue Ball Inn, An Album of Ye Olde Worrall Carols, pianist Jack Couldwell, BB 1274 (Deroy 1073 [1974])

Bradfield Evening Institute Choral Society, An Album of Ye Olde Worrall Carols, with the Stocksbridge Orchestra, Deroy 551 (Deroy Studios, December 1969)

Bradfield Evening Institute Choral Society, Ye Olde Christmas Carols, accompanied by City of Sheffield Band, Deroy 618 (Deroy Studios [no date])

Butcher, Eddie, Shamrock, Rose and Thistle, LED 2070 (Leader Records, 1976)

Copper, Bob and Ron — : Traditional Songs from Rottingdean, LP 1002 (EFDSS, 1963)

Copper Family, A Song for Every Season: The Singing Tradition of the Copper Family of Rottingdean, Sussex, LEA 4046-9 (Leader Records, 1971)

Costello, Cecilia Costello, recordings from the Sound Archives of the BBC, LEE 4054 (Leader Records, 1975)

Cox, Harry — : English Folk Singer, LP 1004 (EFDSS, 1965)

Cox, Harry, Traditional English Love Songs, FSB-20 (Folk Legacy Records inc., 1964)

Dunn, George —, LEE 4042 (Leader Records, 1973)

Elliots, The — of Birtley:A Musical Portrait of a Durham Mining Family, Xtra 1091 (Transatlantic Records Ltd., 1969) (first issued by Folkways Records)

Folk Ballads from Donegal and Derry, collected by Hugh Shields, LEA 4055 (Leader Records, 1972)

Folk Songs of Britain, The, collected by Peter Kennedy and others, 10 vols, 12T 157-61, 194-8 (Topic Records Ltd., 1968-71) (first issued by Caedmon Records, Inc., New York)

Garners Gay: English Folk Songs Recorded by Fred Hamer, LP 1006 (EFDSS Folk Classic Series, 1971)

Hart, Bob, Percy Webb and Ernest Austin, Flash Company, 12TS243 (Topic Records Ltd., 1974)

Holme Valley Beagles, The, A Fine Hunting Day, LEE 4056 (Leader Records, 1975)

Jordan, *Fred —— : Songs of a Shropshire Farm Worker*, 12T 150 (Topic Records Ltd., 1966)

Jordan, Fred, *When the Frost Is on the Pumpkin*, 12TS233 (Topic Records Ltd., 1974)

Larner, Sam, *A Garland for Sam: Songs and Ballads of —— —— of Winterton*, 12T244 (Topic Records Ltd., 1974)

Larner, Sam, *Now Is the Time for Fishing*, FG 3507 (Folkways Records, 1961)

Maguire, John, *Come Day, Go Day, God Send Sunday*, LEE 4062 (Leader Records, 1973)

Maynard, George, *Ye Subjects of England: Traditional Songs from Sussex*, 12T286 (Topic Records Ltd., 1976)

Pardon, Walter, *A Proper Sort*, LED 2063 (Leader Records, 1975)

People's Carol, A, a Christmas singing tradition recorded in South Yorkshire pubs, LEE 4065 (Leader Records, 1974)

Poacher, Cyril, *The Broomfield Wager: Traditional Songs from Suffolk*, 12TS252 (Topic Records Ltd., 1975)

Scottish Tradition, recorded and documented by the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, 6 vols (in progress), TNGM109-111, TNGM117, TNGM119D, TNGM120 (Tangent Records, 1971-5)

Spicer, George, *Blackberry Fold: Traditional Songs and Ballads Sung by —— ——*, 12T 235 (Topic Records Ltd., 1974)

Tanner, *Phil ——*, LP 1005 (EFDSS Folk Classic Series [no date])

Taylor, Joseph and others, *Unto Brigg Fair*, recorded in 1908 by Percy Grainger (Leader Records, 1972)

Willet Family, The, *The Roving Journeyman: Traditional English Songs Sung by Traditional Singers*, 12T84 (Topic Records Ltd., 1962)

Wills, *Charlie ——*, LEA 4041 (Leader Records, 1972)

SONG INDEX

Titles and First Lines

References in square brackets are to the classification of F.J. Child, ed., English and Scottish Popular Ballads, reprinted edition (New York, 1965) or of G. Malcolm Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (Philadelphia, 1957).

