

'An Edition of the Daybook of John Reddish, 1780-1805.

by

Anne Cockburn B.A.

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## ABSTRACT

An Edition of the Day Book of John Reddish, 1780 - 1805  
Thesis submitted to University of Nottingham for a Master of  
Philosophy Degree, October, 1979, by Anne Cockburn.

The thesis is an investigation of a manuscript collection of songs and music written by three members of the Reddish family, John Reddish producing the major part of the manuscript.

The songs and music demonstrate the social change within the family during a period in which they were forced to leave corn milling and become framework knitters. The collection also demonstrates the change in the pattern of life in the rural community through the enclosure acts, the early industrial revolution and the Napoleonic wars, To establish the status of the family within the community some investigation of education and literacy has been necessary.

The songs and tunes are of three types, Simon the father, copies printed songs with their tunes from songbooks or music sheets while the two sons collect broadsides and oral song words, and music for the secular band playing in the village. Some study is made of the distribution and availability of songs and music through broadsides, other printed sources and through the oral tradition and this helps to indicate the state of musicianship in rural communities of this period.

Finally, the songs and tunes are related to printed and oral sources and when possible, some indication of their continued life and popularity is given.

## Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	4
The Family	7
The Miller to his trade	19
The Framework Knitter and Luddism	37
Literacy in Nottinghamshire in the 18th & 19th centuries	49
Music in Relation to the Reddish Family and Nottinghamshire	69
The Songs	124
The Music	486
Conclusion	526
Illustrations	532
Time chart of the Family	533
Bibliography	572

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Librarians throughout the country have been unfailingly patient but I would like to thank the Nottingham librarians at the University, the Polytechnic and the Local History Library in particular.

Without the enthusiasm of Sheila Cook and Stephen Best at the City Library and Adrian Henstock at the Nottinghamshire Local Records Office my work would have been much slower.

The most important oral source material came from Mrs. Sophia Strutt, Garvis' grand-daughter and my thanks is given to her for confirming many of my theories and providing so much new material for my thesis and my teaching.

Finally, my thanks to Miss Freda Welch for her help and encouragement in the writing of the thesis and her supervision of the typing of the manuscript. Without her friendship this would never have been finished.



## PREFACE

It may be worth noting the background to my own interest in this investigation. I believe that the factors of family and ancestry are important links between myself and work which I may undertake in the field of Folk Studies.

My mother's family of Carr has farmed in north Northumberland for as long as records have been kept and has experienced life and music in the debatable lands between England and Scotland for many centuries. My grandfather sang me fragments of local songs including 'Whittingham Fair', 'Waters of Tyne', 'See the Tender Coming', and the 'Deaths of Parcy Reid', before I was five years old. My mother provided me with her copy of Cecil Sharp's 'Folk Songs for Schools' at an early age. I began noting down songs before the age of ten years and two early sources from outside the family were a small Glasgow girl at the village school, and the radio programme Country Magazine, which included songs collected by Frances Collinson. These first notebooks did not contain any tunes, the first verse was generally enough to serve as a reminder of the tune.

My father's family originated in the lowlands of Scotland near St. Mary's Loch, and appear to be the direct descendants of the William Cockburn of Henderland killed by King James IV and immortalised in the ballad called the 'Border Widow's Lament'. In the mid nineteenth century, William Cockburn of Ewart, near Wooler in Northumberland married Margaret Faa, daughter of the

last King of the Gypsies of Yetholm. If heredity can be accepted, some of my interest in Folk Studies may be tracable to this ancestor.

In 1969, after my arrival in Nottingham, and with the enthusiastic encouragement of Professor Kinsley, I began to consider working on the background to the songs I had collected, with particular reference to my own county of Northumberland, but in 1971 I was lucky enough to hear of a little known manuscript collection of Nottinghamshire songs and music. Roy Harris of Sandiacre, a folk singer and collector of repute, had seen the collection some years previously and suggested that I might like to study it as a link with the work I was already doing. After three months search the manuscript was re-discovered and the owner, Mr. Bullers of East Bridgford, suggested that I should have it on permanent loan until my work was completed, and then it should be deposited in either the University Library or the Local Records Office.

This generous gift has made it possible for me to begin an investigation of the songs and music of a small community at the end of the 18th century, and has also shown me the impossibility of an investigation of music and song alone. The interdependence of social national and family history, influence the choice of song within the community and in turn, this collection helps in some small way towards our understanding of the way of life at that time.

So I begin this study from a standpoint in some ways similar to that of John Reddish. I am also able to write down the songs I hear, copy music if I have it in front of me. I was attracted to the singing within my family from an early age; a small part of the

country has still remained influential upon my way of thinking and has given me the roots from which to make my own standards as I feel that Nottinghamshire did for John Reddish; and, like John, I feel that the expression of every-day life through songs and music is a vital part of living.

## INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognised that the study of history, in the social sense of the term, is mainly interested in the search for the typical, with 'the historian providing low level material for the sociologists' generalisation and prototypes. This would provide an identikit of the Victorian working man: he would have  $3\frac{3}{4}$  children, and an expectation of life of 24 years'.<sup>1</sup>

This type of investigation can be useful as a starting point, but in this study of the manuscript of John Reddish, it is the degree of deviation from the typical which helps to make the persons and places mentioned in the manuscript understandable.

Therefore we need to establish some form of background before it is possible to understand with any degree of clarity this collection of songs and music. First in importance is the national scene during the period covered by the manuscript, and secondly, the way in which the national trends in trade, commerce and music were reflected within the village and the family.

The manuscript was written between 1780 and 1805, and it covers a period of history when such national issues as the Napoleonic Wars and the Industrial Revolution were having a devastating effect upon the nation.

The Enclosure Acts and the spread of industry into the country surrounding Nottingham had great effects upon the Reddish

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1. Dorothy Thompson; Paper 1, East Midland Local History Conference, Occasional Papers. 1973.

family and were the direct cause of their change in status within the community. This in turn altered the social contacts they made within the village and so their music underwent a subtle change of origin and moved away from the 'drawing room songs' of Simon, to the mixed broadside and instrumental works collected by John and Garves.

It could be argued that the Reddish manuscript offers a glimpse of the private life and music of the ordinary people, and, as such, forms another aid to our understanding of such creative writers as John Clare, Robert Burns and those men of the 18th and 19th centuries who owe so much of their inspiration to the traditional culture of their forefathers.

The involved and half forgotten culture of England and her neighbours in the 18th and 19th centuries can not be easily summarised. It is too far removed from our way of life to be seen with clarity, and elements which appear trivial to us, had much more influence upon the people of the year 1800 than at first we may credit. It is hoped that some pattern will emerge from seemingly unrelated facts, and that the interrelationship of urban and rural cultures, national and village influences, and oral and written music will become more clearly understood.

Three members of the Reddish family write in the manuscript which is mainly the collection of their songs and music, the songs being mostly without accompanying tunes except for some of the earlier songs of Simon Reddish, the father of John and Garves. The majority of the collection is in the hand of John, Simon's eldest son, and it is because of this that the manuscript is referred to as 'The Daybook of John Reddish', in the title of this thesis.

The collection gives some indication of the movement of songs and tunes and establishes earlier dates for recognition for some songs. The dating of the songs is clear to within five years in most cases, and even to within two years in some; an important factor which may prove of help to other students in the future.

The thesis is most easily broken into four sections.

- (1) The national and local influences upon the family and its history, together with the main trends in music at the time. Some mention will be made of specific songs and tunes from the manuscript when this will help towards a better understanding of the whole.
- (2) An edition of the songs and tunes in the manuscript with notes and explanatory material.
- (3) Various appendices including family tree, maps, photographs, transcripts of deeds etc.
- (4) Tape recordings of the material in the manuscript using contemporary tunes and arrangements whenever possible.

## THE FAMILY

One of the earliest references to the Reddish family in Nottinghamshire, appears to be in the Will of William Reddish, of Bevercotes, dated February 25th, 1588.<sup>1</sup>

William Reddish of Bevercotes was obviously from a family well established in this area of Nottinghamshire as his will names his brother John and seems to say that his sisters and their families come from Gamston and Tuxford. William Reddish classes himself as a labourer, but we would probably see him as a small farmer renting his land from the local land owner. Whatever his status, he has possessions to leave his family; firstly, "I give unto Katherine, my wife, thone half of all my goodes in Recompence her third part which is due unto her by law."; he leaves 17s 2d in small bequests to his sisters and his brother's children. He also owes half the value of his 'one yearlinge foole', about one bushel 'pease', the accuracy of which is to be judged by 'too indifferent men'. The remainder of his goods, probably including some household goods, he leaves to his brother John, his executor.

It is interesting to note the Christian names of the two brothers, William and John, are to continue as dominant names in the family until this century.

The church at Bevercotes blew down during the 17th century, and there are no surviving church records to show a direct line from William of Bevercotes, but there are still people of the same

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1. See Appendix p.17

surname in the Markham area.

More important to this history are the frequent references to the Reddish family at Eakring, William, Simon and Richard being found in the Parish Register from 1600 onwards. It would seem that they were farmers of some consequence in the village. We find them referred to in church and rent accounts, as 'Mr. Reddish', over three or four generations, and they pay more rent than other farmers in Eakring. The family are literate and act as church wardens, examples of their handwriting appearing in the church wardens' account books, and as witnesses to communion services.

In 1641, in Lowdham Parish Register, is a record of the birth of William, son of William and Elizabeth Rubosh, or Rudosh. The birth of Allan, son of William and Elizabeth Reddish in 1643, in Lowdham, may well be into the same family, spelling being variable at the time. In 1686 is an important entry in the Register; the marriage of William Reddish, 'Miller of Lowdham', to Ann Buckles of Bilsthorpe on 14 May. The Parish of Bilsthorpe being next to Eakring may indicate that the Reddish families of Lowdham and Eakring were related - possibly that the father of William 'Miller of Lowdham' was born in Eakring, and that the cousins continued to be in contact. The two villages are only 10 miles apart, reasonable walking distance for people before the transport revolution.

The reference to William's status is important to this investigation, and recurs throughout the family history, not only in Lowdham and the surrounding villages, but also in the Nottingham area and even in Derbyshire.



William and Anne also seem to establish another family tradition, that of waiting until a baby had been conceived before marrying. This habit was probably very common within the rural culture; money was short, housing difficult and the son of the house needed to work for his family for a longer time than in the 20th century before taking on the additional responsibility of a wife and family.

Traditional the habit may have been, but it was not accepted by all; one vicar of Lowdham in the 18th century recorded his asperity by writing across many baptisms in the parish, 'begotten in sin, born in wedlock.'

William and Ann had a son named William, another Miller of Lowdham. William does not appear to have had any children as, in his will of 1762<sup>1</sup> leaves his property to his brother's children, so we must conclude that William and Ann Reddish had another son born to them between 1692 and 1701 who was baptised outside Lowdham and who was the father of the nephews and nieces mentioned in the will.

William seems to have considered that his nephew William was either financially secure or conversely too unreliable to warrant leaving him more than £10; and a half share with his brother in Cooks Close in Lowdham. As William mortgages this close in 1770, a year after his uncle's death, one must conclude that he had acquired his brother John's half also.

John is left the tenancy of his uncle's mill, rented from Ralf Edge, and as John is the future Miller of Woodborough, one may assume that the mill mentioned is Woodborough Mill.

William also leaves property to his nephew William's son

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1. See Appendix p. 16 Table A

William and this explains how and why William is able to purchase Kneeton Mill at East B. and begin a branch of the family who were more fortunate than his fathers heirs.

Having established the Reddish family in Lowdham, we are now faced with the question, 'which mill did they work?'. The water mills on the Doverbeck were established early and played an important part in the history of the county. One serious problem in the south and centre of Nottinghamshire is the lack of suitable flowing streams for turning water wheels. Owing to the unstable level of the river Trent, varying from low level to flood conditions in a short time, it was never used for water mills. Therefore the two tributaries of the Trent, the Doverbeck and the Leen became the most important centres of milling using water power. Later, wind power became the most usual means of grinding corn and many of the references to 'Miller', in the family history, would be to a corn miller using wind mills.

Water mills on the Leen, between Papplewick and Nottingham, and on the Doverbeck, between Oxtun and Caythorpe, began before the time of the Domesday survey and continued in importance until the present century, mainly as corn mills to begin with, but turning to the manufacturing trades in later dates.

The mills on the Doverbeck served a large area before wind power, the corn being brought to them from Blidworth and surrounding districts. The naming of these mills caused trouble to historians from the time of the Domesday Book onwards and considerably complicates any investigation into the possible mills worked by the Reddish family.

The mill mentioned in the manuscript is named in 1781, by Simon Reddish, as the 'How Mill' and as 'Lowdham Mill'. This is undoubtedly

the then corn mill situated on the boundary between the parishes of Lowdham and Gonalston, next mill up-stream from Hoveringham Mill and variously termed 'Cliff Mill', 'How Mill', 'Clew Mill', 'Clewland Mill', 'Lowdham Mill', 'Reddish's Mill', 'Lambert's Mill', 'Abbotts & Foster's Mill', and 'Gonalston Mill'.

It would seem reasonable in the absence of other evidence, to place the Reddish family in the environment of this mill from the time they first came to Lowdham. However, there exists, in the County Record Office, DDF 7/1, a very long and complicated abstract of the ownership of this mill, between 1690 and 1806, drawn up by Lamberts before they became bankrupt in 1808.

The deed begins by reciting the mortgage of 1690 concerning the Cliff Mill, then owned by Widow Mary How, and also of a cottage at Armitage Bridge occupied by Pt. Hopkinson, miller. This could indicate that William Reddish, 'Miller of Lowdham' was working for Pt. Hopkinson at the Cliff Mill and living in the village, or that he worked at one of the other mills on the Doverbeck, the next upstream from the Cliff Mill still being known as 'Lowdham Mill'.

The complicated mortgaging and transfer of ownership of the Cliff Mill continues to be recorded in the abstract and in April 1764, a four part contract of mortgaging is drawn up, naming 'William Reddish the younger of Lowdham Miller', and 'Gervas Marshall of Southwell, Gent.', together forming the third party.

In the same year the fortunes of the owners change and they decide to sell the Mill to William Reddish and Gervas Marshall for £550, the mill being then in the tenure of Anthony Winfield or

Wingfield. Needless to say, William could not raise the whole of the money needed and became involved in a mortgage of £350.

This must have been a struggle for William and he must have mortgaged himself to the limit, not allowing himself any margin for an unforeseen event. That event came to Lowdham in general, and William in particular, in 1766 when the commissioners visited Lowdham to organise the enclosure of the common lands in that parish. The Enclosure Act for Lowdham became law in 1768, but the charges to the owners of the new fields, both the payment to the commissioners and the cost of fencing the new fields, came in 1766. At this date William was forced to ask for a further £100 to be added to his mortgage on security of some of his allotments from the Rev. John Holmes of Southwell, Clerk.

In 1770 William and Jane his wife mortgaged the fields, including a 4-acre close which had not been mentioned in the previous mortgage. This is probably the small piece of field shown on the enclosure map on the south side of the Gonalston Road next to the field granted to William Reddish the Elder. As William the Elder had died in 1769, the combined acreage of the two fields would belong to William Reddish his nephew, and would be nearly the four acres stated in the mortgage.

In the same month, September, the previous mortgage for £350 plus interest, which had been taken out when the mill was bought, was reviewed and another £200 was borrowed, part of the mortgage being transferred to Joseph Lupton of Nottingham, for better security.

The following year another part of the mortgage was transferred to Joseph Lupton and another £50 added.

In 1773 another £100 was added to the mortgage and William Reddish owed Joseph Lupton £800, to be repayed at the rate of 4½ per cent.

In 1778 the value of the mortgage, including interest, was £850, and Joseph Lupton claimed the whole estate as being of the same value as the mortgage, thereby gaining '1 messuage, 1 cottage, 1 water mill, 2 barns, 2 stables, 2 gardens, 1 orchard, 10 acres of land, 10 acres of meadows, 10 acres of pasture & common land for all cattle, with the appert. in Lowdham & Gonalston and all manner of tythes what so ever growing from & out of the premises'.

In fact the family seems to have remained in the mill for two years after 1778, possibly as tenants, but at Old Michelmas Day 1780, the family left the mill and moved to Epperston.

During the critical time between losing the mill and leaving it, Simon bought for one shilling a vellum covered 'memorandum book of milners accomps for the use of William Reddish of Lowdham Mill by me Simon Reddish.' The accounts seem to be re-written from earlier statements and begin in 1777 & 1778 and cover some very small amounts of money owing to them for milling for others and for such items as boarding sheep in their fields. During this period Simon married Ann Parpoint and a daughter Mary had been born. So it was with a wife and child that Simon left the mill and moved into a cottage in Epperston with 'old John Halloway'. While they were in Epperstone a son was born to Simon and Ann, in the manuscript Simon writes

'John Reddish  
wase Born in  
February 22 day in the  
Year of our Lord 1782.'

In 1783 Simon and his family left Epperstone after an unhappy three years, marred by illness, severe enough to need parish relief from Lowdham for three weeks, and casual work at John Reddish's Woodborough Mill. They moved to the other bank of the Trent, to East Bridgford, to join Simon's brothers William and Charles who had already established themselves and their families.

East Bridgford was not able to own a water mill even though the village was within yards of the Trent, but by 1780 William was already working as corn miller at the windmill standing on high ground above the river and half way between East Bridgford and Kneeton. William may have started in East Bridgford as a blacksmith if one reading of an account in the manuscript is correct.

The manuscript tells that the family, Simon Anne & two children 'Left Epperstone at Michelmas 1783 and came to East Bridgford on Munday the 13 of October 1783 To old betty Mason's house at the Yearly Rent of twenty four shillings Together with a Garden and some Roots for Our Use.'

This would seem to be a temporary home, as the next entry in the manuscript states that they

'Left old betty Mason's house old lady day 1784, stayed just half a year in old betty's house. Then Enter'd to offer'd (offered?) house Under Mr. Westby at the yearly rent of thirty shillings at old lady day 1784.'

They stayed in this house until

'1790 came to Charles Challand's house just 7 weeks after Michelmas as he built on purpose for Us.'

By this time Mary and John had two brothers, Charles born in 1785/6, and Garves, born in 1787 and a sister, Jane, born in 1790. In 1792 Ann was born but the following year the family lost the eldest child, Mary, aged 13 years. Richard was born in 1795 and Elizabeth in 1797. We have no record of Richard's early death, but he does not appear in further records of the family.

The family continues to live at East Bridgford, and the major part of the manuscript, containing the music and songs was probably written here, first by Simon and then in about 1800, John took over the book from his father. After John marries in 1803 and moves to Lowdham, Garves uses the remaining pages. Garves was only sixteen when he inherited the manuscript and it would seem that by 1805 or 1806 there were no further entries.

When John marries he gives his trade as framework knitter and when his sister marries in 1808, with her father's permission, Simon is also knitting for his living.

It would be interesting to know how and why Simon gave up milling and became a framework knitter; it is possible that the death of his brother in 1801 caused a rift within the larger family and ended by Simon and his sons setting up as framework knitters, a trade already known in the village.