A big ship set sail on its first maiden voyage see TITANIC

Abroad for pleasure as I was a-walking see PRATTY FLOWERS

A fair maid walked in her garden see BROKEN TOKEN

ALL HAIL THE POWER Gre 1

All hail the power of Jesu's name see DIADEM

ALL I WANT IS YOU Mar 1

AMONG MY SOUVENIRS PubR 1

And did those feet in ancient times see JERUSALEM

ANGELS FROM THE REALMS OF GLORY Chris 1

A nobleman lived in the village of Blay/Leek
see NOBLEMAN AND THE THRESHERMAN

A nobleman met with a thresherman one day
see NOBLEMAN AND THE THRESHERMAN

An old man gazed at a photograph see TWO LITTLE GIRLS IN BLUE

An old man sat at eventide see JUST LIKE THE IVY

ANOTHER YEAR HAS PASSED AWAY Mar 2

A pretty fair maid walked in her garden see BROKEN TOKEN

ASH GROVE Mar 3

As I strolled down by the old Royal Albion
see YOUNG SAILOR CUT DOWN IN HIS PRIME

As I walked down by the/yon Royal Albion
see YOUNG SAILOR CUT DOWN IN HIS PRIME

As I walked out one bright May morn see WEAVER'S DAUGHTER

As I was a-walking one morning in May see BOLD GRENADIER

As I was going to Derby see DERBY RAM

As I went out one bright May morn see WEAVER'S DAUGHTER

A soldier stood on the battlefield see SOLDIER AND A MAN

A tall stalwart lancer were dying see TALL STALWART LANCER

At Carsick I was bred and born see BARBARA ALLEN

At dreary midnight's cheerless hour see LARBOARD WATCH

Title	Source
At Jacob's Well a stranger sought see JACOB'S WELL	
At the age of eighty-three see GRANDMOTHER'S CHAIR	
AT THE BRUSH OF AN EARLY DAY	Gre 2
At the White Hart at Oughtibridge see OUGHTIBRIDGE TRAIL HUNT	
A thresherman lived in the village of late see NOBLEMAN AND THE THRESHERMAN	
AWAKE ARISE GOOD CHRISTIANS	Chris 2
A wealthy young squire in Timsworth/Tamworth see GOLDEN GLOVE	
BABY'S PRAYER	Wal 1
BACK LANE	Chris 3
BAILIFF'S DAUGHTER OF ISLINGTON [Child 105]	PubP 1
BANKS OF ALLAN WATER	Mar 4
BANKS OF SWEET DUNDEE [Laws M25]	Hin 1
	Whi 1
Banks of Sweet Roses see COME TO THE BOWER	
BANKS OF THE CLYDE	Hin 2
BARBARA ALLEN [Child 84]	HanB 1
	HanG 1
	Hin 3
	Whi 2
Barbara Ellen see BARBARA ALLEN	
Barbry Allen see BARBARA ALLEN	
BEAUTIFUL SWALE DALE	BroB 1
Beautiful Swale Dale, the land of my birth see SONG OF SWALE DALE	
Behold the grace appears see BACK LANE	
BELIEVE ME IF ALL THOSE ENDEARING YOUNG CHARMS	HanG 2
	Mar 5
Beneath the spreading chestnut tree see VILLAGE BLACKSMITH	
BETSY THE SERVING MAID [Laws M20]	HanG 3
BEULAH LAND	Whi 3
BIDDY MULLIGAN	BroB 2
BILLY MCGEE	BroB 3
BIRD IN A GILDED CAGE	Mar 6
BLAYDON RACES	BroB 4
BLESS THIS HOUSE	PubS 1
BLIND BOY	Hin 4
	Mar 7

BLUEBELLS ARE BLUEBELLS	PubP 2
BOLD GRENADIER	Hin 5
BONNY BLUE HANDKERCHIEF	Wal 2
BONNY MARY OF ARGYL	Gre 3
	HanB 2
	PubS 2
BONNY YOUNG SCOTCH LASSIE	HanG 4
	Hin 6
BREAK THE NEWS TO MOTHER	Gre 4
	Hin 7
	Mar 8
	Whi 4
Breddle on the Moor see BRENNAN ON THE MOOR	
BRENNAN ON THE MOOR [Laws L7]	Whi 5
BRIAN O'LYNN	BroB 5
BRIGHT AND JOYFUL	Chris 4
Bright Rosy Morning see ROSY MORN	
BROKEN TOKEN [Laws N42]	Wal 3
	Whi 6
But in a churchyard see IN A CHURCHYARD IN THE CITY	
CAN'T CHANGE IT	HanG 5
Carry me back to old Virginia see OLD VIRGINIA	
Chiming Bells see SWEET CHIMING BELLS	
Christians awake unclose your eyes see EGYPT	
CHRISTMAS TREE	BroB 6
COCK-A-DOODLE-DO	PubP 3
COCKLES AND MUSSELS	PubS 3
Cold December snow in winter see HELP A LAME DOG OVER A STILE	
Colonial Boy see WILD COLONIAL BOY	
Come all ye maids and men see HOOLEY IN THE KITCHEN	
Come all ye weary travellers see TINWOOD	
Come all ye wild and wicked youths see YOUNG HENRY THE POACHER	
COME LANDLORD FILL THE FLOWING BOWL	Gre 5
Come Let Us All Rejoice see NEW CELESTIAL	
COME TO THE BOWER	HanB 3
	Hin 8
	Wal 4

continued

COME TO THE BOWER (continued) War 1
Whi 7
PubP 4
COME YE THANKFUL PEOPLE COME PubS 4
Crackety Crackety Goes my Whip see JIM THE CARTER'S LAD
CRIMOND PubS 5
CRIMOND (While Shepherds) Chris 5
CUCKOO Mar 9
CWM RHONDDA PubS 6
DANNY BOY Mar 10
DARK-EYED SAILOR [Laws N35] Hin 9
Darky Weep see KITTY WELLS
Darling Live while Morn
see WHILE SITTING BY THE SIDE OF A FOND AND LOVING WIFE
Day Being Spent see GARDEN GATE
Dear fates that hold the sweetest smile for me
see SUNSHINE OF YOUR SMILE
Dear home for across the sea see DEAR OLD HOME
Dear Mary this London's a wonderful sight
see MOUNTAINS OF MOURNE
DEAR OLD HOME Gre 6
DEAR OLD MOTHER HanG 6
DEAR OLD PALS Gre 7
Dear thoughts are in my mind see LARK IN THE CLEAR AIR
DERBY RAM BroB 7
Gre 8
Derby Tup see DERBY RAM
DIADEM Chris 6
DIDO BENDIGO PubR 2
DIE AN OLD MAID Dron 1
Dog and Gun see GOLDEN GLOVE
Do not trust him gentle lady see GIPSY'S WARNING
DON'T GO DOWN IN THE MINE DAD HanG 7
Hin 10
Mar 11
DON'T SEND MY POOR BOY TO PRISON Hin 11
Down at Howtown we met Joe Bowman see JOE BOWMAN

Down in Arizona where the badmen are see RAGTIME COWBOY JOE

DOWN IN THE FIELDS WHERE THE BUTTERCUPS ALL GROW — PubS 7

Down Sheffield Park a maid did dwell see SHEFFIELD PARK

Down yonder green valley see ASH GROVE

Do you ken John Peel with his coat so gay see JOHN PEEL

Do you remember see WHEN WE WENT TO SCHOOL TOGETHER

EARLY ONE MORNING — Whi 8

Early one morning at the break of day
see WE ARE ALL JOLLY FELLOWS

Early one morning, the break of the day
see WE ARE ALL JOLLY FELLOWS

Edith Allen see BARBARA ALLEN

EDWARD [Child 13] — Hin 12, Wal 5, Whi 9

EGYPT — Chris 7

Every morning every morning see OLD GAMECOCK

Extension of Swale Dale see SONG OF SWALE DALE

FAITHFUL SAILOR BOY [Laws K13] — Gre 9

Far away in lonely prairie land
see SING US A SONG OF BONNY SCOTLAND

FARMER'S BOY [Laws Q30] — Gre 10, Mar 12, Tay 1

Farmers's Daughter see BANKS OF SWEET DUNDEE

FARMHOUSE ON THE HILL — Hin 13

FERN BANK — Chris 8

FEW JOVIAL SPORTSMEN — BroA 1, HanG 8, Hin 14

FIELDS OF WAVING CORN — Gre 11

FINE HUNTING DAY — BroB 8, Hin 15

FIRST NOWELL — Chris 9

Five Comes Over the Border see TWELVE APOSTLES

For it stands in the corner see OLD WOODEN ROCKER

FORTY LONG MILES — Hin 16

Title	Source
Foster see OLD FOSTER	
Four-wheel Brake see BREAK THE NEWS TO MOTHER	
FOX	War 2
FRANK'S SONG	Hin 17
FRIENDSHIP	HanG 9
Friendship makes this world so happy see FRIENDSHIP	
FROST LOOKED OUT	War 3
FULWOOD FARMERS AND NEIGHBOURS	HanG 10
	Tay 2
	Wal 6
	Whi 10
GALLANT HUSSAR	HanG 11
GALWAY BAY	HanG 12
GARDEN GATE	HanB 4
	HanG 13
	Hin 18
	Wal 7
GARDEN WHERE THE PRATIES GROW	BroB 9
	PubS 8
GEORDIE [Child 209]	Wal 8
GIPSY GIRL [Laws 04]	Hin 19
	Wal 9
GIPSY'S WARNING	Hin 20
	Mar 13
GIVE ME THE SPADE	Goo 1
Glory to God the angels sing see MOUNT MORIAH	
GOLDEN GLOVE [Laws N20]	Hin 21
	Wal 10
	Whi 11
GOLDEN VANITY [Child 286]	Hin 22
Gone are the days see POOR OLD JOE	
GOOD NEWS	Chris 10
GOODNIGHT PRETTY MAIDEN GOODNIGHT	Mar 14
Grandad sat at evenfall see JUST LIKE THE IVY	
GRANDFATHER'S CLOCK	Gre 12
	PubR 3
GRANDMOTHER'S CHAIR	Gre 13
	Hin 23