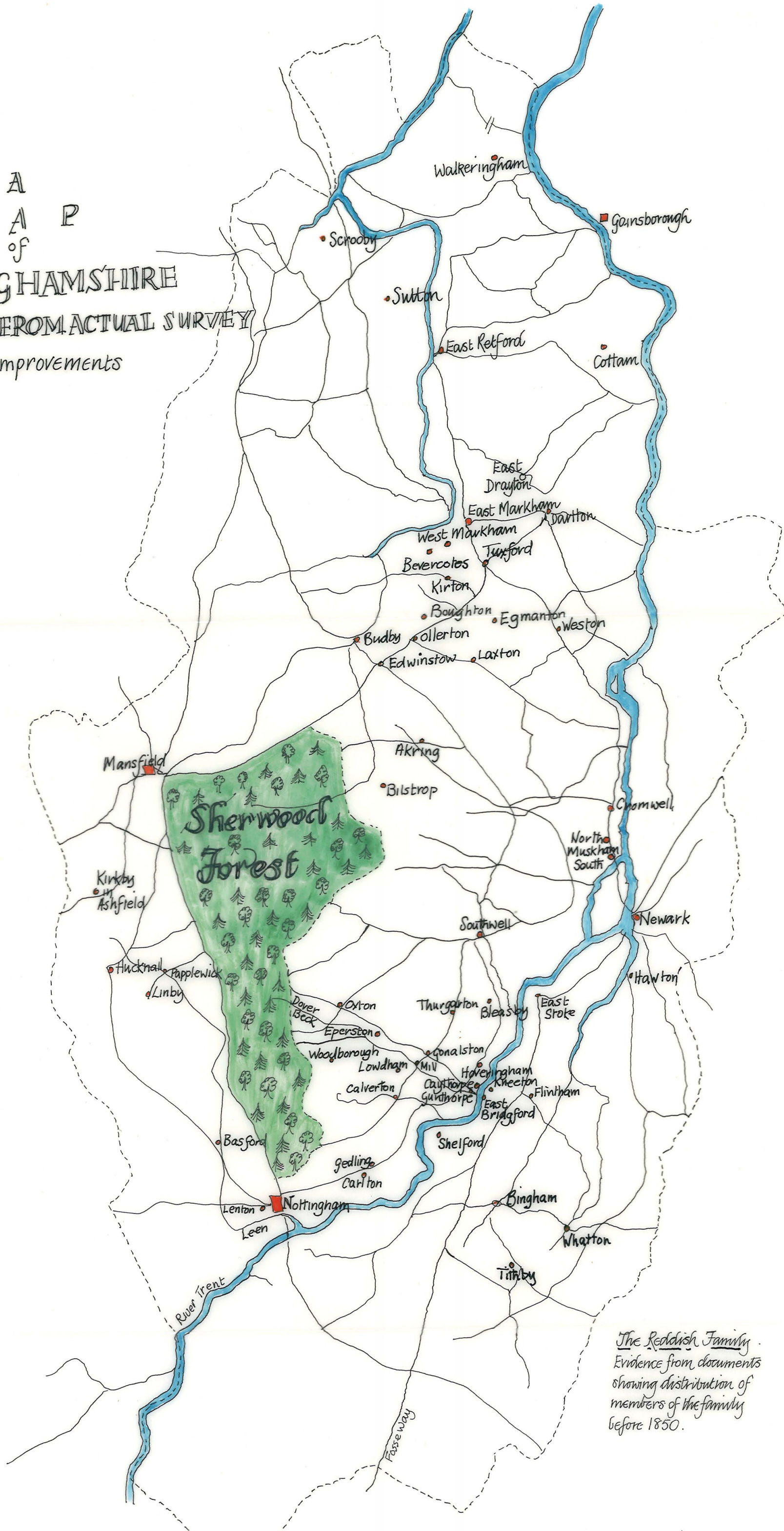
It is certain that the move to East Bridgford meant the continued decline in the fortunes of Simon and his family and they never regained the security and status that should have been theirs as mill owners at Lowdham.

The three sons, John, Charles and Garves were all framework knitters, John remaining in Lowdham for the rest of his short

life, dying at the age of 33; Charles moved to Lowdham, then to Carlton and finally to Nottingham; Garves having a long and involved career in Bulwell, Lowdham, Bulwell again, and finally in Lenton, Nottingham, where he was a Framework Knitter and Hair-dresser, dying in 1851 in the Radford Workhouse.



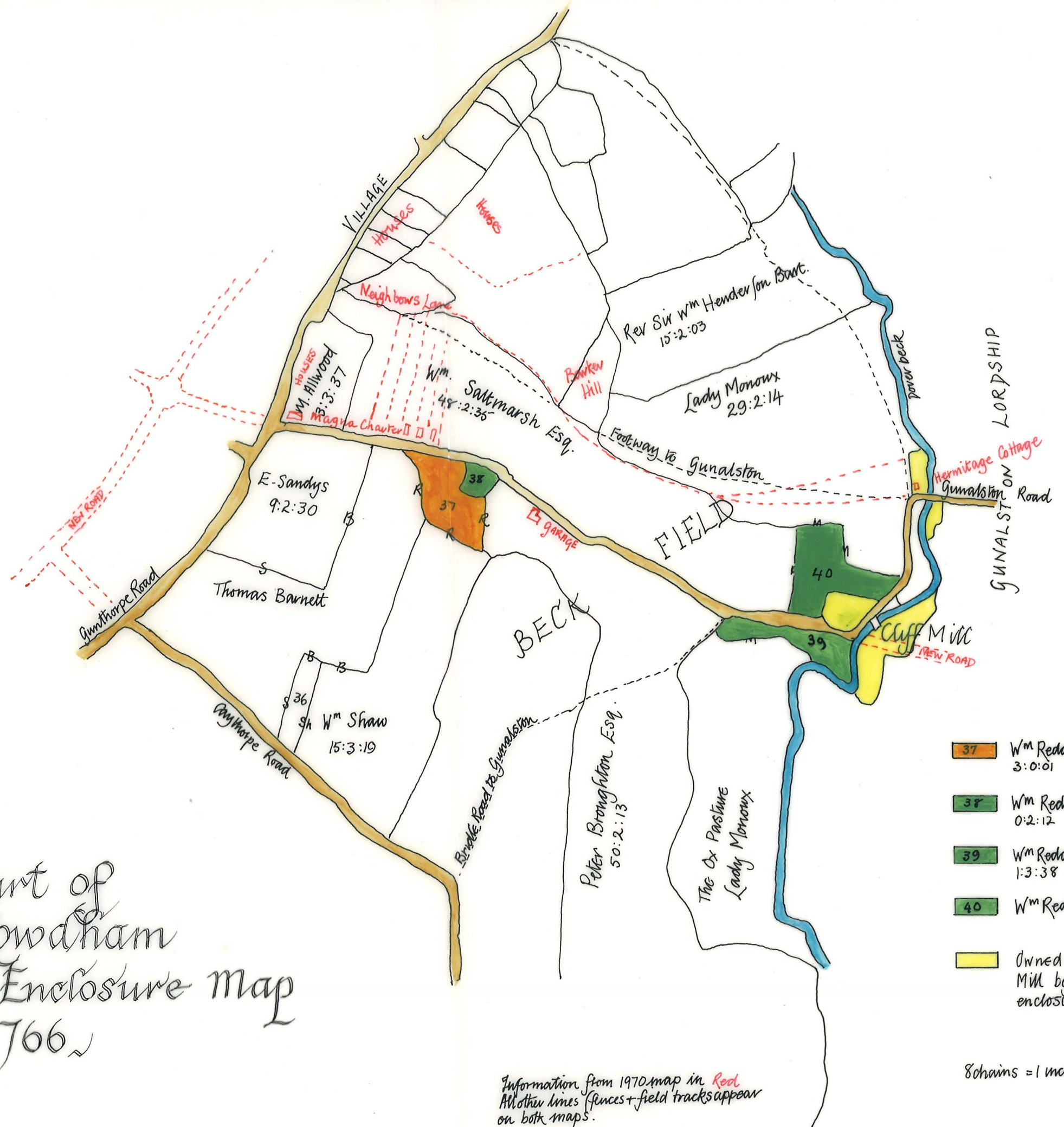
A  
M A P  
of  
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE  
ENGRAVED FROM ACTUAL SURVEY  
with improvements



*The Reddish Family*  
Evidence from documents  
showing distribution of  
members of the family  
before 1850.



# Part of Lowdham Enclosure map 1766~



Family Tree Table A.

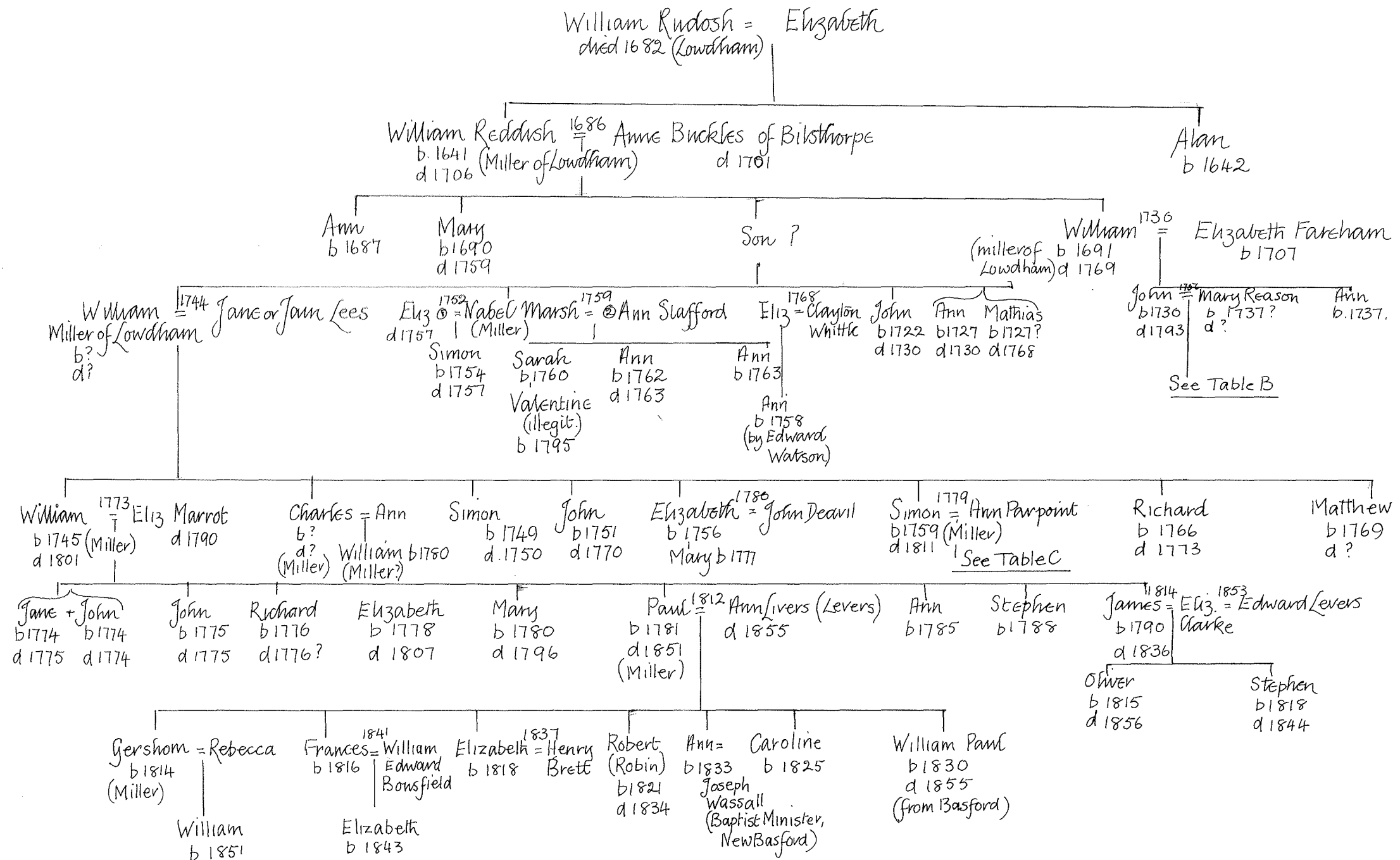


Table B.