GREATEST CRICKETER BroA 2
GREEN MOSSY BANKS OF THE LEA [Laws O15] Hin 24; Wal 11; Whi 12
Guide me O thou great Jehovah see CWM RHONDDA
HAIL SMILING MORN PubS 9
HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO YOU PubS 10
Hark Hark see GOOD NEWS
HARK HARK HARK HARK Chris 11
Hark Hark—Old Tune see HARK HARK HARK HARK
Hark hark what news those angels bring see GOOD NEWS; TYRE MILL
HARK HEAR YE NOT Chris 12
Have you ever been in love my boy see THE GARDEN WHERE THE PRATIES GROW
HELP A LAME DOG OVER A STILE Gre 14
Here we come a-wassailing see WASSAIL SONG
HE'S BEEN A LONG TIME GORN PubP 5
He walked along the boulevard with an independent air see MAN WHO BROKE THE BANK AT MONTE CARLO
HIGHWAYMAN OUTWITTED [Laws L2] Hin 25; Law 1
HILLS OF DONEGAL BroB 10
Holmfirth Anthem see PRATTY FLOWERS
HOLY CITY PubS 11
HOOLEY IN THE KITCHEN [Laws Q16] BroB 11
HOW BEAUTIFUL UPON THE MOUNTAIN Chris 13
How can I bear to leave thee see SOLDIER'S FAREWELL
HYMN THAT I SANG AS A BOY Tho 1
I am but a poor blind boy see BLIND BOY
I am thinking tonight see OLD RUSTIC BRIDGE BY THE MILL
I DO LOVE MY MOTHER AS MY LIFE HanG 14
IF THOSE LIPS COULD ONLY SPEAK Wal 12
IF WINTER COMES WITH BITTERNESS PubP 6
If you ever go across the sea to Ireland see GALWAY BAY
IF YOU EVER GO TO IRELAND BroB 12
IF YOU WERE THE ONLY GIRL IN THE WORLD PubS 12

I have heard the mavis singing see BONNY MARY OF ARGYL

I like to meet with dear old pals see DEAR OLD PALS

I live in a land of roses see THORA

I'LL BE YOUR SWEETHEART — PubS 13

I'LL NE'ER FORGET THE DAY — Hin 26

I'll sing of a song see BEAUTIFUL SWALE DALE

I'LL TAKE YOU HOME AGAIN KATHLEEN — PubS 14

I'm a bonny young Scotch lassie see BONNY YOUNG SCOTCH LASSIE

I'M A DADDY AT SIXTY-THREE — Mar 15

I'm a decent young widow see BIDDY MULLIGAN

I'M ALWAYS GLAD TO SEE A MAN LIKE THEE — BroB 13

I'M A MAN THAT'S DONE WRONG TO MY PARENTS — Hin 27

I'm a man that's in trouble and sorrow
see I'M A MAN THAT'S DONE WRONG TO MY PARENTS

I'M AWAY ON THE HILLSIDE — Mar 16

I'm bound for the hills see GOODNIGHT PRETTY MAIDEN GOODNIGHT

I'M RIDING ALONG IN A FREE TRAIN — PubP 7

I'm sitting on the stile Mary see IRISH EMIGRANT

I'm working here in Glasgow see PATSY FAGAN

IN A CHURCHYARD IN THE CITY — PubP 8

In a sweet and verdant valley see IN THE VALLEY OF SWITZERLAND

In Banbridge Town see STAR OF THE COUNTY DOWN

In Dublin's fair city see COCKLES AND MUSSELS

In Scarlet town where I was born see BARBARA ALLEN

In Scotland I was bred and born see BARBARA ALLEN

In Sheffield Park a maid did dwell see SHEFFIELD PARK

In Sheffield Park there once did dwell see SHEFFIELD PARK

In that old fashioned town see OLD FASHIONED TOWN

In the Evening see TIDESWELL ANTHEM

IN THE SHADE OF THE OLD APPLE TREE — Mar 17

IN THE VALLEY OF SWITZERLAND — Gre 15

In the year of our Lord see IRISH ROVER

I once saw two lovers see I'LL BE YOUR SWEETHEART

IRISH EMIGRANT — Hin 28; Mar 18; PubP 9

IRISH ROVER BroA 3
I sat midst a mighty throng see SONG THAT REACHED MY HEART
It hails it rains it snows it blows see FORTY LONG MILES
I TRAMP WITH MY GUN IN MY POCKET Hin 29
It's a bright rosy morning peeps over yon rill see ROSY MORN
It's a fine hunting day see A FINE HUNTING DAY
IT'S MY MOTHER'S BIRTHDAY TODAY HanB 5
It's of a farmer's daughter see BANKS OF SWEET DUNDEE
It's of a rich squire in Tamworth we hear see GOLDEN GLOVE
It was a rich farmer of Cheshire see HIGHWAYMAN OUTWITTED
It was a rich merchant see WILLIAM AND DINAH
It was a steamship London see WRECK OF THE NORTHFLEET
It was early one morn see WE ARE ALL JOLLY FELLOWS
It was one merry morning in May see SPOTTED COW
It was one Monday morning see WHITE COCKADE
It was one morn one sweet May day see JOCKEY TO THE FAIR
It was on one Monday morning see WHITE COCKADE
I've been a wild rover see WILD ROVER
I've travelled about a bit see PADDLE YOUR OWN CANOE
I wandered on as in a dream see LOVE ME AND THE WORLD IS MINE
I wandered today see WHEN YOU AND I WERE YOUNG MAGGIE
I was scarcely eighteen years of age see McCAFFERY
I was waiting when the postman came see LETTER EDGED IN BLACK
I WOULDN'T LEAVE MY LITTLE WOODEN HUT Mar 19
JACOB'S WELL Chris 14
JERUSALEM PubS 15
JESU LOVER OF MY SOUL Chris 15
JIM THE CARTER'S LAD Gre 16
Hin 30
WomJ 1
JOCKEY TO THE FAIR Wal 13
Whi 13
JOE BOWMAN PubR 4
JOHN PEEL BroA 4
JOLLY GRINDER BroB 14

Title	Source
JOLLY WAGGONER	Hin 31
	Mar 20
	Tay 3
	Wal 14
	Whi 14
Jump On Jump On Thy Milk White Mare see OUTLANDISH KNIGHT	
JUST AFTER THE BATTLE MOTHER	Gre 17
JUST AN OLD FASHIONED LADY	Mar 21
Just a song at twilight see LOVE'S OLD SWEET SONG	
JUST BEFORE THE BATTLE MOTHER	Gre 18
Just jump over the garden wall see OVER THE GARDEN WALL	
Just jump up and just jump down see OVER THE GARDEN WALL	
JUST LIKE THE IVY	Gre 19
	Mar 22
KISS AND NOTHING MORE	Hin 32
KITTY WELLS	Hin 33
KNICKERBOCKER LINE	War 4
LARBOARD WATCH	BroA 5
	PubR 5
LARK IN THE CLEAR AIR	BroB 15
LARK IN THE MORN	Hin 34
	Mar 23
LASS OF RICHMOND HILL	Gre 20
Last night I lay a-sleeping see HOLY CITY	
LETTER EDGED IN BLACK	Hin 35
LIFT ON THE WAY	BroA 6
LINCOLNSHIRE POACHER	Gre 21
	Hin 36
List to me whilst I tell you of the Spaniard see SPANIARD THAT BLIGHTED MY LIFE	
LITTLE BROWN JUG	Mar 24
	Wal 15
LITTLE MARY	Hin 37
LITTLE PAL	Whi 15
LIVERPOOL	Chris 16
LLOYD	Chris 17
LONDONDERRY AIR	Mar 25

Lonely I wander through scenes of my childhood see OLD HOUSE	
LONESOME PINE	Gre 22
Long Lost Goldmine in the Sky see TIDESWELL ANTHEM	
LOST CHORD	PubS 16
LOVE AT HOME	Gre 23
	Hin 38
	PubR 6
LOVE ME AND THE WORLD IS MINE	Gre 24
LOVE'S OLD SWEET SONG	PubS 17
McCAFFERY	Whi 16
	WomB 1
McCaverty see McCAFFERY	
MAN WHO BROKE THE BANK AT MONTE CARLO	HanG 15
MARDALE HUNT	PubR 7
MARY OF THE WILD MOOR [Laws P21]	Hin 39
MAXWELTON BRAES	Mar 26
Me and two other boys see PEAR TREE	
MEN OF HARLECH	BroB 16
MERRY CHRISTMAS	Chris 18
MINER'S DREAM OF HOME	Gre 25
MISTER GALLAGHER AND MISTER SHEEN	War 5
MISTLETOE BOUGH	Gre 26
	HanG 16
	Wal 16
	Chris 19
MOCKING BIRD HILL	HanB 6
MODEL CHURCH	Hin 40
MOONLIGHT BAY	PubS 18
MOTHER MACHREE	Hin 41
	PubS 19
MOUNTAINS OF MOURNE	HanG 17
	Mar 27
MOUNT MORIAH	Chris 20
MOUNT ZION	Chris 21
My father comes and dwells with me see BEULAH LAND	
My grandfather's clock was too tall see GRANDFATHER'S CLOCK	
My lover she's a tailor see KNICKERBOCKER LINE	

My mind wanders today see FIELDS OF WAVING CORN

My wife and I lived all alone see LITTLE BROWN JUG

MY YORKSHIRE FARM WomJ 2

'Neath the shade of the old apple tree
see IN THE SHADE OF THE OLD APPLE TREE

NELLIE RAY Gre 27

NEW CELESTIAL Chris 22

NOBLEMAN AND THE THRESHERMAN HanG 18
Hin 42
Mar 28
Tay 4
Whi 17
PubP 10

NOTHING ELSE TO DO Hin 43
Wal 17
Whi 18
WomJ 3
PubP 11

Now Brian O'Lynn had no trousers to wear see BRIAN O'LYNN

Now I don't want to offend you see NOWT TO DO WITH ME

NOW I'M GOING TO SING A SONG TO YOU THIS EVENING PubR 8

Now in the summer of life sweetheart
see WILL YOU LOVE ME IN DECEMBER AS YOU DO IN MAY