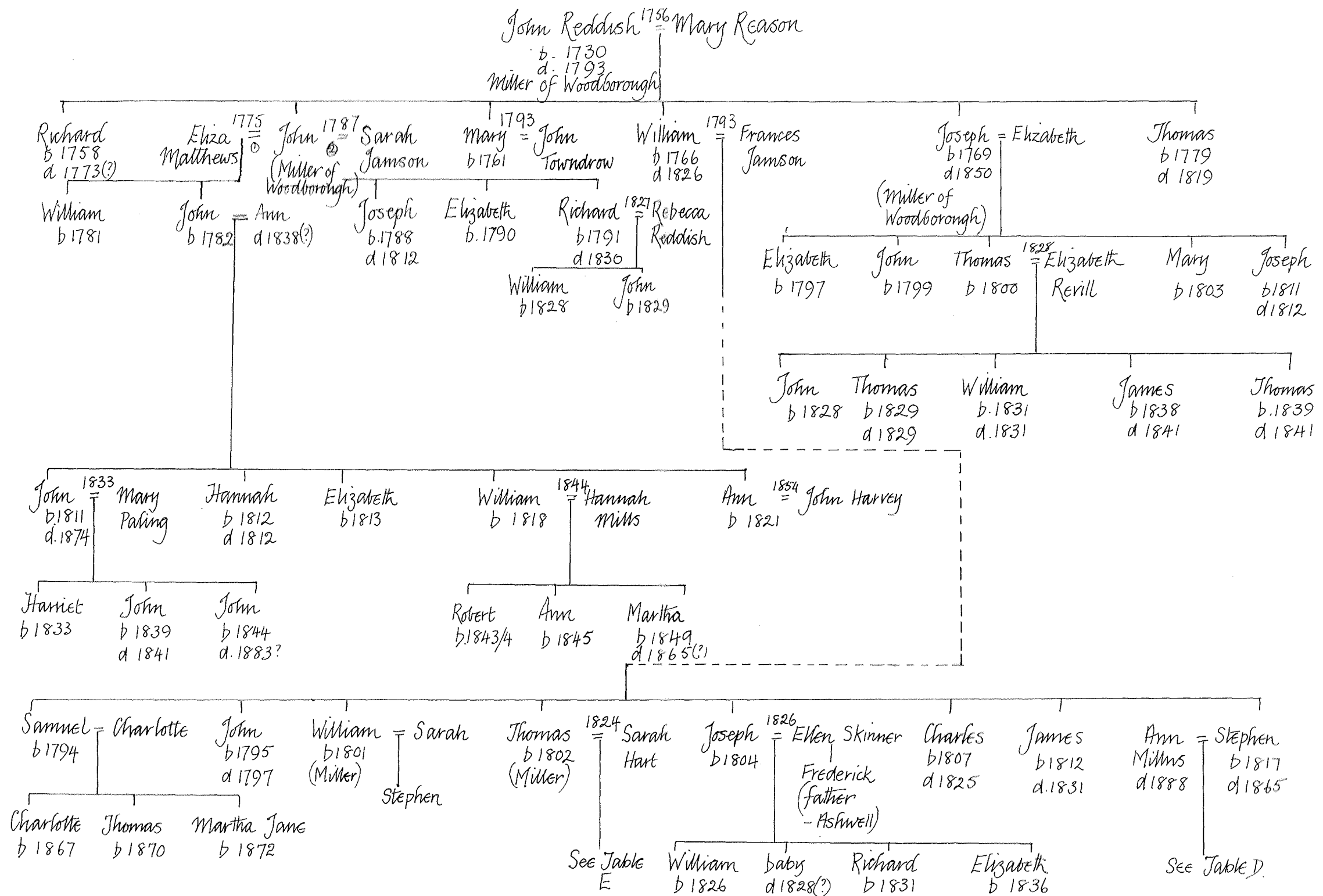


Table C

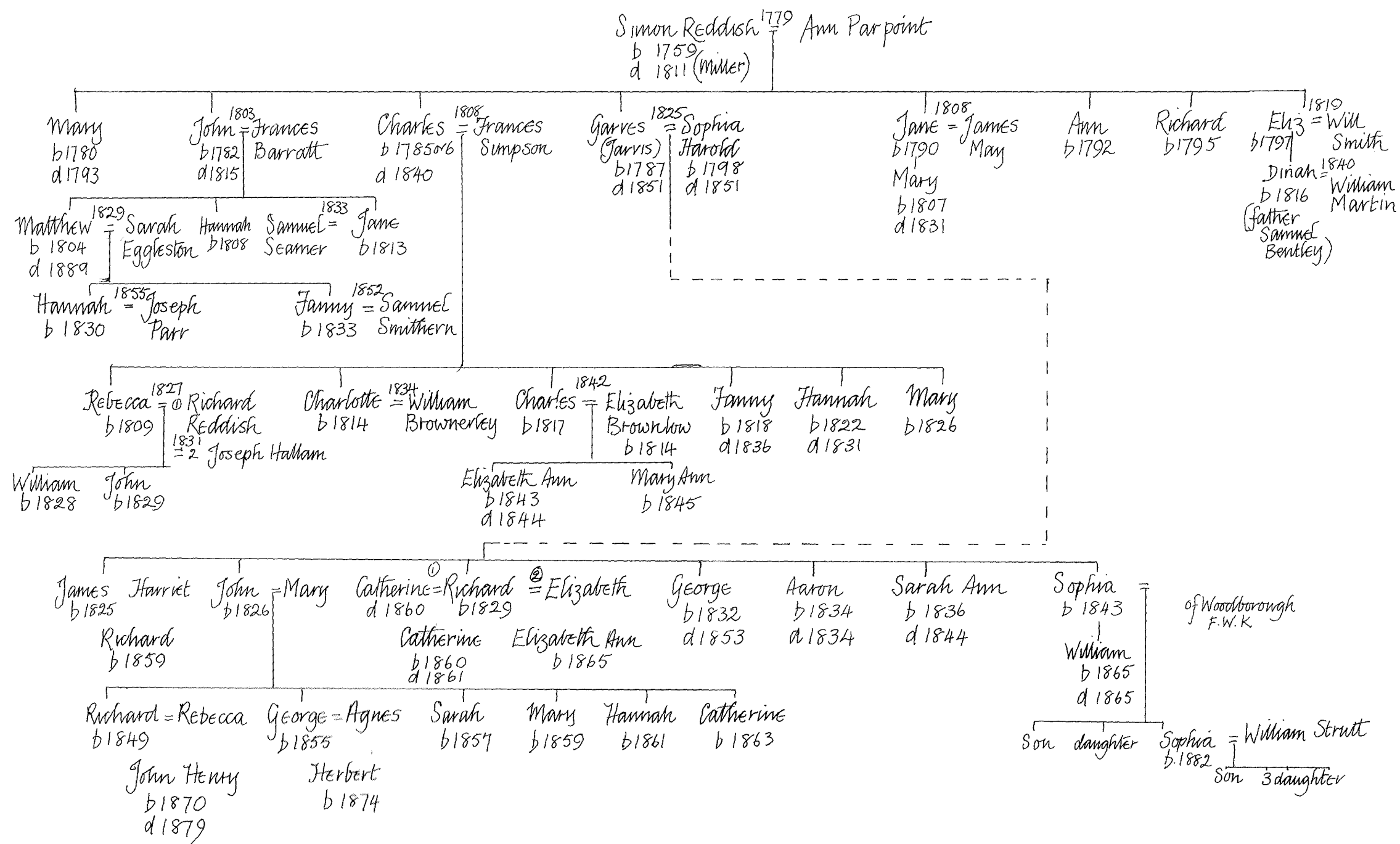


Table D

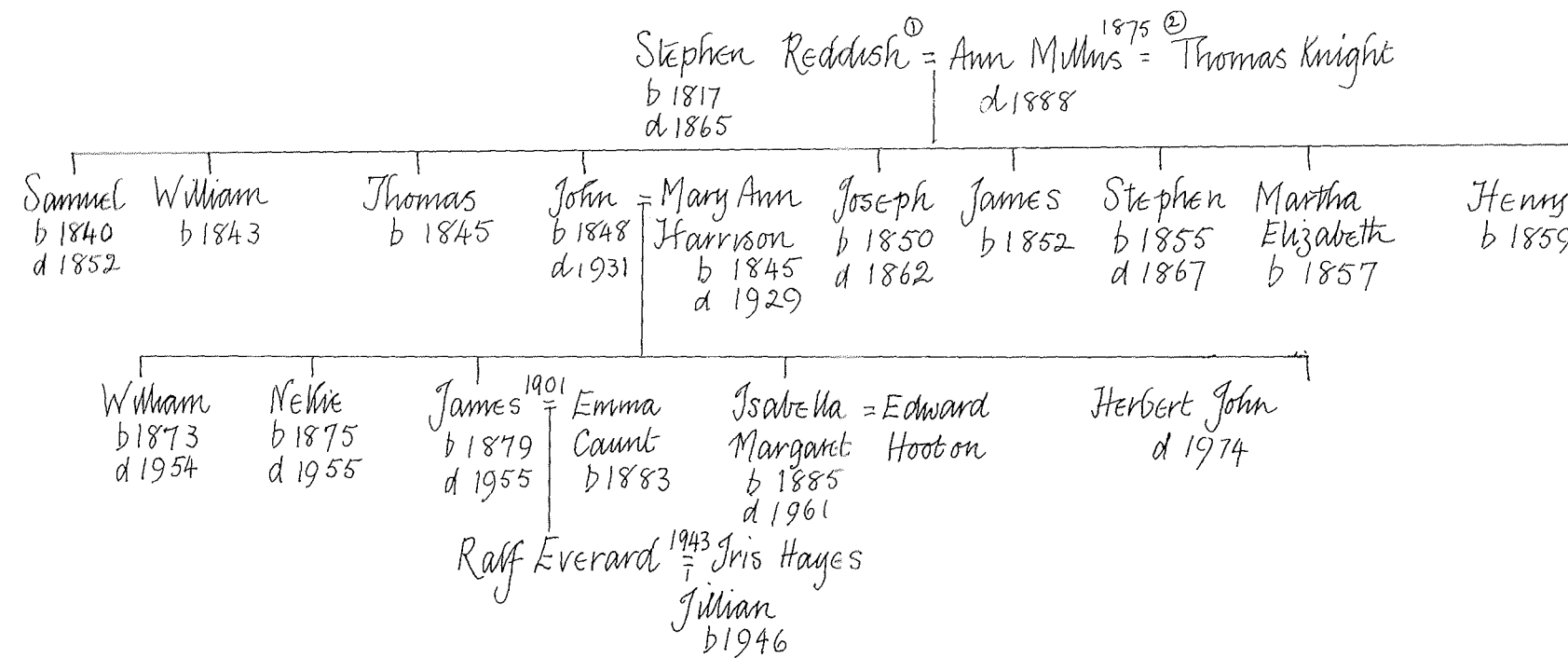
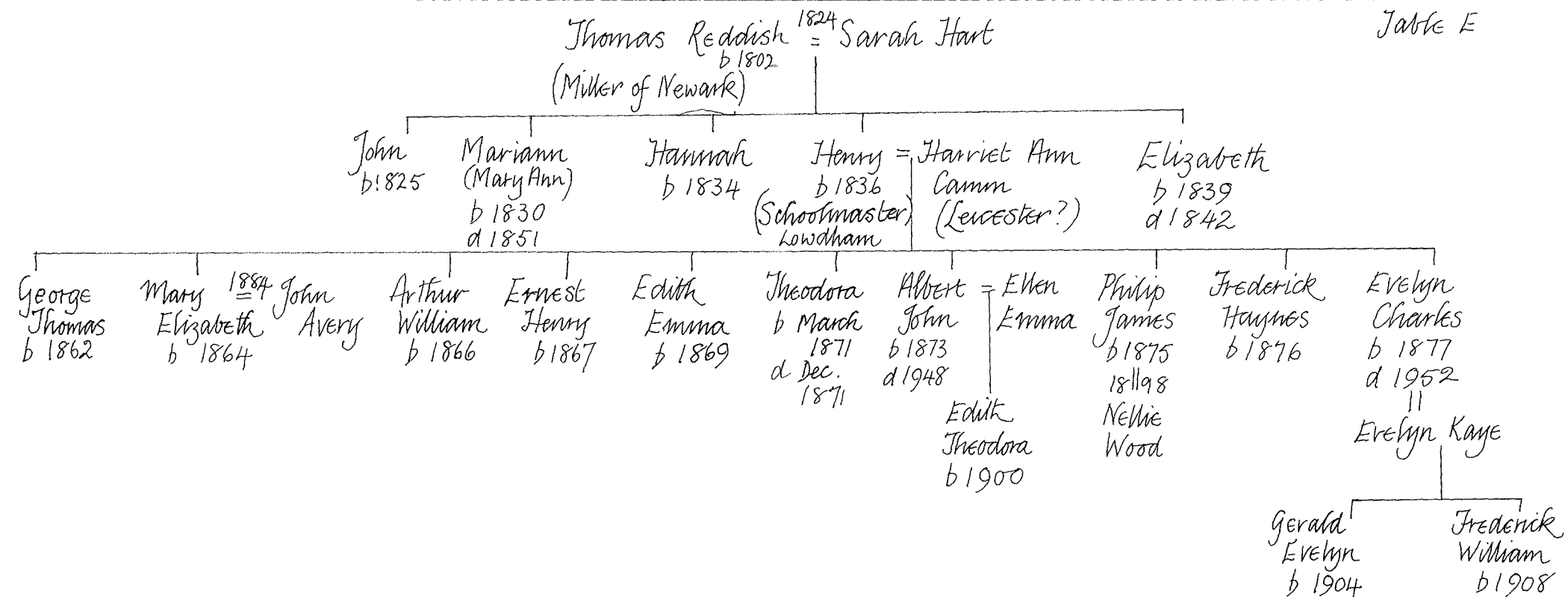


Table E



Transcript of the Will of William Reddish. 1588.

Prob. Reg. 23B. f. 985

Borthwick Institute, York.

In the name of God Amen the fourthe day of Julye 1588.

I Wilm Reddishe of Bevercottes within the countye of Nottingham laborer beinge sike in body but of whole mynd and of good and perfect rememberence, prayesed be god, doe constitute ordeyne and make this my last will and testament in manyr and forme ffollowing, ffirst I comitt my soule into thandes of almytye god my maker and Redemer, and my body to be buried within the parishe churche yeard of Bevercotte aforesaid.

Item I give unto Katherine my wyfe thone half of all my goodes in Recompence her third part which is due unto her by law.

Item I give unto William Sturt of Tuxford one yearlinge foole paying unto William Kytchin of Gamstone in Recompence of one bushell pease which I doe own hym so muche money as thone halfe of the said ffole shal be prayesed unto by two indifferent men.

Item I give unto Thomas Kytchin sixe shillingsis eyghte pence.

I give unto Katherine Kytchin three shillinges fower pence.

Item I give unto Helline Katchine my syster two shillinges.

Item I give unto the two children of John Reddishe my brother eythe of them fyve shillinges the rest of my goodes unbequithed my dettes paid legacies performed and my several (or usual)..... discharged, I give unto John Reddish whome I do constitute ordayne and make my true and lawfull executors of this my last will and testament.

Item I will that Thomas Mosse and John Whytlaw to be the  
supervysors of this my last will and testament and to see that  
all thinges be done according to the true meanyng hearof.

These be mye witnesses Gilbert....barne, Thomas Mosse,  
John Whytlaw with others.

Item I give to Judythe Strutt three shillings and four pence.

(Then followes a latin ending giving date 25? February? 1588.

In the court of Retford etc.)



### THE MILLER TO HIS TRADE

We may be unable to say conclusively that the Cliff Mill was working at the time of the Domesday Survey but it would seem clear that the mill was known by its usual name, and working as a corn mill in 1312.

'Cliff mill was the home of Thomas atte Clifmulne 1312.'<sup>1</sup>  
If Thurgarton Priory owned and worked the mill at the time it may be that Thomas was a brother from the priory working the mill for the use of the brethren.

The miller, from the earliest times, was an important member of the community, but was not generally a well-liked person. Chaucer gives an interesting picture of the miller in his prologue to The Canterbury Tales.

'The Miller was a stout carl, for the nones,  
Ful big he was of braun, and eek of bones;  
That proved wel, for over-al ther he cam,  
At wrastling he wold have alwey the ram.  
...A swerd and bokeler bar he by his syde;  
His mouth as greet was as a greet forneys.  
He was a langler and a goliardeys,  
And that was most of sinne and harlotryes.  
Wel coude he stelen corn and tollen thryes;  
And yet he hadde a thombe of gold, pardee.  
A whyte cote and a blew hood wered he.  
A baggepype wel coude he blowe and sowne,  
And ther-with-al he broghte us out of towne.'<sup>2</sup>

1. (Lowdham Parish Magazine, History without Tears, no reference)
2. (The Prologue to The Canterbury Tales, ed. W.W. Skeat, 1890, p. 34.)

Folk songs tend to support this picture. Even Children's songs collected in the present century, say,

There was a jolly miller, and he lived by himself,  
As the wheel went round he made his grab,  
One hand in the other, and the other in the bag,  
As the wheel went round he made his grab.

(Nottinghamshire, Miss Winfield, Gomme, p.290).

In the Gardiner Ms. H. 258, a popular ballad sung widely throughout England tells the story of a miller and his three sons:

There was a miller and he had three sons,  
He called them in all one by one,  
To see to whom the mill he'd leave  
For he was dying he began to perceive.

His eldest son was asked how he intended to deal with the customers if he inherited the mill, his reply clearly marked him as a rogue:

Of every bushel one peck I'd steal,  
And that's the way I intend to deal.

His father thought him a fool and that he had not learned his trade properly,

For by such toll no man can live

The second son swears that:

Of every bushel one half I'd steal.

His father rated him a fool and asked the same question of his youngest son.

Father, said he, I'm your youngest boy  
And stealing corn is all my joy  
And rather than the mill would lack,  
I'll steal all the corn and foreswear the sack.  
Son said he, thou art an honest lad,  
Thy brothers know not half their trade,  
I'll leave thee the mill, he cried,  
So said his prayers, cocked his toes, and died.

Two older ballads - King Henry II and the Miller of Mansfield, (First printed in Dec. 1624, Stationer's Hall entry), and 'King Arthur's Sons,' prob. 16th century,) portray the miller as a rogue. In the first, the miller feasts a stranger in Sherwood Forest, not knowing he is the king. He gives him apple pies, bag puddings and 'light-foot', a pastry made from one of the king's deer from his own herd in Sherwood, and confides in his guest that he always keeps one or two deer in store. Although he should have been hanged for his villany, he is knighted by the king in recompence for his entertainment. In the second song the trades of the three sons of King Arthur are given as a miller, a weaver and a tailor - all trades offering the chance to the worker to acquire part of the goods he was handling, whether it was meal, yarn or cloth: the difference between honesty and dishonesty, for the miller being the amount acquired rather than the act itself.

#### Mill o' Tifty's Annie

One of the most popular of Scottish ballads during the 18th & 19th centuries, sung particularly in the north-east of the country, recorded an event supposed to take place in 1673.

The heroine is the daughter of a miller and loves the trumpeter of the Earl of Fyvie, a penniless young man named Andrew Lammie. Annie's father is rich enough to settle 5000 marks upon his daughter and is not prepared to allow her to marry a trumpeter, and in trying to change her mind, he and her mother beats her and then her brother strikes her so severely that her back is broken and she dies. The ballad is concerned with this story but also emphasises the villany of the rich and prosperous miller and his son. One wonders, under the circumstances, how the miller acquired his wealth - probably by the miller's conventional golden thumb, the ability quietly to take more than his due of corn for grinding.

The jolly miller of Dee who cares for nobody and is not worried by the fact that nobody cares for him, is echoed by another north eastern Scottish miller, that of Straloch named Willie Stroth who can 'play upon the bagpipes

wi' muckle mirth & glee.'

Gavin Greig (Folksong of the North East, article XL1, 1906-07), discusses the part played by millers in the rural economy, the importance reflected in the large place enjoyed by millers in folk song.

Gavin Greig sees him figuring in many escapades,

'more breezy, as a rule, than respectable.

More frequently than any other member of the rural community is the miller depicted as a bit of a rake. On the other side too - that of honesty, he is often assailed with bantering insinuations if not more overt charges.

These things, however, are not to be taken as affecting the reputation of the trade as a whole for probity and fair dealing.'

The last sentence may have been inserted into the newspaper article as a tactful sop to existing millers, rather than an accurate reflection of the folklore of the trade. The attraction of the watermill with its peace, tranquility and often wooded seclusion might persuade the onlooker to expect the peace and tranquility to be reflected within the mill and the mind of the miller. From tradition it would seem to be considered otherwise. Not only is the miller pictured as grasping and dishonest, but as being an irresistible temptation to the local virgins!

To be sent to the mill with grain to be ground seems to be the object of many maids; perhaps the miller was bigger, better fed and wealthier than the average local agricultural worker, and the possessor of warmth and privacy within the mill, into the bargain. 'The Maid Gaed Tae the Mill,' (Singing Island, MacColl & Seeger), tells the whole story in direct terms,

'The maid gaed tae the mill by nicht,  
Hech, hey, sae wanton,  
The maid gaed tae the mill by nicht,  
Hey, sae wanton she,  
She swore by a' the stars sae bricht,  
That she should ha'e her corn ground,  
She should ha'e her corn ground  
Mill and multure free.'

She soon discovered that she had in fact paid for her meal, and the son that she bore forty weeks later was rather less than a bargain.

'It was the miller's dusty clout,  
For getting o' her corn ground,  
Mill and Multure free.'

Lucy Stewart of Fetter Angus, in Aberdeenshire, sings a ballad called 'I am a miller tae ma trade,' accompanying herself on the arm of a leather chair by rolling and thumping one hand upon the other to echo the clattering of the mill. Although this ballad does not detail the girl's seduction as explicitly as the previous one, the implication is there in one version of the first verse. By changing the fifth line the whole song is rendered more innocuous.

'I am a miller tae ma trade,  
And that sae well ye ken, Oh,  
I am a miller tae ma trade,  
And many the sack o' meal I've made,  
And many the lassie I hae laid,  
or, I've courted many a fair young maid,  
At the back o' the sacks o' meal, Oh.

The same implications may be found in other Scottish and English songs and even in the words to a morris dance, 'The Maid of the Mill.'

The ultimate crime of a murder occurs in a family of ballads recorded in England and Ireland. The titles vary considerably, the writer first learning it from an Irish man, sung to the tune 'Verdent Braes of Screen,' the title being given as, 'The murdering of sweet Mary Ann, in the month of sweet July.' Most versions give the trade of the young man as miller's or butcher's apprentice who, although he has promised to marry her, decides to murder her when she admits she is with child. One version, 'The Cruel Miller', begins:

'My parents raised me tenderly,  
Good learning they gave to me,  
They bound me to a miller,

With which I do agree,  
Till I fell a courting a pretty maid  
With a black and a roving eye,  
I told her I would marry her,  
If with me she would lie.' (Catnach broadside 1813)

In 'The Miller of Whittington Mill', another variant of the same ballad, not only is the trade of the murderer considered to be of importance, but the locality is also described. The personal identification of the murderer added to the popularity of broadsides, cf. the selling power of 'Maria Martin and the Red Barn.'

It would seem that within the traditional canon of folk song, the miller appears as a clever, scheming rogue, who makes his money by unfair means, but who has some form of appeal to the ladies who, rather frequently, become pregnant after visiting the mill. Generally the miller shows indifference to the girl's fate, but he has been known to revenge himself upon the unfortunate girl.

Running parallel to traditional songs of the 18th century, another type of song was being written for, and disseminated through, the pleasure gardens and ballad operas. (See chapter on general music). Many of these songs gained wider recognition through song books and broadsides and some were even absorbed into the tradition. Often a writer was attached to a pleasure garden, James Hook was the official composer to Vauxhall Gardens at the turn of the 18th & 19th centuries, and so the songs were written with a particular audience in mind and could even be steered towards influencing the public feelings by the sentiments expressed. Charles Dibdin wrote a large number of sea songs whose patriotism is said to have been encouraged by the government,

in an attempt to counteract the public fear and dislike of the press gangs and enforced naval service of the Napoleonic wars.

The outlook of these composed songs seems to reflect a very different attitude towards the rural culture from the miller's songs previously discussed. A more romanticised and idealised feeling, link these songs with the pastoral and court songs of previous centuries. In a mutilated copy of *The Bullfinch* in the writer's possession, dated on the flyleaf, 1780<sup>1</sup> are five songs concerning millers. In song CCLXXXII on page 239, the sentiments heard in 'The Maid gaed tae the Mill,' are made polite and acceptable in the sunshine of the perfect world. Two verses are enough to show the similarities and differences.

- 1 'The Miller to Market that Instant was gone;  
The Work it was left to the Care of the Son:  
Now, though I can scold well as any one can;  
I thought 'twould be wrong to scold the young Man;  
I said, I'm surpriz'd you can use me so ill;  
I must have my Corn ground, I must and I will.'
- 2 'Sweet Maid, cry'd the Youth, the Fault is not mine;  
No Corn in the Town I'd grind sooner than thine;  
There's no one more ready in pleasing the Fair;  
The Mill shall go merrily round, I declare.  
But hark how the Birds sing, and see how they bill!  
I must have a Kiss first, I must, and I will.'

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1. The Bullfinch/being/A choice Collection/of the/ Newest and most favourite/English Songs/which have been/Sett to Music and Sung at/The Public Theatres and Gardens./Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater Noster Row,/...rsfield, in Ludgate Street, and J. Wilkie, in/St. Pauls Church Yard, London.



But the popular song depicted the miller as living the perfect life free from all troubles, infact so self-righteous had he become that he is hardly recognisable - his happiness now comes from his polished halo rather than from his midas thumb!  
(Bullfinch, page 83,) Song from The Maid of the Mill, by Mr. Dibdin.  
Chorus.

Free from Sorrow free from Strife,  
Oh how blest the Miller's Life!  
Chearful working thro' the Day,  
Still he laughs and sings away,  
Nought can vex him,  
Nought perplex him,  
While there's Grist to make him gay.

Duet

Let the Great enjoy the Blessings,  
By indulgent Fortune sent.  
What can Wealth, can Grandeur offer,  
More than Plenty and Content?'

In Victorian Song, by Maurice Wilson Disher 1955 (p.16) the author suggests that the standard of the poetry of the 18th & 19th century popular songs may be judged by the frequency of the apostrophes, 'which is strange when you consider that though intended to go to music they can be seen but not heard:

'Enraptur'd, charm'd, amaz'd, I was,  
My inmost soul was stirr'd,  
I look'd.....'

(See Simon's songs in the manuscript).

Again, in the Bullfinch (page 347) Song CCCC11 paints the unrealistic picture of the mill found in writer's minds and hopes rather than in the English rural scene.

'Near the Side of a Pond, at the Foot of a Hill,  
A free-hearted Fellow attends on his Mill;  
Fresh Health blooms her strong rosy Hue o'er his Face,  
And Honesty gives e'en to Aukwardness Grace:  
Beflour'd with his Meal does he labour and sing,  
And regaling at Night, he's as blest as a King;  
After heartily eating, he takes a full Swill  
Of liquor home-brew'd, to Success of the Mill.  
  
He makes no nice Scruples of Toll for his Trade,  
For that's an Excise in his Industry paid:  
His Conscience is free, and his Income is clear,  
And he values not them to Ten Thousand a Year:  
He's a Freehold sufficient to give him a Vote;  
At Elections he scorns to accept of a Groat:  
He hates your proud Placement; and, do what they will,  
They ne'er can seduce the stanch man of the Mill.'

Two further verses discuss the enemies of England and express the pious hope that the diplomats can make peace in Europe, so protecting the rural life of milling and farming. The song, The Contented Miller was printed and reprinted on broadsides & in song books from the middle of the 18th century onwards. In The Bullfinch (page 213) it is said to have been sung at Ranelagh by Mr. Hudson, but it is not clear if this was the original performer or merely one of many. The first verse sets the scene for the idyllic English mill and its happy owner.

'In a plain pleasant cottage, conveniently neat,  
With a Mill, and some Meadows - (a Freehold Estate)  
A well-meaning Miller by Labour supplies  
Those Blessings that Nature to grand ones denies,  
No Passions to plague him, no Cares to torment,  
His constant Companions are Health and Content:  
Their Lordships, in Lace, may take Note, if they will,  
For he's honest - though daub'd with the Dust of the Mill.'

How frequently the Contented Miller could be found in England in 1780 is impossible to guess, but we know that the like could not be applied to Simon Reddish at that time or later.

On page 111 of the manuscript, Simon writes one of his few prose passages. His command of English may not be perfect, but it is good enough to convey to the reader his feelings of bitterness and unhappiness at the loss of the mill. The truth of the statement is in doubt; it would seem that old Joe Lupton had a perfect right to put a stop to the mortgages and to gain control of the mill, if the abstract of ownership drawn up by the Lamberts can be believed.

'1781

September 6 put on a new pare of grey's stones  
at the How Mill and tom newcomb tenant and a  
New House Built and finish'd that week and  
A new pare of french stones put in the mill A fort nate  
Following all at the Expence of old Joe Lupton  
Owner <sup>of</sup> the mill he lives in Nottingham &<sup>c</sup>  
He Rong'd me of that mill old Lupton did  
He Turn'd us out old michelmas day 1780 and I  
Came to Live at Epperstone then with old John Halloway.