Now it's ten weary years see MINER'S DREAM OF HOME

Now little pal when your Daddy goes away see LITTLE PAL

Now Mary Green loves me and I love her so
see DOWN IN THE FIELDS WHERE THE BUTTERCUPS ALL GROW

Now me and two other boys went on the spree see PEAR TREE

Now my father he's the king of the gipsy gang see GIPSY GIRL

Now my grandfather's clock see GRANDFATHER'S CLOCK

Now summer is ended see NOTHING ELSE TO DO

Now the summer is ended see NOTHING ELSE TO DO

NOWT TO DO WITH ME Wal 18

NUTTING GIRL Wal 19

O COME ALL YE FAITHFUL Chris 23

O Danny boy the pipes the pipes are calling see DANNY BOY

O Derry Vale amid your Foyle's dark waters see LONDONDERRY AIR

O good evening Fulwood friends see GREATEST CRICKETER	
O IT SEEMS LIKE ONLY YESTERDAY	PubS 20
O it was of a cold winter's night see MARY OF THE WILD MOOR	
O it was one bright summer's morning see SHIP THAT NEVER RETURNED	
O I went to Blaydon Races see BLAYDON RACES	
O JOE THE BOAT IS GOING OVER	War 6
Old Apple Tree see IN THE SHADE OF THE OLD APPLE TREE	
Old Armchair see GRANDMOTHER'S CHAIR	
Old Ben Broomhead see FULWOOD FARMERS AND NEIGHBOURS	
OLD FASHIONED TOWN	BroB 17
OLD FOLKS AT HOME	Mar 29
OLD FOSTER	Chris 24
OLD GAMECOCK	HanB 7
OLD HOUSE	PubS 21
Old Poaching Song see YOUNG HENRY THE POACHER	
OLD RUGGED CROSS	PubS 22
OLD RUSTIC BRIDGE BY THE MILL	BroA 7
	Hin 44
OLD VIRGINIA	Hin 45
OLD WOODEN ROCKER	Hin 46
O Mary this London's a wonderful sight see MOUNTAINS OF MOURNE	
O Mister Sheen see MISTER GALLAGHER AND MISTER SHEEN	
On a hill far away see OLD RUGGED CROSS	
On a mountain in Virginia see LONESOME PINE	
Once upon a cannibal isle there dwelt a dark-eyed maid see I WOULDN'T LEAVE MY LITTLE WOODEN HUT	
ONE DAY AT THE DOCK	Gre 28
One day in June when the birds sang their tune see NELLIE RAY	
O night and day I'm dreaming see HILLS OF DONEGAL	
On Richmond Hill there lives a lass see LASS OF RICHMOND HILL	
On the banks of Allan Water see BANKS OF ALLAN WATER	
On the banks of the Clyde see BANKS OF THE CLYDE	
O SEE YOU NOT MY LADY	PubR 9
OUGHTIBRIDGE TRAIL HUNT	Gre 29
	HanG 19
	Hin 47

OUR GOODMAN [Child 274]	PubS 23
Out in the wilds of Australia see SONG OF A THRUSH	
OUTLANDISH KNIGHT [Child 4]	Wal 20
	Whi 19
Out there in the morning light I gō see TURN TURN THE GOOD BROWN EARTH	
OVER THE GARDEN WALL	Hin 48
	Wal 21
Own Sweet Song see LOVE'S OLD SWEET SONG	
PADDLE YOUR OWN CANOE	Gre 30
PARDON CAME TOO LATE	Mar 30
Pardon me stranger see IF YOU EVER GO TO IRELAND	
PASSING BY	PubS 24
PASSING BY (DEEP HARMONY)	PubR 10
PATSY FAGAN	Mar 31
PEAR TREE	Hin 49
	Wal 22
PENTONVILLE	Chris 25
POOR OLD JOE	HanB 8
	Mar 32
PRATTY FLOWERS	BroA 8
	Hin 50
QUEEN OF CONNEMARA	BroB 18
RAGTIME COWBOY JOE	HanG 20
RANMOOR INN	Wal 23
Remember the time when our Saviour was born see SPOUT COTTAGE	
REST OF THE DAY'S YOUR OWN	HanG 21
Rich Farmer of Cheshire see HIGHWAYMAN OUTWITTED	
Rich Squire in Tamworth see GOLDEN GLOVE	
Rise at six every morn see REST OF THE DAY'S YOUR OWN	
ROSE OF ALLANDALE	Gre 31
ROSE OF TRALEE	HanG 22
	PubS 25
ROSY MORN	BroA 9
	HanB 9
	HanG 23
ROTHERHAM WEDDING	Wal 24