Simon was either the second or third son of William Reddish, (see family tree), and one of the many questions arising from Simon's statement is, why is Simon the son most affected by the loss of the mill?

William Reddish, born in 1745, was the eldest son, and it might be expected that he would continue the line of 'William Reddish, Miller of Lowdham.' However, we know that he was already at East Bridgford when the mill was lost. Another brother, Charles is a shadowy figure who is mentioned in the manuscript (p.3) as taking part in an involved piece of family finance over the purchase of a coat in 1780.

'Charles Reddish owes Cobey (? tailor)	5.0d.
And me for bying him a coat	6.6.
he put in himself	<u>4.6</u>
Coat Cost in all	16.0

And to me	s d	
	7.6	before
	<u>6.6</u>	
	14.0	Cobey s d
		5.0
May 17 I Receiv'd	<u>3.6</u>	
	10.6	
August 12 I receiv'd	<u>1.0</u>	
to me in all	9.6	
August 24 Rec. <sup>d</sup>	<u>5.0</u>	
to me in all	4.6	

His son William is born in 1780 and baptised at East Bridgford where the father's trade is given as miller. So we may assume that there was contact between the members of the family at Lowdham and East Bridgford and that money was extremely scarce and a family system

of lending was in operation. This is confirmed by another entry in the manuscript. On p. 11 Simon writes,

'My father

1780 April 24 Lent him

£	s	d
1	1.	0.

And to pay me again in one month

Or I might take the bed and

Materials therto belonging for my

Money which I lay on myself.

We have no record of a repayment from father to son but the entry shows that William was alive in 1780 and that he was so short of credit that he could only borrow from the family. We may also conclude that he was so unreliable at repaying loans that Simon felt it necessary to make a formal entry in, as it were, the firm's book. On the following page (12) and in the same standard of writing, (probably with the same quill and ink, therefore at the same time), Simon notes the money owing to him for his work at the mill. We learn that he was 16 years old when he first began to work for his father for two shillings per week. The wage did not increase over the years, neither was it payed!

'1775 August 14 first began my

£	s	d
---	---	---

Wage at five pounds four

5	4	0
---	---	---

shilling a year

1776 August 14 first year due

1777 August 14 Second year due

5	4	0
---	---	---

1778 August 14 third year due

5	4	0
---	---	---

1779 August 14 fourth year due

5	4	0
---	---	---

1779 December 19 Receiv'd

2	0	0
---	---	---

1780 August 14 fifth year due

5	4	0
---	---	---

D.<sup>o</sup> 15 Resin'd my father and

Left due from him to me for wage

24	0	0
----	---	---

The Reddish family must have been struggling to avoid the law over money for several years before the traumatic two years between 1778 and 1780. William Reddish saw all his high hopes of being a prosperous mill owner fading before the difficulties of enclosure and bad harvests. It is difficult to understand how he managed to keep these unfortunate problems at bay for as long as he did.

Traditionally, the miller was also the money-lender of the village and, in his position above many of the local workers, yet not as unapproachable as the Lord of the manor or the priest, might be able to lend small sums to others in the community. There is some small indication in the manuscript that Simon lent money, not only to his father, but to Robert Pearson. Included in a long list of 'penny loves' bought by Robert Pearson from 1780 onwards, are records of lending money. The list also tells us that Simon was in the habit of attending the local feasts or fairs. (See chapter on music).

Page 14 of the manuscript continues the bread account,

'1782 Robert Pearson	£	s	d
July 5 to one penny lofe	0	0	1
Lent to him at Woodbrough feast	0	0	6
Lent to him at Lowdham feast	0	1	0
1783 September 2 Lent him	0	10	6
September 11 1783 Lent him	0	1	0
1784 Lent him at Gonalston Feast	0	0	9
1785 paid him March 13	0	1	0
	<hr/>		
	0	14	10
		10	8 (from previous
	<hr/>		
	1	5	6 page)

June 5 paid him	0 1 0
	<hr/>
paid to Robert Pearson	1 6 6
at several times	
October 22 paid to alias	
Pearson	0 0 6
1786 Feb.20 paid	0 3 0
	<hr/>
Total paid to pearson	1 10 0

This account to Robert Pearson has several other pointers to the straits in which the Reddish family found themselves. Robert Pearson must have been in very close contact with Simon over a number of years, for the baking of small quantities of bread begins before Simon and his family leave the mill and continues throughout the time they live at Epperstone; and even when Simon moves to East Bridgford, he is lending Robert Pearson small sums of money. Again there is no record of any payment to Simon and one can only wonder at the relationship which allowed an account to continue for so many years. Simon's wife Ann would be the baker but we have no record of where the flour was obtained. Simon may have carried it from his brother's mill at East Bridgford or worked for it at his relation's mill at Woodborough which was much nearer. We know that he did some work for Woodborough mill, for the account and dates are recorded on page 8 of the manuscript. January and February of 1782 he worked 15 days @ 8d per day. He also worked for two days at Lowdham mill, one day for 8d, and another for 1s 0d, also another single day at Woodborough mill for 1s 0d.

These earnings are the only record that we have of the money coming to Simon and his family, and there must have been other

methods of gaining a living. We may be certain that he was employed somewhere in the neighbourhood but it was probably as a day labourer on one of the local farms.

We know that he was taken ill and unable to work in October 1781 and he recorded this fact in the manuscript (p.113).

'1781 Oct. 30 Samuel Abbot<sup>1</sup> Lowdham  
gave me three shillings for Relife  
In our Illness and we are to have till  
we are better weekly 3..0  
November 8 Receiv'd 3..0  
Do. 15 Received from Mrs. Abbott 3..0  
Last of our Relief from the Town this turn  
We have had three wees pay at three  
Shillings per week &c. by me Simon.

This example of the old Poor Law shows that Simon was relying on the relief from his old parish of Lowdham and not from the parish in which he was living, Epperstone. We also know that Samuel Abbott was a wealthy farmer in Lowdham at the time of the enclosure of the open fields, 12 years earlier. He may be the Mr. Abbott of Lowdham who, with Mr. Foster, bought the Cliff mill from the bankruptcy sale of Lambert's property. In his position of responsibility to the parish, it was his duty to assess and distribute to the poor of the parish, the money collected for that purpose. We may also gather that Simon was desperate enough to ask for parish relief, as this entailed an early version of the means test, giving relief only to those who had no money saved. We do not know the nature of his illness, it could have been an injury which stopped him working but allowed him to walk to Lowdham to see

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1. Samuel Abbott lived next to the church in Lowdham and his name appears frequently as church warden as well as relieving officer.



the relieving officer, Mr. Abbott, who would be obliged to confirm that Simon was unfit for work and not classable as a 'valiant beggar' attempting to gain money by false pretences. By week three, it was thought satisfactory for Samuel Abbott's wife to give or bring Simon his money, so we may conclude that the claim was considered to be serious. How far three shillings could be expected to stretch is an interesting problem, food and fuel would have to be the first consideration in October and November 1781.

On the same page as the above entry is another from 1783.

'Saturday September 6 1783 Bought a pare of  
Buckskin breeches price ten and six pence  
at Nottingham

Simon's fortunes must have improved at least temporarily, to allow him to spend such a relatively large sum on a pair of breeches. It is also of interest that he bought them at Nottingham. This is the second time we hear of him being there on a Saturday (see p. 4). It is also the second purchase of this type recorded in the manuscript, on page 26 is an undated record

'6 yards of Velverteen	<sup>s</sup> 4.. <sup>d</sup> 2 per yard	1 5 0
2½ of Cord at	<sup>s</sup> 4.. <sup>d</sup> 6 per yard	11 3
		<hr/> 1 16 3

It would seem that Simon had expensive tastes in clothes, and was inclined to indulge these whenever possible - perhaps residual tastes from the more prosperous life led by the family in Simon's childhood, also reflected in his choice of music which will be discussed later.

One mystery that has not been solved during this research is the fate of Simon's father, William, the last owner of the mill.

*That* he was alive in 1780 at the time of losing the mill seems a reasonable assumption, but there is no record of his death in any of the local parish registers. There is, however, a small clue which might indicate his death in 1780. The family tradition was for the name of a dead person to be given to the next suitable baby to be born within the family. William's son Charles has a son in 1780 and christens him William. That the name had not been used by the eldest son, himself William, seems strange, there may be some connection between this fact and William's rejection of the mill and his move to East Bridgford before the final difficulties at the Cliff mill.

We know that this branch of the family prospered at East Bridgford, and that William actually owned the windmill on Kneeton Road. We suspect that at the time of Paul's father's death, Simon was becoming unpopular with Paul and soon afterwards left milling and became a framework knitter. Later at the time of Paul's death a large family row developed from his will and a long legal wrangle took place before the inheritance was settled. The contented miller was not to be found even in the prosperous owners of Kneeton Road Mill! (see Nottingham Central Library M. 8865/4, dated Nov. 1855).

## THE FRAMEWORK KNITTERS + LUDDISM

Although the main happenings of the Luddite movement took place later than the years of the manuscript, the sources of the troubles developed during Simon's lifetime and the outcome was experienced by John and Garves.

The complications of the situation have been examined by many writers and it is still not an easy task to summarise the events leading to the rebellion. It may be easier in the future if further papers from the Luddites themselves come to light; there are hints that some still exist in such broad Nottingham dialect that they may be classified as being in code.

It is clear that the same economic pressures already mentioned as having influenced the family and caused the loss of the mill ownership, worked to the decline in the standards of living of the framework knitters. As early as 1750 the framework knitters had formed a company to try to gain some protection against the colts (non-apprenticed workers). By 1776 it was realised that the company was insufficient in the face of the increase in costs, taxes and complexity of the knitting process and the workers formed themselves into an early trade union which, though not strictly legal, attempted to enforce the charter of the company.

Simon and his family may have been outside the trade at this time, but the workers in Lowdham and the surrounding villages would have watched developments with the interest engendered by declining wages and increasing food prices.

By 1778 the bad harvests had not improved the situation and the country workmen were incensed by the cut rates and generally underhand behaviour of certain masters of Nottingham, and came into the city breaking frames and damaging other property belonging to the hosiers. The implications of the rioter's power were realised and peace was restored by promises of fair dealing by the masters; not however before the riot act had been read and the troops called out<sup>1</sup>. From these events came the 1779 Bill to regulate wages, but the general standard of living continued to fall throughout the country.

To attempt to stabilise the situation a standard price rate was established in 1787 by the majority of hosiers and pressure was brought to bear on the few unsatisfactory masters to comply. On the whole, these measures were successful and for nearly twenty years the price per article was upheld. This appeared satisfactory but in reality the cost of living continued to increase and as it did so the standing of the framework knitter in the community declined.

In the mid 18th century, the framework knitter enjoyed a way of life envied by many other workers; apart from earning a reasonable wage, he worked in or near his home, he could work when he liked and was able to compress his working hours into part of the week, leaving time to enjoy other pursuits. His wages for his skill were higher than those of a farm labourer and his work protected him from rain and wind. The seeming independence of the framework knitter was envied by the man tied by the farmer and the weather.

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1. Newspaper reports over several months.

It became a habit to collect yarn from a hosier on a Saturday evening and return the finished goods the following Saturday, the custom leading to the worship of the holiday 'Saint Monday', leaving the work to be done in four and a half days. Even when life became difficult in the nineteenth century the framework knitter struggled to keep his weekend free and this led to the rise of cricket in Nottinghamshire with many of the players being drawn from the ranks of the framework knitters. We know Charles played cricket for East Bridgford from newspaper reports<sup>1</sup> but we have no evidence of sportsmanship in any other member of the family.

The influence of the framework knitters way of life upon Simon and his family was inevitable, the villages within walking distance from Nottingham gradually becoming more and more involved in outworking for master hosiers. Most workers rented their frames from a hosier, collecting their yarn from the same man and returning the knitted goods to him for processing and finishing. This direct trading between worker and hosier seemed to have worked reasonably well, trouble tending to develop from the situation where the workers dealt with a middle man or bag-man, who took the yarn out to the workers in their homes and carried the goods back to the master. Obviously the bag-hosier had the opportunity to apply pressures upon the individual workers who might have been physically unable to travel to another hosier. It seems to have been the bag-hosiers who began to cut the cost of the finished product to sell more on a declining market and so force the workers to accept lower wages. Reluctantly the gentlemen-hosiers were forced to cut wages and in the 1807-1811 period, hardship and dis-

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1. Nottingham Journal. 2-7-1814, 20-8-1814, 12-11-1814.

content grew to explosive proportions. Whenever Simon made the decision to break from milling and take up framework knitting, he would have been aware that the industry was declining, but in contrast with the agricultural labourer or casual milling worker, the framework knitter must still have had attractions for him.

As the cotton spinning industry became more mechanised in the second half of the eighteenth century the struggle to find power sources also increased. ~~In the chapter on millers it was mentioned that~~ The useful power in south Nottinghamshire was limited to the water mills of the river Leen and the Dover Beck, the river Trent being impractical for turning water wheels. When Simon and his family left the Howe Mill at Gonalston it continued to be used as a corn mill, the owner of the mortgages replacing the grinding stones and building a new house for the tenant, Tom Newcomb, in 1781<sup>1</sup>.

'Old Joe Lupton', the owner, died very shortly after Simon had recorded the mill's improvements, and the ownership of the mill passed to his wife. By some process which remains unclear, Mrs. Lupton gave or sold the mill to the Lambert family of Nottingham.<sup>2</sup> The three Lambert brothers may have been related to Mrs. Lupton for they were responsible for selling her house and grounds on the banks of the Leen when she died.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the connection between the two families, the Lamberts were fortunate to find a mill site within a few miles of the centre of Nottingham which they could convert to a cotton spinning mill. The old mill, which was probably of the same type as Caythorpe mill, was taken down to the foundations, extended in length and rebuilt as a plain

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1. Reddish Ms. p.111

2. Abstract of Mill ownership. Nottingham Records Office. DDF7/1

3. Nottingham Journal advertisement. April 23rd 1785.

three-storeyed building, the water-wheel inside the mill on the south side and an engine situated at the north end of the structure, the chimney and boiler outside the main building.

The Reddish family must have watched the changes at their old home and shared the impact of the industrial revolution on the rural community.

Unattractive as factory work became, it would be interesting to know the feelings of the local people to this change in their village, coming as it did so closely after the upheavels of enclosure in 1768. The work of the mill offered jobs to many local people and although we lack record of names we may assume that some members of the Reddish family living locally would have gone to work at the mill.

Some idea of conditions within Lambert's mill may be found by reading an account of the life of a child in the mill written by Robert Blencoe.<sup>1</sup> The contents of the account must be treated with some reserve as it was written many years later as a propaganda article to draw attention to the poor working conditions of children employed in factories. It has been felt that the description of the mill is so inaccurate that the whole account is in doubt, but it would seem that on careful reading the mill must be the ex-Reddish mill situated at Lowdham parish but closer to the village of Gonalston; there is no evidence to connect any other mill on the Dover Beck with cotton spinning although some history books speak of Lamberts having mills at both Lowdham and Gonalston.<sup>2</sup>

1. Memoir of Robert Blencoe. 1836

2. Lowe's Agricultural Survey 1798 p. 171.

One point in Blencoe's description seems particularly inaccurate. He described his first sight of the mill, 'a large and lofty edifice, being surmounted by a cupola, Blencoe, at first mistook it for a church.'<sup>1</sup> The earliest photograph<sup>2</sup> of the mill shows no evidence of a superstructure and readers of Blencoe's account have taken this description as an indication of the inaccuracy of the whole of his memoirs of Lowdham, but it is interesting to note that in Newark, among older members of the brewing industry they differentiate between two types of roof top ventilators; some were the swinging copper cowls and the others were known as 'coupealoes'<sup>3</sup>. Ventilation was also an important part of the manufacturing process of cotton yarn and it may be expected that flues and ventilators would have been installed when the mill was built, but may have been removed when the mill was converted to other forms of work in later years.

Blencoe speaks of the work being hard for the parish children living in the apprentice houses at the Hermitage, half a mile from the mill, but he does not mention the local workers who must have formed a large part of the work force. A three-storeyed brick factory, 82 feet long and 26 feet broad<sup>4</sup> would need to employ a considerable work force, added to which the mill was responsible for bleaching and finishing the stockings.<sup>5</sup> By the large number stolen from the bleaching grounds we may assume that the mill spun

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1. Memoir of Robert Blencoe. p. 15.
  2. Nottingham University Photograph Archives. see p.
  3. Gedling House Schools Museum, transcript of local tape recording.
  4. Nottingham Journal Advertisement. Aug.12. 1806
  5. Nottingham Journal Advertisement, May 3rd 1794, asking for information following theft of 7 doz & 9 pairs of stockings from Lambert's bleaching grounds at Lowdham.



yarn, gave it out to local workers, accepted the knitted goods back again, completed the finishing processes and then sent the goods to the warehouses in Nottingham. The third of the Lambert brothers lived in Saint Pancras in London and was responsible for marketing the goods and also supplying the mills with parish apprentices from the workhouse in Saint Pancras.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore the surrounding villages of Lowdham had a supply of yarn nearer than Nottingham and it would seem possible that many knitters rented frames from one place and cotton yarn from Lamberts of Lowdham. This may have been the reason why John, Charles and other members of the family gradually gravitated to their family's original village of Lowdham, a village which continued to expand as a framework knitting centre even after Lamberts had sold the mill in 1806, victims of the decline in the textile trade.<sup>2</sup>

It is against this background that the frame-breaking and ill-feeling of the Luddite movement came into the lives of the Reddish family. When the frame-breaking began to be reported in the village north of Nottingham in 1811, Simon was dead, John was in Lowdham, married with children, Charles and Garves were working at Knitting in East Bridgford. Garves had stopped writing in the manuscript in 1805 or 1806 and nothing is known of him between these dates and 1811, but in September of that year, the same month as we hear of serious outbreaks of frame-breaking in Arnold and other villages near Lowdham<sup>3</sup>, Garves name appears in the church marriage

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1. Memoir of Robert Blencoe. p.12.

2. Nottingham County Records Office. DDF 7/1

3. Nottingham Journal reports over several months.

register with that of Lucy Skinner. The names are written into the register and then the entry is crossed out<sup>1</sup>. It is unclear if they were witnessing the previous entry, or whether they were due to be married and then the wedding was cancelled during the days between booking the wedding and the time arranged. If it is considered to have been a cancellation, we are left with the interesting speculation as to the behaviour of Garves during that week. It is possible that Garves was involved in Luddism; he would have been 24 years old at the time, a suitable age for involvement in activity offering excitement and an element of danger. His involvement is perhaps supported by later events in his life and by a strange comment in a local novel.

The Forest Folk, by James Prior<sup>2</sup> is set in Blidworth in 1811 and is partly concerned with the Luddites and their effect upon the people of the area. Although this is a novel, it was written by a local historian and collector of dialect with a considerable reputation for accuracy. He wrote the novel in 1900, late in his life, and it is the result of many years of collecting dialect and stories from local people in the area of Mansfield, Blidworth and Lowdham. He must have been collecting as early as 1860 or 1870 and he would have been able to talk to people who saw the Luddite movement in action, and who lived through the events of 1811-1814.

In The Forest Folk there is a conversation about the frame-breaking of the late 1811 in which the following passage is of interest;

'Tant knew him well to be James Towle, a Basford man, the ringleader

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1. East Bridgford Marriage Register, Nottingham County Records Office.

2. James Prior, The Forest Folk. 1901.

of the Nottingham conspirators..' 'who says, '"I'll never believe I'm mistaken in a man, once I've put my fisses up and looked into his eyes. Ax Jackson, ax Redditch, ax Dunsmore, they'll be up soon.'" Mentioning three local men in connection with an incident between the frame breakers and the yeomanry. '"Jackson - Redditch - Dunsmore? I like 'em middling well; they're good chaps to goo on the spree wi', they may be good stockingers for oat I know or care; but I wain't trust a man's life to a bridge o' their breath.'" <sup>1</sup>

During the next few years Garves moved between Bulwell, Lowdham, Bulwell, Caythorpe, Lowdham again until he finally settled in Lenton as a framework knitter and hairdresser. Bulwell was one of the most radical centres in the early nineteenth century and it is interesting that Garves should choose to live and work there at least two periods of his life. <sup>2</sup>

His final settlement in Lenton and his ancillary occupation of hairdressing could be a further indication of his interest and involvement in the more actively political side of the framework knitters; his ability to read and write, together with his possession of a general meeting place in a hairdressers room could provide a useful contact for many people. <sup>3</sup>

Obviously this can only be conjecture, but seen in the light of the family's background, it may be seen as evidence of the continuing dissatisfaction first identified in Simon's reaction to the loss of the mill and later finding an outlet in Garve's probable contact with early trade union struggles at Bulwell and Lenton. His

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1. The Forest Folk. opp.cit. p.118.

2. Census Returns 1841 & 1851.

3. See conclusion.

sons became 'fleshers' in Lenton and most married and had families in the area, depressingly Garves died a month after his wife in the Radford Workhouse.<sup>1</sup>

Growing up in an atmosphere of war-recruitment,<sup>2</sup> falling standards of living and growing industrial complexity, John and Garves had every chance to hear and sing the songs which were part of the growing body of news and propaganda. The manuscript was written too early to offer examples of the mass of politically orientated songs of Nottinghamshire in the 1820's and 1830's, but within the manuscript can be seen small pointers to the existing political situation.

Charles Dibdin was responsible for a large number of patriotic songs in the late 18th century and early 19th century which were aimed at raising the numbers of recruits to the navy and therefore making the use of the press gang less necessary. Simon's songs contain three sailor songs of this type, the first song he includes in the manuscript, Poor Jack, beginning, 'Go patter ye lubbers and swabs do you see...', remained popular for many years and the tune was used for local Luddite song, and several parodies of the words were written in the 1830's and 1840's.<sup>3</sup>

The songs A sailors life is a life of woe, and, The Carfindo<sup>4</sup> are also written down by Simon. The proportion of three sailor songs out of nine songs seems to indicate the impact of swamping the market with patriotic songs during the Napoleonic wars and thus increasing the popularity of already existing songs of the same type.

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1. Somerset House, copy of Death certificates.

2. See notes to song Early One Summer's Morning. Reddish MS. p.92. also Reddish Ms. p. 108. Subscriptions to the Militia.

3. Reddish Ms. p. 17.

4. Reddish Ms. p.p. 21 & 29.

The sea must have had a strange and unknown attraction for the inland farming communities in Nottinghamshire. It seems strange to think of the press gangs working in this part of the country, but we know that they were not confined to the coastal towns alone and that although the experience of fishing or other small boat sailors would have been welcome, many men pressed to sea had never had any previous experience. Two years ago I was given a particularly wicked whalebone and lead cosh made by a sailor and probably used by a press gang. This cosh had come to light when an old house in the Meadows, an area of Nottingham, was being cleared before demolition.

All three writers in the manuscript collect one item each which may be seen to represent the more general uplifting type of patriotic song. Simon writes one beginning, 'Adieu, adieu, my only life my honour calls me from you...'.<sup>1</sup> John collects a similar song beginning, 'My Polly dear, farewell Jack cried,'<sup>2</sup> and Garves writes out the Gally Slaves,<sup>3</sup> which enjoyed lasting popularity well into the 19th century.

John provides more songs than the other two members of the family and in them we can see a tendency to hark back to the former glories of the farming community before enclosure. Three of his songs are called Pretty Ploughboy,<sup>4</sup> one of which mentions the press gang. Another of his songs is a begging song of a small girl asking for food for her mother and small brothers and again this song continues in popularity for many years.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Reddish Ms. p.33

2. Reddish Ms. p. 77

3. Reddish Ms. p. 57

4. Reddish Ms. p.p. 76, 80 & 103

5. Reddish Ms. p. 96.

John gives an interesting recruiting song which is closely linked with the situation in John's time and traces of the song and its tune remain in mumming plays of the area to the present time, so we may conclude that it had considerable impact upon the area.

## LITERACY IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

The purpose of this chapter is to try to clarify a somewhat neglected problem: to examine the general state of education in Nottinghamshire in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century, and to offer some speculative conclusions concerning the place of the Reddish family on the educational scales of their day. In this study the interest in literacy is twofold; firstly in the relationship between the number of people able to read and the spread of broadside material, and secondly, how the education of particular members of the family relates to the contents of the manuscript.

Laurence Stone in his article on Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900, says, 'The history of Education is at such a primitive stage, however, both in the collection of data and the formulation of concepts, that it is impossible to provide more than tentative and provisional answers to the many problems involved.'<sup>1</sup> This statement concerns national trends, but it can be applied to the educational standards of Nottinghamshire. We have no statistics available giving the number of literate or illiterate adults of this period, nor have we more than scant information of the schools of the time. By charting the abilities of people to sign their names when marrying some visual indication of trends may be given<sup>2</sup> but these are a poor indication of the state of education. Better

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1. Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900, by Laurence Stone, Past and Present, No. 42, February 1969, p. 69.

2. See charts on p. 63

conclusions may be reached by investigating the pressures upon the working men and their families to become literate, or to avoid literacy, and the methods open to them to acquire learning.

Laurence Stone sees the structure of education in society as determined by all or some of seven factors: 'social stratification, job opportunities, religion, theories of social control, demographic and family patterns, economic organisation and resources and finally political theory and institutions!'<sup>1</sup> From our knowledge of Nottingham at this time, the above factors all operated; but the local and national changes in the period caused some to have more impact upon the education of the county than others.

Perhaps the group of people least changed in their educational habits by the economic and social pressures of the agrarian and industrial revolutions, the Napoleonic Wars and the Luddite troubles, would be those using established schools for the sons of moderately well endowed parents. Not until the later part of the industrial revolution had brought out a new class of monied man wishing to have his sons educated in this way, would the intake of these schools be changed.

The county supported and continued to support a fairly large class of landed gentry who might be expected to provide tutors for their children in their own homes, or to send their sons away to school, and again only moderate changes could be expected in this type of education during the period in question.

The two most important factors affecting education would

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1. Stone, *op.cit.* p. 70.



appear to be the interdependent factors of changing economic organisation and job opportunity. In Nottinghamshire, as elsewhere, the enclosure acts affected a great change in the farming communities, causing the old established ways of agriculture and the position of the farm worker to be completely reorganised, removing many of the former advantages of country living enjoyed by the labourer. With these changes the farm worker lost much of his old security and many descended to the position of day labourer, or at best, hired themselves to the larger land owners for the period of fifty weeks per year. These changes must have affected the stability of the family and greatly diminished hopes of education within these families. From being settled members of a parish with hereditary tenure of a small plot of land and rights within the village grazing, many became mobile labourers without the responsibilities and rewards they had previously enjoyed.

The position of these families was further complicated by a number of poor harvests which, together with the import restrictions of the Napoleonic Wars, caused an increase in staple food prices.

So the coming of the industrial revolution, at a time when many rural workers were in an impoverished state, dissatisfied with their changed situation, provided another way of living, encouraging people to leave the country for the expanding towns, or trying to undertake industrial work within the rural communities. The early industrialisation was dependent upon water power; Nottinghamshire and the neighbouring county of Derbyshire took many of their early factories into the country side in search of suitable energy sources; and, as in the case of the Reddish mill at Lowdham, corn mills were converted into cotton spinning mills, causing the already

widespread craft of frame-work-knitting to expand into more homes and workshops in the area.

With this change in ways of living, may have come a decline in the wish to be literate. We can only guess at the incidence of any decline but it seems inevitable if we accept the precept that incentive is a primary necessity before both parents and children will invest time, effort and perhaps money in education; and if the status of the child when adult is not to be maintained or improved, it cannot be expected that the effort will be made. 'Thus the literate farm labourer of the late 18th century fared no better (and possibly even worse, due to the prejudices of his employer), than his illiterate companion, and the incentive to attend Sunday School or evening school was therefore slight.'<sup>1</sup>

At this point, it might be sensible to define 'literacy', realising that its meaning changes according to the writer and the date of writing. In this study it may be accepted that the term 'literacy' means the ability to sign one's name. This definition has been forced upon researchers by the limited amount of general evidence available. Signing of the marriage register or witnessing the same, is the only known statistical evidence of adult literacy, and although it is useful in indicating trends within communities, it must be accepted that it provides a very meagre form of evidence from which to draw conclusions. In this research I have chosen to use another term, 'true Literacy', to describe the ability to write prose; the ability to communicate thoughts and ideas through the use of the written word. In the Reddish family we are concerned with the evidence within the manuscript of true literacy

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1. Stone, opp.cit. p. 74.

of three members of the family, but ability varies from one member to another. It should be remembered that, although we have little remaining evidence, other members of the community would be able to use the written word in their work and leisure. The Nottinghamshire Local Records Office possess some notebooks, diaries and other small pieces of writing which have been saved for us, but they are very few in number. One notebook from the village of Lowdham was written by a village boy who volunteered to join the navy during the war in 1811; his three years aboard H.M.S. Berwick were recorded in a long ballad of about fifty verses. Presumably he composed these himself although it may be considered that his education had been slight from the style and standard of his writing and spelling. We may also consider that his knowledge of broadsides and folk songs had been invaluable in his composition of verses.<sup>1</sup>

Much study has been made of the reading matter of the ordinary reader of the time, the availability and attractiveness of newspapers and cheap literature in the late eighteenth century. The distribution of broadsides in relation to this manuscript will be discussed in another chapter, but we can only guess at the importance of the ballad singers and broadside sellers in the rural communities. The enormous sales of individual ballads indicate that many more people were able to read than can be statistically proved, and even this does not indicate how many people read each broadside or newspaper.

'It is important to realise that the school of today does much for the child that in former times was done by the family, the

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1. PR.

church and the occupation. Education is never synonymous with schooling and the further back we go the more important does this distinction become. In consequence, we can never measure the educational provision of the past by merely recording the number of schools and scholars; many children who never went to school got a sound education in other ways.<sup>1</sup>

The above statement by Professor Smith underlines the importance of education from sources outside the school, whereas the majority of reports on education of this time are slanted towards the physical evidence of school buildings and salaried teachers. Nottingham and Nottinghamshire had well established schools; this is not denied. The documentation of such establishments as the Southwell Song School, the Bluecoat School in Nottingham, and the Magnus School at Newark give a picture of the education available to the children able to attend them. We can also find traces of schools in villages such as Woodborough, where the present primary school was established in 1736, and Oxtun School established in 1783 by Margaret Sherbrooke for 30 free scholars. The church visitation reports<sup>2</sup> include information on the schools within each parish, but it is not clear whether the schools mentioned or the reports of no schools include the dame schools or similar establishments, nor do they mention the Sunday schools which were to be found in some parishes. The lack of evidence for schools in these reports seems to indicate a standard of education below that which we feel existed in the country at the time. Therefore, we must look at some forms of teaching other than those found within a school.

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1. F. Smith, A History of Elementary Education, 1760-1902 (1931) p. 36.

2. Visitation returns of Archbishop Herring, 1743, York Archl.Soc. (Record series) LXXVII 1930) p.92.

It is common to hear a present-day child reject the idea of his mother teaching him to read; that, in his mind, is the job of the proper teacher and can only be accomplished within the classroom. This idea is too easily assumed by writers on the history of education, and is fostered by the lack of evidence of other forms of education. The ephemeral writings of children being unlikely to be preserved, nor are there records of achievements or expenses.

The apprentice system offered a much underestimated means of education to many boys wishing to enter a trade, or to continue the occupation of his father. Under ideal conditions the apprentice system was to be a means of teaching a young person all the skills and knowledge of the master, so ensuring that the craft would continue at a high standard. For this purpose . Guilds took an interest in and a control over the master and laid down the terms under which he was allowed to keep and train apprentices. Perhaps it is idealistic to assume that the good master would take the time and care to extend the apprentice's abilities in areas outside the physical skills of the trade, but that would seem to have been the original intention. Up to the beginning of the industrial revolution the normal age for a boy to begin a formal apprenticeship was fourteen years, although there were many exceptions and to begin at the age of eight years is recorded. In the years before apprenticeship, it can be assumed, in many cases the boy learned the rudiments of reading and writing from his parents or from a small local school.

It is obvious that apprenticeship as a form of education for literacy was dependent upon the standard of the master, and, although the technical standard of the man's work would be under the scrutiny of the Guild, his teaching was not. Too many apprentices became cheap

labour for the master. Seven years was the normal time for an apprenticeship in all the trades and crafts and it seems difficult to understand the need for a training period of such length for a craft as uncomplicated as frame-work-knitting. There is some evidence<sup>1</sup> that some indentures contained clauses allowing the apprentice to attend school much in the manner of our day-release students. We have other evidence to show that some masters required their boys and young men to read and discuss literature.<sup>2</sup>

With this general information in mind let us consider the three members of the family represented in the manuscript.

Within the Reddish family the trade of milling necessitated the use of the written word and the use of numbers, and it would seem that the family's pride in their status of miller of Lowdham<sup>3</sup> was enough to provide an incentive for the education of the sons to a reasonable standard of true literacy. From the manuscript we have evidence of three members of the family being truly literate, and we know of some near relations using true literacy in their work and as members of church committees. Evidence of literacy among other members of the family is confined to the more usual evidence of church registers.

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1. Quoted by O.J. Dunlop, English Apprenticeship & Child Labour. by David Wardle, (1912), p. 181, From Education in Nottingham in the age of Apprenticeship. Thoroton Soc.Trans. V.71, 1976, p.39.
  2. S.D. Chapman, William Felkin, M.A. Thesis, Nottingham Univ. (1960).
  3. Use of term 'Miller of Lowdham' in church registers was frequent and sustained during a period when occupations were rarely mentioned at marriage baptism or death.

The manuscript book was bought in 1780 and began to be used by Simon Reddish for the millers accounts and notes for his father William Reddish, at the time when they were trying to avoid losing their property to the mortgage holder Joseph Lupton. After the family left the mill later in the year, Simon continued to use the book as a record of some of his actions and then as a book in which to copy and retain songs and tunes. So Simon's writing contains evidence of prose as well as copied balladry and music and may establish Simon as having a reasonable education in both literacy and social standing, befitting the son of a prominent member of the community. His taste in music leaned towards the 'parlour' songs of his day, written for popular taste by Dibdin and Hooke or taken from the ballad operas and sold individually with accompaniment for german flute or violin, suitable for performance in polite company.

During the period in which John, the eldest son was growing up, Simon was still involved in milling at East Bridgford and would probably still retain hopes of regaining a position of some authority and status within the community. If we accept the theory that within the Reddish family, father educated son in both the skills of milling and the skills of literacy and numeracy necessary to run the mill, then John received his interest in penmanship from his father, indicated by his frequent practice writing of 'John Reddish his my name, And England his my Nation, Bridgford his my dwelling place, And Christ his my Salvation.' There are only small traces of John's number work in the manuscript as, by the time John was in possession of the book, music and song were more important than accounts.

The abilities of the second of Simon's sons, Charles remain a mystery; he fails to sign his name at his wedding in 1808, and we have no evidence of his writing in the manuscript. From other sources<sup>1</sup> we know that he was interested in sport and playing cricket for East Bridgford; we also know that his son Charles was unable to sign his name when he married. From this negative evidence we may conclude that he was illiterate, uninterested in music or song words and did not, therefore, take over the manuscript upon John leaving the village in 1803. The assumption of illiteracy may be incorrect; he may have failed to sign the register to avoid embarrassing his illiterate bride, or he may have felt that it was advisable to plead ignorance during the troubled time at the beginning of the Luddite upheavals.

The third son, Garves, provides even more interesting facets of the family's educational variation. He was born at East Bridgford and seems to have suffered from the changing fortunes and hopes of his father. It would seem that the incentive to teach his son John to his own standard of work had been diluted in Simon by the time Garves was ready to learn. Simon became a frame-work-knitter at some time near the turn of the century and it may be presumed that all three sons took up this trade as soon as they were old enough; all three gave it as their occupation when they married. It seems probable that they were never apprenticed to the trade in the industrial boom but joined many others in setting up for themselves outside the Guild. Simon may not have taught Garves at all; it may have been John who found time to instruct his younger brother. The other possible explanation may have been that Garves wished to join the Church Band,

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1. Nottingham Journal, Sports reports, 2-7-1814  
20-8-1814  
12-11-1814



and the incentive lacking in the home may have been provided from the church.

Although it seems reasonable to assume that the normal habit within the Reddish family had been to pass on the standard of the father to son in writing and numeracy while they had been millers, it should not be assumed that these were the only factors working upon the education of John and Garves; and the opportunities open to them in East Bridgford should be investigated.

There does not appear to have been a school in Lowdham during the eighteenth century and it would not seem probable that John or Garves had any reason to return to the family village for their education. The situation in East Bridgford is unclear. The gallery was built in the church in 1778 for the use of the Church Band, but some nineteenth century gazeteers mention that this gallery was used for the teaching of the children of the parish, presumably on Sundays. We know that the Vicarage was sub-let by the curate for a girls school before the 1830's act insisted on most clergy living within their parish, and this school would seem to be responsible for the standard of literacy among young women being higher than that of their husbands during part of the early nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Small schools run by women, cripples or the elderly may have existed in the village, but have left no trace. A higher form of education would have been available at Southwell for boys with some singing ability and in the records of the Minster school the name of Charles Reddish does appear, but this Charles is the son of another Reddish family living at Southwell and only distantly related to the Lowdham family.

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1. See charts of literacy on page 67 with particular reference to the years around 1820.

So we return to the idea that the sons of the family, spurred by the incentive of the miller's status, were educated within the family and were able to enjoy the pleasures of reading and music making to a moderately high standard. The education of the girls of the family is unknown as it has left no trace and it may be concluded that without the incentive of milling they remained in ignorance.

Although the spare time occupation of making music did not rely upon the ability to read, the interest of all three members of the family writing in the manuscript would indicate that part of their life was associated with the enjoyment of playing and singing with other people; and it seems to be strongly indicated by the internal evidence of the manuscript<sup>1</sup> that John and Garves were involved in the village music making through the church band.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the church bands or playing choirs gave to many young people a form of education within the village and provided the incentive to struggle towards the minimal standards needed to join in the playing and singing. Although more mention of church bands will be made in the chapter on music, something should be said of their influence upon the community.

It seems certain that East Bridgford<sup>2</sup> followed the national trend of village churches in maintaining some form of band or playing and singing choir. These bands formed a highly influential part of village life and offered ordinary people in the area a social activity both inside and outside the church, becoming a form of social club.

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1. See page 70

2. De Bouley Hill p. 188.

During the period covered by the manuscript, bands enjoyed great popularity and few communities were without some form of musical accompaniment to the church services, rivalry between neighbouring bands being considerable.<sup>1</sup> The popularity of the band in the community extended beyond the playing of ecclesiastical music and the players were in great demand outside the church to provide the secular music of the village. It seems clear that the dance tunes and two part music of the manuscript would have formed the secular parts of the band music used by John and Garves. They would have had another manuscript book containing their music to be used in church.

This secular music for the band would constitute a good reason for John leaving the manuscript in the hands of his younger brother when he left the village; Garves would still need the copies for his playing in the band.

So we may conclude that within a stable family of even moderate means, a tradition of education would be established with the father ensuring that his sons were educated up to or above his own standard, either by his own instructions or by outside agencies. This standard could be disrupted by outside influences, changing fortunes of the family or illness, but if possible the family struggled on to maintain the standards.

With the coming of the industrial revolution, enclosure acts, Napoleonic wars and the unrest of the workers resulting from these economic changes, the pressures put upon family traditions were unprecedented. The Reddish family give us one example of the results

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1. S. Baring Gould, Old Country Life, Chapters X & XI.

of these pressures and it may be concluded that, as their financial position declined and their hopes of regaining former standards waned, their interest in education also declined until Charles and Garves had little to gain from the family traditions. As the standard of living in the family declined, so the entries in the manuscript music altered until the 'parlour' songs of Simon became the band music and ballads of John and finally the more carelessly written words and tunes of Garves.

## GRAPHS AND TABLES SHOWING INDICATIONS OF LITERACY FROM CHURCH REGISTERS

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The marriage registers for four parishes were examined for the years 1754 to 1830 and the number of signatures and crosses have been listed and converted into percentages. The two parishes most closely connected with the Reddish family were Lowdham and East Bridgford and the literacy tables for these parishes have been further illustrated by showing the same statistics in graph form.