Round Lodge Moor I wandered see KISS AND NOTHING MORE

Royal Albion see YOUNG SAILOR CUT DOWN IN HIS PRIME

Sailor's Bride see BROKEN TOKEN

Seated one day at the organ see LOST CHORD

SHALL WE GATHER AT THE RIVER PubS 26

SHEFFIELD PARK HanB 10
Hin 51
Tay 5
Whi 20
PubP 12
PubS 27

She's only a bird in a gilded cage see BIRD IN A GILDED CAGE

She was lovely and fair see ROSE OF TRALEE

SHE WEARS RED FEATHERS HanB 11

SHIP THAT NEVER RETURNED Hin 52

SILENT NIGHT Chris 26

Sing All Ye People see STANNINGTON

SING US A SONG OF BONNY SCOTLAND Gre 32

SMILING THROUGH PubS 28

SOLDIER AND A MAN Dron 2

SOLDIER'S FAREWELL PubS 29

SONG FOR THE TIME Chris 27

SONG OF A THRUSH Mar 33

SONG OF SWALE DALE BroB 19

SONG THAT REACHED MY HEART Gre 33

SOVEREIGNTY Chris 28

So what's the use of fratching lad see LIFT ON THE WAY

SPANIARD THAT BLIGHTED MY LIFE Mar 34

SPENCER THE ROVER Hin 53

SPOTTED COW Hin 54

SPOUT COTTAGE Chris 29

STANNINGTON Chris 30

STAR OF BETHLEHEM Chris 31

STAR OF THE COUNTY DOWN BroA 10

Still upon the field of battle
see JUST AFTER THE BATTLE MOTHER

Stop and I Will Sing Thee/You see TWELVE APOSTLES

SUNSET LIGHT WAS FADING PubP 13
SUNSHINE OF YOUR SMILE PubS 30
Sweet Betsy see BETSY THE SERVING MAID
Sweet Betsy up to London went see BETSY THE SERVING MAID
SWEET CHIMING BELLS Chris 32
TAKE THAT RING Wal 25
TALL STALWART LANCER PubP 14
TENNESSEE WALTZ Mar 35
The cuckoo is a pretty bird see CUCKOO
The day being spent the moon shone bright see GARDEN GATE
The Lord's my shepherd I'll not want see CRIMOND
The mansion glittered see ALL I WANT IS YOU
The mistletoe hung see MISTLETOE BOUGH
The morn is here awake my lads away away see MARDALE HUNT
The morn was fair the skies were clear see ROSE OF ALLANDALE
The pale moon was rising see ROSE OF TRALEE
The preacher at our/in the village church see VOLUNTEER ORGANIST
There are colleens I know see JUST AN OLD FASHIONED LADY
THERE CAME A COLD WIND FROM THE NORTH Wal 26
There is a jolly grinder that I know well see JOLLY GRINDER
There is a lady sweet and kind see PASSING BY
There is beauty all around see LOVE AT HOME
THERE'S A BRIDLE HANGING ON THE WALL PubS 31
There's a bright rosy morning see ROSY MORN
THERE'S A DEAR LITTLE LADY PubR 11
There's a little brown road see SMILING THROUGH
THERE'S A PICTURE IN MY HEART THAT LIVES FOREVER Gre 34
There's a pub just down our village street
see I'M ALWAYS GLAD TO SEE A MAN LIKE THEE
There's a spot in my heart see MOTHER MACHREE
There's a tear in my eye see WHEN IRISH EYES ARE SMILING
There's nothing left for me see AMONG MY SOUVENIRS
There was a farmhouse standing see FARMHOUSE ON THE HILL
There was a wild colonial boy see WILD COLONIAL BOY
There was a youth see BAILIFF'S DAUGHTER OF ISLINGTON
The shot and shell was screaming see BREAK THE NEWS TO MOTHER
The summer is ended see NOTHING ELSE TO DO

The sun had/was set behind yond hill see FARMER'S BOY
The train went speeding onward see BABY'S PRAYER
The twilight shadows deepen into night dear
see WHEN IT'S SPRINGTIME IN THE ROCKIES
This world is a difficult riddle
see WHERE THERE'S A WILL THERE'S A WAY
THORA Mar 36
Three gipsies stood see WRAGGLE TAGGLE GIPSIES
THREE MEN WENT A-HUNTING War 7
Thresherman see NOBLEMAN AND THE THRESHERMAN
THROUGH THE OLD CHURCH DOOR PubP 15
TIDESWELL ANTHEM PubS 32
Tidsa Anthem see TIDESWELL ANTHEM
TINWOOD Chris 33
'TIS BUT A LITTLE FADED FLOWER HanB 12
TITANIC Gre 35
TRAMP BOYS TRAMP BY THE WAGGONSIDE Gre 36
TURN TURN THE GOOD BROWN EARTH Mar 37
'Twas a bright and shining morn see DIDO BENDIGO
'Twas a lady possessed of great beauty see GALLANT HUSSAR
'Twas early one morning see WE ARE ALL JOLLY FELLOWS
'Twas of a squire's daughter see NUTTING GIRL
'Twas on a stormy winter's night see FAITHFUL SAILOR BOY
'Twas one bright rosy morning see WHITE COCKADE
'Twas there I learnt reading and writing see BILLY MCGEE
TWELVE APOSTLES Wal 27
Whi 21
'Twere underneath the banks see COME TO THE BOWER
Two Eyes of Blue see SMILING THROUGH
TWO LITTLE GIRLS IN BLUE Gre 37
Hin 55
Mar 38
TYRE MILL Chris 34
UMP JUMP JACK Wal 28
Underneath the banks/beds of sweet roses see COME TO THE BOWER
Underneath the gaslight glitter
see WON'T YOU BUY MY PRETTY FLOWERS