From the evidence of illiteracy shown in these registers, it is possible to observe certain trends. There would appear to have been a surprising number of women able to sign their names during the twenty years around the eighteen hundred compared with the number signing between seventeen fifty four and seventeen seventy. This trend seems to reach its height in East Bridgford between eighteen eleven and eighteen twenty when no less than 64% of the women married signed their names and no fewer than seven of these married illiterate men. The school for girls which was held in the rented vicarage must have been a day school for local girls rather than a boarding school for young ladies as might be assumed by its position.

With these tables of literacy in mind the pattern of literacy in the Reddish family shows clearly that the family gradually became less literate as the years past and against the general trend. Matthew, Frances and Hannah were the children of the John Reddish who took such pains with his writing practice, but he was not able to pass on his abilities to them.

TABLE OF LITERACY IN REDDISH FAMILY 1756-1856  
LOWDHAM AND EAST BRIDGFORD  
FROM MARRIAGE REGISTERS

Date	Literate	Illiterate
1768	John & Will (Witness)	Elizabeth
1769	John (Witness)	
1770	Will. (Witness)	
1773	William	
1779	Simon	
1780	Elizabeth	
1793	William & Mary	
1803	John Paul & Ann (Witness) Sarah	
1804	Will. (Witness)	
1808		Charles Ann (Witness)
1809	Thomas (Witness)	
1811	Samuel	Ann (Witness)
1814	Ann & Stephen (Witness) James	
1819		Elizabeth
1822	John (Witness)	
1825	Gervas Richard (Witness)	
1826	Joseph	Sarah
1827	Richard	Rebecca
1828	Thomas	
1829		Matthew

Date	Literate	Illiterate
1833	John	Jane
1834		Charlotte
1841	Frances Greshom & Eliz.(Witness)	Charles
1847	Elizabeth Will. Ann & Caroline (W)	
1852		Frances
1854	Elizabeth	
1855		Hannah

LITERACY TABLES 1754 - 1830 BURTON JOYCE

MALE					FEMALE				
Decade	Illit	%	Lit	%	Weddings	Illit	%	Lit	%
1754-60	9	43	12	57	21	13	61	8	39
1761-70	12	36	21	64	33	21	64	12	36
1771-80	15	45	22	55	37	22	59	15	41
1781-90	29	62	18	38	47	37	79	10	21
1791-00	17	42	23	58	40	25	62	15	38
1801-10	21	45	26	55	47	30	64	17	36
1811-20	20	44	25	56	45	24	53	21	47
1821-30	19	37	33	63	52	36	69	16	31

HOVERINGHAM

MALE					FEMALE				
Decade	Illit	%	Lit	%	Weddings	Illit	%	Lit	%
1754-60	6	34	12	66	18	12	67	6	33
1761-70	3	21	11	79	14	10	71	4	29
1771-80	12	55	9	45	21	16	76	5	24
1781-90	5	18	24	82	29	26	90	3	10
1791-00	6	28	16	72	22	13	59	9	41
1801-10	7	34	14	66	21	15	71	6	29
1811-20	8	32	17	68	25	12	48	13	52
1821-30	6	26	17	74	23	10	45	13	55



LITERACY TABLES 1754 - 1830 EAST BRIDGFORD

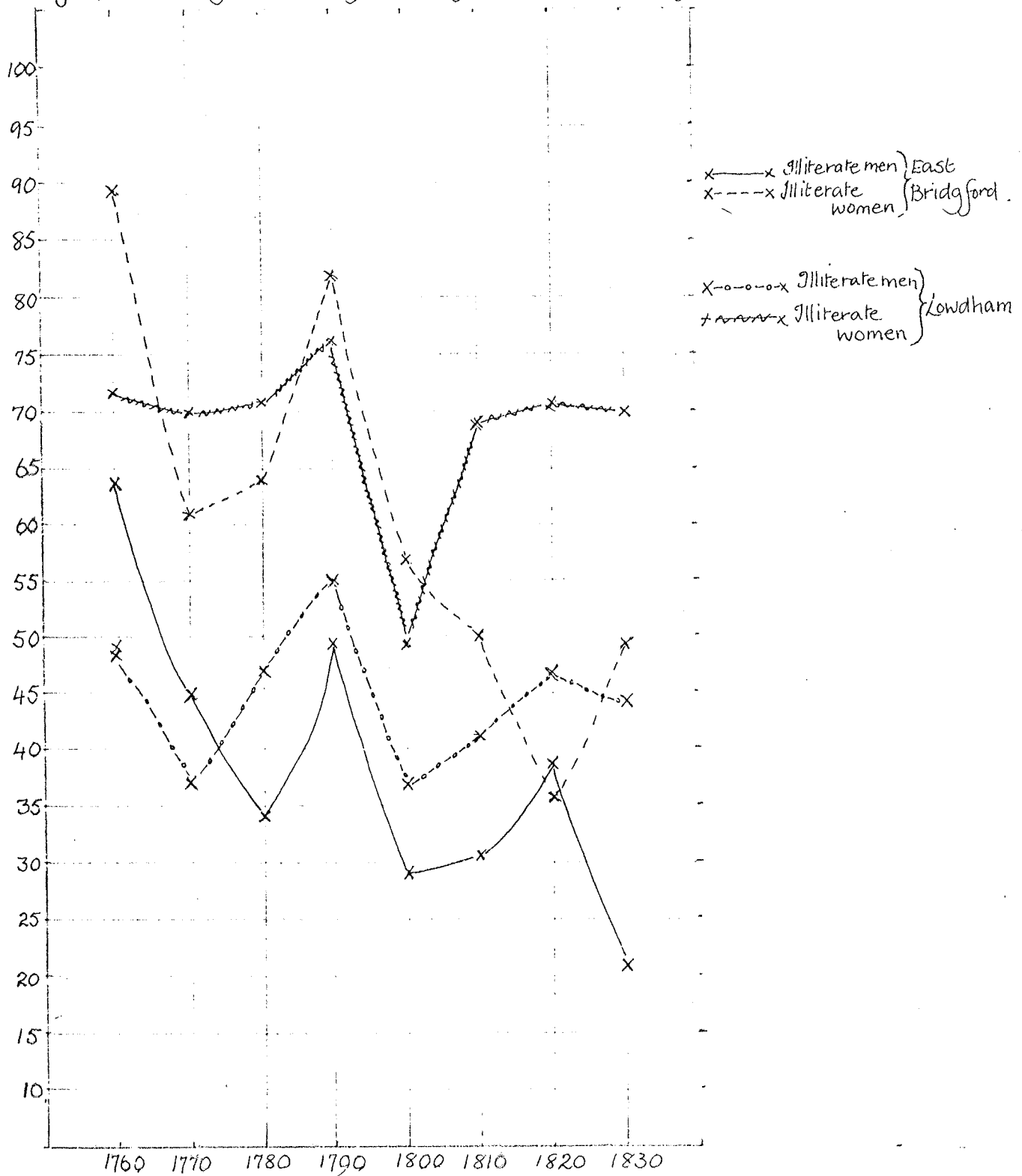
MALE						FEMALE				
Decade	Illit	%	Lit.	%	Weddings	Illit	%	Lit	%	Lit.women married Illit.men
1754-60	12	63	7	37	19	17	89	2	11	0
1761-70	14	45	17	55	31	19	61	12	39	2
1771-80	11	33	22	67	33	21	64	12	36	0
1781-90	19	49	20	51	39	32	82	7	18	0
1791-00	10	29	25	71	35	20	57	15	43	3
1801-10	18	32	38	68	56	28	50	28	50	2
1811-20	20	38	33	62	53	19	36	34	64	7
1821-30	15	22	54	78	69	34	49	35	51	1

LOWDHAM

MALE						FEMALE				
Decade	Illit	%	Lit	%	Weddings	Illit	%	Lit	%	Lit.women married Illit.men
1754-60	16	48	17	52	33	24	72	9	28	1
1761-70	26	37	43	62	69	48	70	21	30	4
1771-80	26	47	29	53	55	39	71	16	29	3
1781-90	35	55	29	45	64	49	76	15	23	2
1791-00	28	37	47	63	75	36	48	39	52	3
1801-10	31	41	45	59	76	52	68	24	32	1
1811-20	35	47	40	53	75	53	71	22	29	2
1821-30	47	39	75	61	122	85	70	37	30	1

# Lowdham + East Bridgeford 1754-1830

Graph showing evidence of illiteracy from marriage registers.



## MUSIC IN RELATION TO THE REDDISH FAMILY AND NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

This general chapter on music must cover many aspect of culture and influences in the Nottinghamshire villages in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. There are outside influences brought into the area, inside incentives and traditions working upon the family and parallels with other parts of the country to be investigated before individual songs and tunes may be considered in detail.

When this study was begun it seemed that one of the main difficulties to be faced was to try to find enough evidence to show standards of culture in East Bridgford. The Reddish Ms. seemed to be the most important piece of primary source material available and any other pieces were extremely fragmentary and inconclusive. Evidence of the cultural standards of the ordinary villager in the Midlands and south of England from national sources seemed to be sparse; and contemporary writing on the subject limited. This last factor may be considered a blessing to the writer as it forces him to return to the fragmentary but primary source-materials which may individually be unrewarding but which, when related to each other, give an exciting picture, more explicit than expected. As in the chapter on literacy, the lack of documentation cannot be taken as evidence of lack of musical literacy and again, as with literacy, we must turn to the church to provide us with the clues to the level of musical ability.

It would seem unrealistic to speculate that John and Garves lived a life even remotely resembling the countryman's life described by such writers as Thomas Hardy. Hardy was writing at a

later date, he was looking at another part of the country and he was writing for entertainment. My present research was expected to show a much more brutal and depressed village life with little colour and less culture. But what is emerging is a picture of village life, drawn from areas in the midlands and south of England, which is particularly interesting in the depth of its musical culture and the enthusiasm of its musicians' participation and wish for stimulus from outside. That East Bridgford and Lowdham should be any different from the general pattern seems unlikely and the fact that the Reddish Ms. has been preserved for us fits East Bridgford into the picture and helps to confirm the national trends. Therefore this chapter must look at the wider aspects of non-professional music making, before the position of Simon, John and Garves can be appreciated.

From sources in the south of England, East Anglia, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, a picture emerges of certain members of the village community who have been underestimated in the past. These, the village musicians, may give us the link between folk music and its traditions and church influences. Perhaps this small and unfinished piece of research may help to clarify an area of cultural history which had been much neglected.

To look at the Reddish Ms. in context, we must assume that, in East Bridgford in the years around 1800, two members of the church band were John and Garves Reddish. They are classifiable therefore as village musicians in the fullest sense of the term, and the following comments upon the life and standards of village musicians will apply to the Reddish brothers to a greater or lesser extent. That their father was also a musician is without doubt, but we do

not know if he played any part in church music or whether he played within the family only. His place will be discussed separately later in the chapter.

To define the village musicians is not easy, though in general it may be said that he was an ordinary member of the community who took part in the musical activities of that village, part of the music being religious and part secular. In church, the band or playing choir, was a mixture of voices and instruments providing four part hymns, psalms and anthems to enrich the church services. Their musicianship, often acquired in the church band, was taken out from the church into the community to provide other types of music from serious concerts through processional marches to dances and songs for village festivities, weddings and private gatherings. So the picture of the village musician is an interweaving of four types of music - the music of the church services; the serious and semi-serious music from concerts and recitals; the dance and entertainment music played outside the church and the songs and tunes which may loosely be termed 'folk music' which was available in the area. In an attempt to understand the relationships between the village musician and music he played I have drawn up the chart on page 123. Obviously some musicians would not have access to every type of stimulus nor would every musician be capable of coping with all aspects of music available to his band, but it would seem equally incorrect to consider that every player was an untrained country bumpkin, able merely to play four hymns and a march or two without feeling or understanding. Unfortunately, most of the accounts of church bands which have been preserved for us either in literature or from recollections of very old inhabitants, date from the latter years of bands when they were in decline and they

tend to paint a humorous account of enthusiasm but lack of skill. If we turn back to the early years of the nineteenth century at least some of the bands were of a very different standard.

Before looking at the bands themselves and the links between the church and village, it may be sensible to explain the indications that John and Garves were involved in both sides of music making in East Bridgford.<sup>1</sup> There are indications in the Ms. that John and Garves were members of the church band. Although no religious music appears in the Ms. John postscripts one song as 'Good song Short metre'. Hymn tunes in use at the time were divided into different classes according to the length of the lines; short measure or metre and common metre were two types; long, trumpet and peculiar metre were the other general types. Also in the text, John writes out his music in a style used in all the other contemporary manuscript hymn books examined, even to the mannerism of ending a tune with a fill-in device //'. The inclusion of two and three part tunes in John's hand is a clear indication that the two brothers were playing in a band. At this time the band would be the church band, the division of activities in the musical life of the village would not be as clear as it was to become in the mid-nineteenth century. The Reddish Ms. shows only one side of their activities. Perhaps as in Catfield in Sussex, one member of the band copied out identical books of four-part music to be used by successive members of the band and choir. The Reddish brothers may have had their church music on loan and their secular music in the present Ms.; or perhaps we should look elsewhere for another Reddish Ms.

While I was attempting this research and becoming more convinced of, and excited by, the inter-relationship between church and

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1. Since writing this chapter, it has been discovered that in later life Garves was an enthusiastic member of the church of England. See also conclusion.

secular music, an important article appeared in Traditional Music a new and serious magazine for students of Folk Studies.<sup>1</sup> This investigated the life of a fiddle player in Warnham, Sussex, born in 1796, a shoemaker by trade, sexton, gravedigger, bellringer and leader of the church band by choice. He was in great demand at village fetes in the neighbourhood and at big houses to provide music for dancing and we are fortunate enough to have two of his fiddle books available for study. We also know that this man, Michael Turner, was a traditional singer and provided songs for the collector, Henry Burstow of Horsham.<sup>2</sup>

From studying Turner's life and researching into other manuscript books in Sussex, Gammon concludes that there must be strong links between church bands and traditional dance music, and that Thomas Hardy's accounts of church bands in Under the Greenwood Tree, and Absentmindedness in the village choir, and their relationships with village life were founded upon fact.

Sussex is more fortunate than most counties in possessing a collection of music books and information relating to church bands of the 19th century, drawn together through the work of the Rev. K.H. MacDermott earlier in the present century, in preparation for his two books on the church music of the county.<sup>3</sup> He became a well-known figure in the area and acquired, through bequests and purchases, many books, both printed and in manuscript, used in churches in Sussex. After his death, the whole collection came to the library of the Sussex Archaeological Society at Lewes and was combined with other bequests of the same nature to form an important and unique record of one aspect of social life.

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1. Michael Turner - a 19c Sussex Fiddler. by Vic Gammon. Traditional Music No. 4. Mid 1976 pp. 14-22.

2. Henry Burstow, Remeniscences of Horsham. 1911.

3. K.H. MacDermott, Sussex Church Music in the Past. 1922.  
Old Church Gallery Musicians. 1948.

When examined, MacDermott's collection provided some surprises. It was not expected that it would contain so many pieces of secular music in one or several part settings in the manuscript books. Neither was it expected that the dates of the manuscripts would be so closely related to those of the Reddish manuscript, nor that there would be dance tunes common to both Nottinghamshire and Sussex. The style of musical notation was consistent in all the books examined, and again the Reddish Ms. was written in the same style. Without exception the Sussex Mss. were compiled by working class men, shoemakers, gardeners, shepherds, and apprentices to farriers and blacksmiths.

Parallels have been observed in other manuscript books of both church music and fiddle tunes seen in Lincolnshire,<sup>1</sup> Northamptonshire,<sup>2</sup> Norfolk,<sup>3</sup> and the south west of England<sup>4</sup>. The collection in Sussex is the largest seen in one place, but it seems clear that if other counties had been fortunate enough to have had a collector as assiduous as Mr. MacDermott, the picture would have been much fuller. Even at this late date it is possible to undertake listing and conservation of the remains of church band music and instruments, and it would seem that Lincolnshire has begun this task in the last year.

Without generalising too much or becoming too involved in the history of music, it seems clear that the rise of the church band can be dated in individual villages as shortly before the building of the gallery in the west end of the church, mostly between 1750

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1. Ms Church Music Book. Scunthorpe Museum.

2. John Clare's fiddle tune books. Northampton Central Library.

3. Church Music Book from Plumstead, Norfolk, Author's coll.

4. Thos. Hardy's family music books. Facsimile, Cecil Sharp House Library.



and 1800, their popularity and value being reflected in this act. Similarly, the demise of the band can be marked by the date of the barrel organ, pipe organ or harmonium being purchased for the church.

At a period when country 'labourers' wages were low the church band provided some musicians with musical instruments and with the upkeep of these instruments. Church accounts clearly show that the church was willing to buy new reeds and strings for their players and to repair breakages. The same accounts often included clock oil and bell ropes; in Michael Turner's case, all for the same man.<sup>1</sup>

There was no set pattern for the instruments used in a band, it was dependent upon the instruments available within the community. Most frequently met were flutes and fiddles but many other members of the string family were to be found from the largest double-bass to the smallest home-made violin, and wind instruments from serpents to piccolloes were heard. Some players were famous in their areas for making instruments and in Sussex there are records of 'cellos made locally from beaten copper.

The complex reasons for the decline of the church bands are important in that the band reflects the whole musical life of the village, giving incentive to musicianship and supporting the musician with the purchase and upkeep of musical instruments when this was necessary. So the decline of the band marks the beginning of the decline in other musical activities in the majority of communities. The connections between the Traditional/Church/Composed music do not seem to have been recognised by the early collectors

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1. Information from church accounts in Notts. Sussex and other counties.

such as Sharp, Baring-Gould and Lucy Broadwood, although they all decried the decline of the traditional singers.

The population changes in the villages, with the movements of people towards urban areas during the Industrial Revolution, must have had some effect upon the hereditary musicianship of the village; but the influx of monied families brought a higher standard of learning into the country and emphasised the cultural differences between the labouring classes and those who had had some education and experience outside the village. The same change in standards was seen in the level of education of many of the village clergy, and after the 1830's the clergy were no longer so much absent from their parishes.<sup>1</sup> The changing attitude of the church at this period may have been the most important factor in the decline of the bands. Although the band had always been an independent group, forming its own agreements, and choosing its own music, the relationship with the clergy became more antagonistic as the standards of the two groups diverged. Briefly, the clergy's status had begun to change at the time when the enclosure acts had substituted land for tythes for the priest and as more money became available to improve the standard of clerical living, a more educated man was attracted to the post, and fewer clergy left the work to resident curates who were often little better educated than the rest of the residents. The growth of money for church use would have been an asset to the band in the beginning, building the gallery for them and buying instruments, but gradually the clergy became intolerant of the old ways and impatient to introduce ways more closely allied to those of the bigger city churches. So the gap between the priest in the chancel and the old-established traditionalists in the gallery increased. The literary accounts we have of the

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1. See Olive J. Brose. Church & Parliament, 1828-1860. 1959

church bands come more from this period than from earlier times and we frequently hear of the band ignoring the wishes of the vicar and even playing so loudly and so long that the sermon had to be abandoned and the vicar retire defeated.<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to find records of the relief which must have been felt by many clergy at the prospect of coping with one organist instead of a group of stubborn labourers with inflated ideas of their own importance!

It is the incentive for music making that was provided by the regular singing and instrumental work of the church band which is important to the inter-relationship of village music. The need for regular rehearsals and the acquisition of skills of playing and reading words and music was an enormous force behind the villager with an interest in music. At a time when it was normal for most of the villagers to attend church services, the band provided an elite group with special privileges. In some villages, it even provided the players with a small payment, but this seems to have been the exception rather than the rule.

It seems to have been the normal procedure for the band to form its own rules and system of fines and to choose its own music. We have the agreement drawn up by the Wysall Singers in 1774.<sup>2</sup> agreeing to rehearse every Sunday evening at the sound of the church bell rung by one of their members, 'unless very throng about necessary business...and if any miscoming on Sunday night shall forfeit one penny unless one mile out of town.' Penny fines were also introduced for cursing and swearing and for missing service for and other than sickness. Finally a fine of one shilling was agreed upon to be

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1. See S. Baring-Gould. Old Village Life, 1901; Ralf Whitlock, A family and a village, 1969.; The writings of Thomas Hardy.