VILLAGE BLACKSMITH	Hin 56
VOLUNTEER ORGANIST	BroB 20
	Mar 39
Waggoners/Waggoning see JOLLY WAGGONER	
WASSAIL SONG	Gre 38
	Hin 57
	Mar 40
	WomJ 4
WE ARE ALL JOLLY FELLOWS	Gre 39
	Hin 58
	Mar 41
	Tay 6
	Wal 29
	War 8
	Whi 22
	WomJ 5
	PubP 16
	PubP 17
WEAVER'S DAUGHTER	Hin 59
	Mar 42
	Wal 30
	Whi 23
Well wife I found a model church see MODEL CHURCH	
WE PLOUGH THE FIELDS AND SCATTER	PubS 33
We're a few jovial sportsmen see FEW JOVIAL SPORTSMEN	
WE'RE NO AWA' TAE BIDE AWA'	BroA 11
We singers make bold as in days of old see MERRY CHRISTMAS	
We've been a while a-wandering/wassailing see WASSAIL SONG	
We were sailing along see MOONLIGHT BAY	
WE WERE SWEETHEARTS	Gre 40
What Has Thou Killed thy Dear Brother For see EDWARD	
What is that/the blood on thy shirt sleeve see EDWARD	
WHAT'S BECOME OF THE OLD SONGS	Mar 43
WHAT'S THE USE OF GOLD	HanG 24
	Whi 24
WHEN A YOUNGSTER AT HOME	Hin 60
When first in this country see GREEN MOSSY BANKS OF THE LEA	

When first I took my Yorkshire Farm see YORKSHIRE FARM
When first I went a-waggoning see JOLLY WAGGONER
WHEN I GROW TOO OLD TO DREAM — Mar 44
WHEN IRISH EYES ARE SMILING — Mar 45
WHEN IT'S SPRINGTIME IN THE ROCKIES — Gre 41
When I was bound apprentice see LINCOLNSHIRE POACHER
When I was scarcely eighteen years of age see McCAFFERY
When marshalled on the nightly plain see STAR OF BETHLEHEM
When the boat's weighed down with fish see QUEEN OF CONNEMARA
WHEN THE FIELDS ARE WHITE WITH DAISIES — War 9
When the sun in the morning see MOCKING BIRD HILL
WHEN WE WENT TO SCHOOL TOGETHER — Gre 42
WHEN YOU AND I WERE YOUNG MAGGIE — Hin 61
WHEN YOU'RE HAPPY — PubS 34
WHERE IS NOW THE MERRY PARTY — HanG 25
WHERE THERE'S A WILL THERE'S A WAY — Hin 62
WHILE FORGING OF MY SCALES AND SPRINGS — Hin 63
While shepherds watched their flocks by night see CRIMOND, FERN BANK, LIVERPOOL, LLOYD, MOUNT ZION, OLD FOSTER, PENTONVILLE and SWEET CHIMING BELLS
WHILE SITTING BY THE SIDE OF A FOND AND LOVING WIFE — Hin 64
While/Whilst the shot and shell were flying/screaming/screeching see BREAK THE NEWS TO MOTHER
WHITE COCKADE — Gre 43, Hin 65, Tay 7, Whi 25, WomJ 6, PubP 18
White Cockayne see WHITE COCKADE
WHITE WINGS — Hin 66
Who comes this way so blithe and gay see CHRISTMAS TREE
WHY DO I WEEP — Mar 46
WHY DON'T YOU MARRY THE GIRL — Hin 67
WILD COLONIAL BOY [Laws L20] — Hin 68

WILD ROVER	Gre 44
	HanB 13
	Hin 69
	Mar 47
	Whi 26
	WomB 2
	WomJ 7
Wilkins and Dinah see WILLIAM AND DINAH	
WILLIAM AND DINAH [Laws M31A]	Hin 70
WILL YOU LOVE ME IN DECEMBER AS YOU DO IN MAY	Gre 45
WITH SOMEONE LIKE YOU	PubS 35
WON'T YOU BUY MY PRETTY FLOWERS	PubS 36
Would Jesus have a sinner die see SOVEREIGNTY	
WRAGGLE TAGGLE GIPSIES [Child 200]	Hin 71
WRECK OF THE NORTHFLEET	Hin 72
You may ask what makes this darky weep see KITTY WELLS	
YOUNG HENRY THE POACHER [Laws L18]	Hin 73
YOUNG SAILOR CUT DOWN IN HIS PRIME	Hin 74
	Mar 48
	Tay 8
	Whi 27
	WomB 3
Youth of Islington see BAILIFF'S DAUGHTER OF ISLINGTON	