2. County Records Office, PR 790.

paid by anyone leaving the singers but remaining in the district.

It is interesting that the approach to such an agreement was set out so formally and that the signatures are nearly all followed by one or two crosses, although most signatures appear to be in personal hands, not followed by 'his mark'. Perhaps this indicates a group of men who were late in becoming literate and who clung to the convention of making a cross.

The Wysall church accounts include the cost of repairing or re-reeding 'a bassoon' and although the dedication of the candalabra which was given to help light the gallery, reads, 'The gift of Elizabeth West for the use of the Psalm Singers of Wysall Church, 1773'<sup>1</sup>, it would seem that here we have an example of 'Singers' meaning mixed choir and musicians.

Wysall also provides us with an example of the attitude of the clergy to the memory of the church band, for, when the gallery was being removed in 1873, the then vicar, the Rev. Mr. J. Parker, wrote in great relief, 'I'm thankful to have lived to remove what is contemptible and unbecoming in the house of God.'<sup>2</sup> It seems unfortunate that this should so often be the attitude to an institution which had served the village well, but the attitude was neither new nor confined to the village of the band. In Nottinghamshire alone there are numerous instances of antagonism towards and prosecutions of musicians over several centuries.

A few examples will suffice.

The Elizabethan records of Wollaton Hall and Belvoir Castle contain entries relating to payment of musicians but it is interesting to note

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1. Personal observation.

2. Wysall Church guide book.

that several gave payment to them for not playing; 'Derbbyshyre which played not, XXd.' or even more definitely, 'to iij mensterrelles off Nottingham in reward because they playd not, xxd.'<sup>1</sup> In 1623 a man of Ruddington was charged with paying a visit to Clifton and disturbing divine service there by 'playing upon a pair of bagpipies.'<sup>2</sup> In the county records of the reigns of James I and Charles I numerous details occur of prosecutions 'for playing a pipe of the Lord's Day in time of Prayer,' 'for harping on the Sabbatt.'<sup>3</sup> Magistrates records for the county continue to record such prosecutions as that of 1629 when John Burden of Hoveringham and George Sowter of Radford, piper, were charged with piping.<sup>4</sup>

Although the general attitude to music and musicians changed in the 18th century, puritan suppression of music and the reduction of musicians to a low status in the community could still be observed in the more educated people, who saw a sharp division between the few professional musicians and the types of music-making enjoyed by the uneducated.

As late as 1788, Charles Dibdin, author of Tom Bowling and several songs favoured by Simon Reddish, was at Newark, giving concerts in the Assembly Rooms at the Kingston Arms, then kept by a man named Midgley, who had been cook to the Dowager Princess of Wales, and reserved his civility, apparently for his aristocratic patrons. It was only when Dibdin mentioned that Lord and Lady Lincoln were patronising the concerts that Midgley condescended to attend to him. The concerts were not very successful either at Newark or at Nottingham where the mayor had said to Dibdin, 'I

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1. Doubleday Scrap Book. Nottm. Central Library, undated newspaper cutting.

2. Thoroton Soc. Transcriptions. XXX (1926), p.44.

3. H. Hampton Copnall, County Records from 17th Century, 1915, p.53.

4. *ibid*, p. 53.

hope you don't come wuth drums and trumpets, I don't want a hubbub in the town.' And he gave permission for Dibdin to hire the rooms only on being assured that the concert wouldn't 'corrupt the morals of the 'prentices and work-folk.' 'Those were the days when the mayor of a town like Nottingham thought it beneath his dignity to know anything about music and entertained a shrewd suspicion that no-one could be a musician if he were not an idle fellow with a taste for vagabondage and bad morals.'<sup>1</sup>

It seems that the inter-relationship between all levels of the populace and all levels of music which was so intermixed and enjoyed in the days before the Puritans was never to return and that although music played such a large part in the lives of many of the people in the days before the Industrial Revolution, there was a division between the standards of music enjoyed by the ordinary people and the recognition of professional standards by the educated classes. It might be possible to prove that the decline of the church bands was not so much a decline in the standard of playing, but rather a less tolerant attitude towards amateur musicianship by the more knowledgeable members of the community. The greater contacts with the cities resulting from the spread of the railways not only took families to the town, but brought back new ideas and standards to the rural areas.

This is of course, a generalisation, and not enough work has been undertaken to allow any firm statements to be made, but it seems that the social reasons for the change in relationships between the musicians and their audience must be studied if a greater understanding of the effect upon traditional music in the

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1. Firth, Highways and Byways of Nottinghamshire, 1916, p. 402.

nineteenth century if the critical attitudes of clergy, educated middle-classes and, most importantly, the collectors, is to be gained.

It would be wrong to assume that the punitive measures to suppress certain types of music have ever been entirely successful. In fact it may well be that adverse conditions have been important in preserving songs and tunes by forcing them underground, and the music we now know as 'traditional' may owe its title and life to the enforced application of the oral tradition, or the 'culture of the Peasantry'. Again this is too simple an explanation as it does not take into consideration the inter-relationship between the oral and broadside traditions, which disseminated songs among the populace, and collected material from oral sources for printing and wider distribution. So at times songs came from the town to the country and at others from the country to the town.

To return to Nottinghamshire and the complexities of the village bands. We know that both Lowdham and East Bridgford had bands and both had galleries for the use of the players; in East Bridgford we can date the building of the gallery accurately from the gap in the marriage register when the church was out of use in the autumn of 1778.<sup>1</sup> Mention is also made of a gentleman who played the flute in the band in the early nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Lowdham Church warden's Accounts of 1787 pay of £1-1-0 for two 'Howboys', (oboes).<sup>3</sup> It is mentioned in the Transactions of the Thoroton Soc. that East Bridgford had vestiges 'of a gallery for choir-boy angels and Psalm-Sunday Ceremony and Mystery Plays

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1. East Bridgford Marriage Register.

2. De Bouley Hill, History of East Bridgford, 1932, p. 188.

3. Lowdham Churchwardens accounts, Local Records Office, PR 1777.

in the Church'.<sup>1</sup> This was more probably referring to the rood loft over the entry to the chancel than to the gallery at the west end of the church.

Although we have little formal information concerning the band at East Bridgeford, the nearby village of Woodborough may give us a clearer picture of the type of institution in East Bridgeford. In 1796 William Edge made charitable provision for twenty shillings yearly to the poor and a like amount to the 'singers' of Woodborough.<sup>2</sup> Again we must read, 'singers' as a mixed band of vocal and instrumental performers. The Rev. Walter E. Buckland wrote an account of the Woodborough Choir in 1897 and, although he does not disclose his source of information, it seems so detailed that he may have obtained it from a past member of the Choir.

'Tradition has it that there was a blue gallery or loft under the tower in which the choir was placed. The Choir consisted of four violins, John and Alfred Marriot, James Donelly and another; 2 bass-violis, William Seardison and John Ragstall; one cornet, Joseph Bagulay; one flute; John Hind; 2 Trombones; Samuel Gretton and another and about 20 singers.....They used to sing part music which was copied by Joseph Leaf and music purchased with the proceeds of an annual Oratorio and could 'crack off the Hallelujah Chorus' better than the present choir and organ.'<sup>3</sup> Lowdham church band entrusted Garves' cousin William Reddish with £2-1-6 'to pay for some music' in 1809<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Thoroton Society Transactions XIX pp. 53-4.

2. White's Directory of Nottinghamshire, 1844, p. 558.

3. Rev. Walter E. Buckland. History of Woodborough Church, 1897, p.35.

4. Lowdham Churchwardens Accounts, Local Records Office, PR 1777.



The inclusion of the Hallelujah Chorus in Woodborough's annual concert again links the internal and external work of the band. The popularity of the works of Handel was universal in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and spread through all levels of musical performance. Oratorios were heard in Nottingham; 'A Handel Concert' was given at the St. Mary's Gate Theatre in May 1766<sup>1</sup> and in 1772 a Musical Festival was held in the same place and included Judas Maccabaeus and Samson, both by Handel<sup>2</sup>. The Reddish Ms. includes a two-part version of 'Handles Water Piece' (sic,) indicating that East Bridgford like Woodborough performed some concerts and the band included at least two members of the Reddish family.<sup>3</sup>

Although we might expect the Reddish family to attend concerts in Nottingham it seems likely that they would have patronised the performances in Southwell or Bingham. Music had always been prominent in the life of Southwell as the Minister had managed to retain its Song School throughout the Puritan troubles and in the following centuries the music of the minster gave an incentive for many musically interested people to live in the town. We may conclude that if a small village like Woodborough had its yearly Oratorio performances the standard at Southwell would have been considerably higher, although even Southwell had its low points. In Puritan times the standard of its choir and organ had fallen so low that a local man, Gervase Lee of Norwell, rashly satirised the Southwell Choir;

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1. Nottingham Journal Advert. May 1776, from Doubleday Scrap Book.
  2. Thoroton Society Transaction XXXII, 1928, p. 40.
  3. Reddish Ms. pp. 51-52, 73-74.

Again they have taken up 3 or 4 song men,  
Some of them little and some of them long men,  
All at the black pot wond'rous strong men,  
But the very worst voices that e'er came among men.

Again, their fine organist whom they so bray on,  
Blue points to his breeches, with never a tag on,  
That once in a year puts not a whole rag on,  
Playing Sellingers Round to us for a small flagon.<sup>1</sup>

Hardly great verse, but it conveys his disgust at standards and indicates that the organist could play at least one traditional dance tune!

If we assume that the church band in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was mainly self-educated, the question may be asked as to the source of material for their education and improvement. Nottingham printers produced several books in the 18th century particularly aimed at the amateur musician. In 1715 Daniel Robinson wrote An Essay on vocal music, wherein is amply and clearly demonstrated by Rule and Example, whatever is nec. for the attainment of the science.....intended for the use & benefit of altrue lovers of divine music.<sup>2</sup> Also in 1715, the work of John and James Green was printed in Nottingham, A collection of Choice Psalm-Tunes....composed by the best masters with contra and treble in the same cliffe sic that the tenor is in.<sup>3</sup>

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1. John Granby, Church Music in old Notts. undated but poss. 1935. newspaper article in Double-day scrap book.
  2. Printed by John Collyer. 3. Cresswell, History of Printing in Notts. p.p. 14-16.

The usual psalm and anthem books and the resulting manuscript music books used in the mixed bands and choirs are the same for both instruments and voices; therefore the instructions given for the voices were often applicable to the instrument players, and the general structure and theory of music was common to both. The four-part church music of the time carried the melody in the tenor line with two supporting harmonies higher than the tenor, and one below. When the parts were allocated to the musical instruments available, the pitch and volume of the instrument, as well as the ability of the player would govern the choice of line played.

In 1728 appeared The Excellent Use of Psalmody; with a course of singing psalms for half a year, and included A pathway to vocal music. The author may have been Rd. Willis of Mount Street; the second edition was printed by George Ayscough of Nottingham.<sup>1</sup> More readily available to the poor man would have been the single sheet named the Gamut of Music.<sup>2</sup> On it was compressed the whole of the theory of Music; it was produced in Nottingham by Joseph Heath, c. 1763-1773, and probably enjoyed a considerable circulation and popularity.

Books on music were treasured possessions in some households and we may assume that although the eighteenth century produced a large number of psalm books and books of anthems and hymns, all with introductions to music included with them, and most self improving books contained sections on music, the older books continued to be used. Michael Turner was probably self-taught from books already in his family or bought by him second-hand. They included

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1. Cresswell, opp.cit. pp. 22-23.

2. Nottingham Central Library, Local History Collection.

a copy of John Playford's 1665 edition of the Dancing Master, Playford's Introduction to Music and Introduction to Playing on the Viol, and on the treble violin, and Thomas Campion's Art of Descant, all of 1664.<sup>1</sup>

In many cases the musical education of the village musicians went beyond the art of reading music into the next stage; the ability to copy accurately and with understanding. This stage is clearly seen in the many manuscript music books from this period, and in the Reddish Manuscript.

The final stage of musical literacy was reached when the musician was capable of writing music from hearing it played and writing down his own compositions. It is again of interest to note that many of the church band composers were of the working-class; John Newton of Sneinton, Nottingham was a lace maker or twist hand, and his hymn-tunes became nationally known.<sup>2</sup> In Sussex, James Nye, born in 1822 worked as a gardener and wrote hymn-tunes as well as making musical instruments for bands at Ditching, Falmer, Kingston and Ashcombe.<sup>3</sup>

The ability to copy church music overflowed into the other activities of the band and music for concerts and band parts for marches and dance tunes found their way into the repertoires of bands and individuals, often being written in the same book as the psalms and anthems, sometimes even interspersed with them. The newspapers of the period contain frequent references to performances being

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1. West Sussex Records Office 203/3/39, quoted from Traditional Music IV, p.19.

2. John Granby, Non-Conformist Music in Notts. Newspaper cutting, Dec. 1935, Doubleday scrap book.

3. Sussex Archaeological Society Library.

given by bands and choirs in aid of charity or towards their own upkeep. Most concerts were held in the supper-room of concert rooms attached to the local inn, and in many places the traces of these rooms may still be seen, often let to the weekly folk-club.

The performances were often ambitious, and although we cannot know the standard reached, the works undertaken before 1800 seem more serious and demanding than one would expect from the type of church band castigated by writers and clergy in the mid nineteenth century. One example may be given - by 1830 Horsham in Sussex had a town band which was the successor to the church band, and was referred to as having a limited repertoire including the tune Rory O'More<sup>1</sup>, but in 1795 the Sussex Advertiser writes 'Last week the Gentlemen of the Choir and band at Horsham gave a concert for the relief of the poor of that place and a considerable amount of money was raised'.

The following month the newspaper is even more explicit:

"At the Anchor Inn for the benefit of the poor of Horsham on Mon. the 4th of Jan. 1796 will be performed (gratis) by the Horsham Choir and Band a concert of vocal and instrumental music.  
Act 1. Overture - Slamily (Semele?); Military piece - Handel;  
Here in Cold Grot - a glee - four voices; Military Piece - Handel;  
The seige of Gibraltar - a Solo Song; Duet - Two Clarinets; Solo on Concert Bells - accompanied.  
Act 2. Overture - Haydn; Glee; Military Piece - Smart; Hare and Brare(?) - Curtis; a Duet; Soldier Tir'd of War's Alarms - Military Piece; Jack in his Element - Solo Song.

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1. Henry Burstow, Reminiscences of Horsham, p.50.

Act 3. Overture - Slamily (sic.); The Mariners (a glee) three voices; Military Piece - Dr. Arne; Catch 3 voices; Rule Britannia, God Save the King."

Lucy Broadwood, in a letter to MacDermott<sup>1</sup> states that both her mother, born in Norfolk in 1815 and her father, born in Lyne, near Ruspur, in 1811, describe 'the agonising noises produced by the village church bands and choirs. The effect was beyond words ludicrous and nerve-wracking. So, sad to say - their disappearance may be for the best.' The adverse comments on church bands tended to come from the educated listeners, clergy and middle-class members of the congregations. In MacDermott's books the comments of the band members or their children may be ringed with humour, but they are, on the whole, complimentary towards the zeal, effort and achievements of their bands.<sup>2</sup>

The dance music and military music (marches etc.) included in many of the manuscript books examined, contain the same types of instrumental music found in the Reddish Manuscript. The quick steps were so numerous at the end of the 18th century that they were frequently left untitled<sup>3</sup>, and the same may be said of quick and slow marches. The Welch, Shoosmoth, Turner and Aylmour Manuscripts contain several tunes in common, and some tunes in these Sussex books are also to be found in the Reddish Manuscript. The Sussex Mss. are an interesting mixture of traditional dance tunes such as Speed the Plough, Money Musk, The Flowers of Edinburgh, etc., with examples of hornpipes, quicksteps, minuets, waltzs and many examples of composed classical tunes from the Continent. These include from the Welch Ms., La Bell; German; Spaw, (Spohr); The Bellistce

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1. MacDermott's Scrapbook, S.A.S. Library, Lewes.

2. See also Ralph Whitlock, A Family & a Village. & S. Baring-Gould, Old Country Life.

3. Welch Ms. 1800. Shoosmith Ms. 1820; Aylmour Ms. 1796. S.A.S. Library Lewes & Michael Turner Mss. West Sussex Archives.

(Bellistre) March; Tekile; Copenhagen Waltz; Fall of Paris, The Tanke; Richers (Richter's) Hornpipe; Del Caro's Hornpipe, and many more showing signs of Continental origins. The Reddish Manuscript shows the same integration of traditional and recognisably composed tunes. Minuet Dillacore should read Minuet De La Court, and the Downfall of Paris is the English military version of the French tune Ca Ira. Holsom Kamp remains a mystery but may be related to the influx of foreign tunes, often mis-spelled, seen in the Sussex collections. Perhaps it is relevant to note that at this time many of the non-commissioned officers in the British Army were Germans and they may have been partially responsible for changes in military band music which filtered down to the village musician.

The speed at which tunes spread around the country could form the subject for a most interesting piece of research but accurate dating of both manuscript and printed material would be necessary before any constructive work would be possible. In the Reddish Manuscript we are lucky enough to know that Garves did not write in the book until after John had married and left home in 1803, nor after 1805, so that the inclusion of Crophis (Croppies) Lie Down,<sup>1</sup> written in the book by Garves, suggests that the tune was current in Nottinghamshire between 1803 and 1805, indicating a rapid movement of the tune from Ireland or from military units stationed there, if we date the tune from 1798, the year of the rebellion which brought up the name 'Croppie Boys'.

Such close dating as this would be of great value in researches into tune dates, but is not often available; the different

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1. Reddish Ms. p. 74

hands in the Reddish Ms. make the task of dating works current in East Bridgford easier than in other manuscript collections and form a valuable aid to this research.

The rural communities under investigation could be expected to be too poor to support professional music and so that the enthusiasts would have to be content with their own abilities, or make the effort to visit larger villages or towns where there were performances by better amateur musicians or visiting professionals might be giving concerts. Similarly tuition by professionals would not be common and the musical knowledge of the community would be pooled through the work of the band.

It seems clear that the 'composed' or 'classical' music which forms part of the general repertoire of most of the bands came to them through printed material available in sheet music form; music books, often issued in weekly parts<sup>1</sup>; or music printed in magazines. Some of the dance tunes would come through similar ways<sup>2</sup>.

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1. Advertisement in the Nottingham Journal. August 14th, 1784.  
German Flute Music.

New monthly magazine to consist of Complete Operas, and all other favourite works, of the most famous British, Italian, German, French and other composers. On a plan of Elegance, Cheapness, Uniformity and Accuracy, Similar to that of the celebrated New Musical Magazine for the Voice, Harpsichord and Violin etc.. Price One Shilling. Printed by Harrison and Co. No. 18 Paternoster Row, London, and sold by Mr. Burbage and Son, Printer of this paper, Allin and Tomlinson, Newark, Oscroft, Mansfield; Curtis, Worksop; T. White, Chesterfield; Pearson, Sheffield and Allen, Grantham. Dr. Arnold's Opera, 'Two to One', published in the first number.

2. The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, printed by R. Baldwin, at the Rose, Paternoster Row; from 1733, printed a song & a dance tune in each monthly number. In February, 1757 was printed A New Song beginning 'Gay Damon long study'd my heart to obtain....' and mentioning Valentines Day. Also printed was a New Country Dance, called Irish Hero or Blackeney for ever. This appears to have been taken directly from Johnson, 200 Country Dances, 1750, p.34 Tune 68.



If a book of tunes came into the area it would be simple for some to be copied directly by the musically literate players, or learned through the playing of others by those unable to read music, thereby bringing more tunes into the oral tradition and allowing them to develop and change through oral communication. This double life of dance tunes has had a long history in Great Britain and documentation of Manuscript tune books has been widely undertaken in Scotland where the rural player seems to have had a longer and more continuous life than in parts of England<sup>1</sup>. Although many tune books exist in Scotland, the tunes have been complicated by the variations and scope of the musical instruments used in their playing. The technical differences between the bagpipes and the fiddle have caused the development of separate repertoires and some tunes have two forms which are hardly recognisable from the original common source. England shares the fiddle with Scotland as a popular folk instrument, but the widespread popularity of the German or transverse flute probably supplanted the midland bagpipe as the popular wind instrument. By the beginning of the 18th century the bagpipe is rarely mentioned in the midlands or the south of England, although remnants of a widespread tradition lingered on in Lincolnshire perhaps until the late 19th century.

The similarities of the fiddle and the flute make it difficult to recognise the popularity of one over the other and we must again turn to church records to form any statistics. The best guide comes from Sussex, where the analysis of church band instruments known to MacDermott gives 68 violins, 61 flutes, plus 54 clatinetts, 28 bassoons and 47 'cellos or bass-violts.<sup>2</sup> In Nottinghamshire we

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1. Mss. Tune books in Aberdeen Univ. Lib. Edinburgh. Univ. Lib., Glasgow Mitchels Lib. see also. George S. Emmerson. *Ranting Pipe & Tremblin String*. London 1971. David Johnson, *Music & Society in Scotland in 18th century*. OUP. 1972.

2. K.H. MacDermott. *'Sussex Church Music of the Past*. Appendix.

have slight records of both flutes and fiddles being used and as late as 1965 the Lambley church flute was sold, having been in the village since the band died in the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Clark of Kirkby in Ashfield writes in his diary early in the 19th century that he bought and sold flutes until he found one that suited him; he also writes of travelling to Southwell for musical entertainments and of his self-education in literature and music<sup>2</sup>. There is a hint that Simon Reddish played the flute, in the songs he copied from sheet music, those songs with musical accompaniment, he gives only one line of melody with an instrumental introduction and conclusion. If the sheet music of the late 18th century is examined, it will be seen that in the main part of the sheet, the song is given with treble and bass clef accompaniment suitable for piano or related instrument or group of instruments, but on the back cover of the music, the first verse and tune, with introduction is given again, transposed into the most suitable key for the flute. It is this single stave version that Simon includes in his Ms.

The two part music of John is written in the treble cleff and would seem to indicate that here we have two parts from a four part setting, the lower part and one of the other accompanying parts being played by other members of the band, written out in another Ms. book.

Printed music was available to the dance music player of the time in the form of small, closely written books containing as many as 200 tunes, melody line only, which were generally a mixture of traditional and more recently composed tunes. The type of book is still available today in Scotland where the firm of Kerr in Glasgow

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1. Conversation with the Vicar of Lambley.

2. Notts. Local Records Office - DDWD - 102 (1780-1802)

continues to print 19th century books of Merry Melodies for the Violin. In the Sussex collection is vol. III of Thompson's complete Collection of 200 fav. Country Dances. Printed prior to 1780 it claims to be arranged for violin, German flute and haytboy, indicating the common music for both fiddle and flute. A development in popular musical instruments may be indicated by the title page of an early 19th century series of tune books: The Musical Casket is written for flute violin, flageolet, cornopean and accordeon with semi-tones. Therefore, it is impossible to say from examination of manuscript which instruments were played by the Reddish family; it is only a guess that they had at least one flute in the family. We now know that Gerves was a fiddle player<sup>1</sup>. Equally difficult to state is the source from which they copied the tunes and dances in the Ms. Most are to be found in tune-books of the time, but not enough tunes have been seen in any one book to indicate that the family had access to that book. It is possible that the tunes came from other manuscript collections and that some of the spelling mistakes were made before the Reddish family made the copies. If this is true, it speaks well for the accuracy of the copying, for there are few mistakes. Some of the tunes which have not been identified may be hiding behind new titles, or titles other than those in common use at the time. This is a common feature of dance music where the tune may alter its title when it is used for a song and gains the title of the song in common usage, or the early name is forgotten and someone renames it after the person heard playing it. One example of this title-swapping habit is seen in the tune written down by Garves and called by him "Murphy Delancy. It should read Murphy Delaney, but Garves is idiosyncratic in his spelling so

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1. Verbatim report of Mrs. Strutt, his grand-daughter.

that the c for e is not unexpected. As Murphy Delaney the tune enjoyed nearly 100 years of popularity as the vehicle for a humorous stage Irish song; and this title seems to have been more widely used in tune-books than the original Irish tune title The Priest in his Boots. This in turn is a corruption of an earlier tune, probably Scottish, called The Priest and his Books.<sup>1</sup> The mistakes in tune titles seen in the Reddish Ms. seem to be mostly mistakes of hearing and it is interesting to speculate the possibility that the mistakes were made by someone else and copied down from another Ms. as it were 'warts and all'.

In the search for the pattern of life of the ordinary rural worker prior to the 19th century, the personal statements and selection of songs seen in the Reddish Ms. have an importance which is difficult to gauge. Simon, John and Garves are moulded by their background as others were moulded before them and still others since. It is perhaps surprising that Simon and his sons reflect the national scene, or at least the scene of the midlands and the south of England, in so many ways. The picture of the north of England in this period may be very closely related, but because availability of material to me, the bulk of the research for this thesis has been limited to the midlands and south of the country.

If Simon, John and Garves reflect their age then it should be possible to show comparisons between their collected work and the outlook of writers of the same period. So it would seem that John Reddish and John Clare, the rural muse, might have some common attributes, and that the better documented life of John Clare might

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1. See notes on the song on p. 153

help us to understand John Reddish and his outlook on life. John Reddish and John Clare seem to have shared the same type of upbringing and certain similarities may be seen between the Reddish Mss. and the writings of John Clare, and other items belonging to his family in the collection in Northampton Library. Both men were brought up with fathers who sang and played fiddle or flute. John Clare collected songs from his parents and compiled or helped to compile dance tune books and grew up with a consciousness of his changing environment through the same pressures of enclosure that John says at East Bridgford and heard of from the family's downfall at Lowdham. John Clare relied upon his background to furnish him with ideas for his writing of poetry and prose and his style and word patterns owe much to the traditional songs and ballads which were in common use in his early life. The Reddish Ms. may be related to the work of John Clare through parallels of culture and stimulus rather than through similarities of creative writing. We have no evidence of John Reddish's ability to write prose, his collection is a reflection of his time and his interests, but we may compare some of Simon's prose with John Clare. Simon could express emotion in the line 'He ronged me of that mill old Lupton did'., which echoes the lyric qualities of John Clare in poems like How Hot the Sun Rushes.

John Clare reacted in the same way as Simon over the enclosure act. Where Simon could only express his sense of injustice in a few lines in his Day Book, John Clare produced some of his best poems decrying the changes in his own countryside after the seemingly cataclismic act of enclosure. The prose writing of John Clare uses

the speech patterns of his neighbourhood and these appear very closely related to the indications we have of Nottinghamshire speech patterns of the time. In this way the prose writings of Simon Reddish and John Clare are of value as they write as they speak; their work has not been 'tidied up' for publication, re'written to reach a predetermined standard. Their sentence construction and feeling for word order seems to be nearer the style seen in earlier ballads and songs and although it cannot be stated that they are writing in ballad metre yet echoes of earlier speech patterns may be found in them. For example, Simon writes one of his longest prose passages concerning an event which must have made a great impression on the village.

'Memorandum concerning the very Floody Spring  
in 1782 April 25 a great flood May 17 a great flood  
May 22 on Whitsun Wednesday a great flood And a great  
many Very heavy showers besides doth fall most days and  
are Intermixt with Very Cold weather perdigious Cold  
and bad for the time of year as ever yet was known'

The use of earlier speech patterns among families is still seen in the 20th century and owes much of its traditional strength to the influence of grand parents upon the education of small children. The common habit of a grandmother bringing up grandchildren while the mother worked in the fields or in another part of the home, was a normal practice until the middle of the present century in many rural areas and in some industrial, urban areas also. The speech patterns of the grandparents would be implanted in the mind of a young child in the formative years before five, and in a stable

community would not need to be altered. More importantly, the grandparents had more time to talk to their grandchildren, as with age they became less mobile and their thinking more retrospective, the grandchildren benefitted from the story telling and song singing which played an important part in the job of entertaining and keeping the grandchildren under control.

It might be said that the speech patterns of the children reflected those of their grandparents rather than those of their parents, and that traditional culture leap-frogged generations. Many ghost stories which would be frowned upon by parents were, and are told by grandparents from the stories heard in their own youth often prefaced by the warning not to tell parents. Songs and rhymes which might not have met the approval of parents were gleefully learned from grandparents and the secrecy of prohibited knowledge delighted both generations. The four versions of a naughty rhyme collected by me from four different parts of the country were all acquired by the singers from grandparents under just the circumstances noted above<sup>1</sup>.

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1.        There was a highland soldier at the battle of Waterloo  
            The Wind blew up his petticoat and showed his doodle doo,  
            His doodle doo was dirty (or Hairy) he showed it to the Queen  
            The Queen she gave him sixpence to go and wash it clean  
            (or go and paint it green).

In my own family many tag-lines from ballads long forgotten and out dated sayings are still retained in the speech patterns of older members of the maternal family<sup>1</sup> and the same speakers use words and similies which have been out of general use since the 19th century. The relative ease with which they read Sir Walter Scott, early ballads and even Chaucer owes much to this widened traditional vocabulary.

If Simon constructed his speech in the way he constructed his written work, then it might be expected that John and Garves used the same patterns, and, as with John Clare, this was the natural speech of the area.

We know from John Clare's library some of the material read by him, and it is significant that some of his books were collections of traditional ballads. We do not know what John Reddish read apart from the ballads included in the Ms. but we can see from the writings of both men that they had certain interests in common. John Reddish writes out a collection of Valentines; John Clare wrote several poems relating to Valentines and even re-wrote one of the more common valentines in one of his poems.

In *The Crow on the Willow*<sup>2</sup>, John Clare uses the pattern of many of the ploughboy songs popular at the time; John Reddish reflects this popularity in including three songs called *Pretty Ploughboy*. *The Crow on the Willow* shows some relationship to another ballad collected

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1. Examples include, 'He'll never go down to the broom nae mair;  
Brattles of thunder; Loaded like a cuddy with creals on, and  
raking the wind (a gossiping session).

2. John Clare, Selected Poems and Prose, Ed. Eric Robinson, p.229.



by John Reddish. Although the length of the verse is different, the beginning of each verse is close to the metre of John Reddish's recruiting song, the Ligh Cock ade, the song he noted as 'Good song - short metre'.

Compare - Early one summers morning  
I tript the dewey grass  
I had no thought of listing  
Till the soldiers did me press.

with I love my love a bonny lass  
She keeps her pails so bright  
And blythe she trips the dewey grass  
At morning and at night

Or O now my love is listed  
And wears a Light Cockhaid  
He is a handsome young man  
Besides a Roving blade.

With My love is young and handsome  
As any in the town  
She's worth a Ploughman's ransom  
In the drab cotton gown.

Surely at the back of John Clare's mind must have been the memory of the earlier ballad coupled with the tunes of short-metre hymns popular at the time.

His prose account of the Old Farmer and the Vicar<sup>1</sup> writes of the way of life in a community very like that of Lowdham or East Bridgford, mentioning harvest homes at which the old farmer was encouraged to sing his three songs.

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1. John Clare, p.73.

We know that John Clare collected the song The Winter it is Past from his father and the same song is written out twice by John Reddish in his collection. As the first copy is correct we may suppose that John Reddish was particularly fond of the song.

If much of John Clare's strength came from his sense of identity with his locality, his awareness of the physical landscape in which he grew up, his direct approach to the natural elements and his reaction to changes in the course of established practice - we know he read Tussor's Husbandry - then it may be said that John Reddish and his father were conscious of the same element in their lives and that this consciousness affected their choice of material. John Reddish might have left more impression of the community in which he lived if he had not died in his early thirties. We can only think that he was probably forced to forgo his songs and ballads in the struggle to support his wife and children. He did not teach his son to write and we can only wonder if he found time to sing to his children when they were very young and he was still with them.

There is little evidence to show that Simon, John and Garves were unique in their musical activities and it must be assumed that they had no more and no less musical stimulus than was available to other of their time and situation. As has been described, the impetus and enthusiasm of the church band were a widespread stimulus to musicians and can be related to the instrumental and serious music of the period. The relationship of the bands to the folk songs, ballads and popular songs of the period is a more complex problem and involves questions of literacy and the oral tradition in relation to the transmission of songs.

It would seem that our present attitude to the singing of the 18th and early 19th century owes most to the attitude of collectors in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Without wishing to underestimate the importance of their work, the present generation of collectors reflect both the good and bad aspects of the earlier generation of scholars.

The importance of the oral tradition in composing, selecting, enlarging, re-writing and generally placing the stamp of the community upon songs has been discussed for over a century and still seems to be inconclusive in attempts to categorise and systematise the process by which a song is made acceptable as an oral transmission. We are more fortunate than the nineteenth century collectors in that the present climate of research, with its easier access to printed and Mss. sources through the work of others and the communication of photocopying, gives greater insight to the relationship of printed and oral transmission of songs and ballads over some four centuries. The miracle of the tape recorder has done much to further the field work of collectors; the act of selection is no longer in the hands of the collector when in front the singer, he may record an evening's singing and analyse the results at his leisure. Even so, it would seem that a barrier has grown in the minds of students of folk-song, between the song from the oral tradition, untouched by the printed word, which is seen as the zenith of the folk-singer's art, and the broadside or songbook ballad which was cast aside by the collector as worthless.

However much we may owe to such collectors as Cecil Sharp, Sabine Baring-Gould, Lucy Broadwood and others of their generation,

it is still possible to wish that they had not laid such stress on oral transmission and that they had given more thought to the debt owed to the printed source and the literate singer. It would be greatly beneficial for us to know how these great collectors began their conversations with singers and to know the questions they asked. It seems clear that they did not ask if the singer had any of his father's or grandfather's song books in the house. The traditional village singer, illiterate, residing in the same village all his life, remembering the songs of the area in great detail, sometimes called a singing machine by his contemporaries, was the most desirable quarry of the collector; and it seems clear that the lead questions were angled towards finding this man, or less commonly, this woman. Certainly these singers existed and were great finds, but alongside them were other singers who were as valuable to the musical life of the community. These singers were of several types; they might lead a completely double life using literacy in their usual work but having a store of songs acquired from oral sources and never seen in printed or Ms. form<sup>1</sup>; they might be singers who collected together favourite songs from the singing of others, wrote them down, but were conscious that they were known in printed form<sup>2</sup>; they might inherit song books and manuscripts from parents or other relations and use these as 'aide memoires' for taking on the family repertoire, or again, they might be singers who were willing and able to buy songs they could and combine these with those already in the family.

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1. Mrs. Brown of Falkirk is always given as the prime example of this type - see David Buchan 'The Ballad & the Folk'.

2. Reddish Mss. 'A new song'.

It is interesting to note that the attitude of the collectors had an effect upon the singers. It is easy to see that the word would spread quickly among rural singers that there was more to be gained in prestige (and drink) if a singer fell into the type being searched for by the collector and it seems clear that this attitude was seen by Bob Thompson in his long association with Harry Cox. Over the years Bob Thompson collected over 100 ballads and songs from Harry, who denied that any of his material came from printed sources. During the last two visits made to Harry before he died, he produced a collection of notebooks, cuttings and songsters. Although his own repertoire may not have owed much to this collection, coming, it is thought, from broadsides via earlier singers, his attitude to and suppression of the written collection must have been a reflection of the ideas inculcated by collectors<sup>1</sup>.

The words printed on a broadside or in a songbook may become fixed through a line of oral transmission and small details which would seem much too insignificant for a singer to transmit may continue to be passed from singer to singer. For example, a cousin of my mother's, in north Northumberland, sang a song for me which she had orally from her uncle, who in turn obtained it from an older relation's singing. The song, a duet between a ploughboy and his girl, beginning, 'One day while working at my plough...', was found in broadsides until the middle of the nineteenth century but not later, as far as can be ascertained. On the broadside copies seen, the word 'certain' in the line, 'Oh John your certain well to do' was printed in italics and written 'sarten', indicating broadening of the rural dialect. In the collected version from Northumberland, the singer

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1. Folk Music Journal 1973 p.320 & personal conversation with Bob Thompson.

greatly emphasised 'certain' and pronounced it as 'sarten' retaining the printed version in all but two or three words.<sup>1</sup>

This tendency to treat words as sacred has caused many collectors to feel that the influence of the broadside killed the folk song by not allowing the singer to select and develop a song. On reflection the situation is not as simple as it would seem. The singer may not know that the song had ever been in print, and by retaining the words as heard may be paying tribute to an older singer. It may be that the singer feels that he cannot improve upon the song as he learnt it and by continuing to sing it, and by passing it on to other singers is bringing it into the oral tradition.

With equal frequency, the singer may alter the words, verses and even the meaning of a song to suit his own needs.<sup>2</sup> He may even do this unconsciously, believing he is transmitting exactly what he has heard or read. This can be seen in the present folk song revival; songs I gave to people 10 years ago have altered considerably when heard again, but the singer generally feels that he is singing exactly what was given to him. It is difficult to know which attitude is to be condemned: one way of singing a song seems as valid to the folk singer as the other.

So the difficulties in understanding the Reddish Ms. are made more complex by our own backgrounds and prejudices built upon the tradition of collecting laid down by the late Victorians and by their attitudes towards song lyrics forced upon them by the public tastes and more of Victorian times. Because of the difficulties experienced

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1. From the singing of Mrs. Jeanine Grahamslow, Eglingham, Northumberland.
  2. Localisation of songs, through placename changes, i.e. Swaledale singers change 'Rowlands Gill' to Rowley Gill in Tyneside Music Hall, song, 'Wor Nany's Amazer' & replace one dialect with another.

by the collectors in gaining acceptance for the texts to be printed, they were forced to edit or re-write many sets of words, therefore to relate 18th century texts to those collected a century later, it is necessary to study the field note-books of the collectors rather than the material they put into print. Even the notebooks may be unreliable; if they felt the words sung were unacceptable to their own standards of decency they were known to omit verses or whole texts. Conversely, singers frequently felt that they could not sing certain songs before strangers; women collectors have had particular trouble with singers with-holding songs. Sometimes it is possible to overcome the problem by swapping songs and introducing material containing ideas and words of the same type as the song requested; a technique more applicable to the 20th century than the 19th.

If the habit of editing and re-writing songs for publication owes most of its necessity to the tastes of the public, it may be partially influenced by the editorial techniques of the earlier Scottish collectors prominently represented by Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott, who, although giving much to the public through their printed collections, cause confusion by improving the songs collected from rural singers.

The direct approach of 18th century singers to subjects (See notes on the Winter it is past) which became taboo in polite society in the 19th century and have been recovered in our own times. It is probable that the men continued singing certain songs in their own company after the mixed company singing had abandoned them. The influence upon standards by the school teacher and the vicar must be recognised, they felt it their duty to educate the children in more modern ways of behaving, and pressurised the children into abandoning their traditional ways of speaking and singing and tried to change

their way of thinking from the standards which had existed for several centuries. The gap left by this suppression of traditional music was recognised and the National Song Book was introduced, followed by Cecil Sharp's Folk Songs For Schools. Other song books had been used in the mid 19th century, we know that Lowdham School, run by Henry Reddish, a relation of the earlier family, was using the Hullah Song Book<sup>1</sup>. As it contains some of the songs found in the Reddish Ms. it is interesting to think that these songs were heard again in the village.

The question of the importance of family song books seems to have been recognised but glossed over by writers as either unimportant or an embarrassment to the purity of the oral tradition<sup>2</sup>. We have seen that many of the church band Ms. contained both religious and secular music and some also contained song words and tunes, but not enough Mss. have been found to enable a clear picture to be drawn of the occurrence of triple contents. It would seem that the Ms. containing words to songs would have been both more common and less treasured than the ecclesiastical Mss. The Reddish Ms. and the Song Books of the Copper Family<sup>3</sup> in Sussex are of the same type although separated by 100 years. The difficulty in remembering an instrumental piece is considerably greater than the retention of a song tune where the words help the tune to be recalled. The easiest of all to retain are the ballads where the natural inflexions of the words have given rise to the tune, but most songs can be recalled with the first verse.

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1. John Hullah. The Song Book.

2. See, A song for all Seasons, Bob Copper.

3. A.L. Lloyd. Folk Songs in England, p.27. Traditional Music No. 4.



The first collections of songs I made at the age of 10 years were in the form of the first verses of songs only, and tunes from that time or earlier can still be recalled by reading the verse. Therefore, the literate singers would see no difficulty in retaining a tune providing he had the words to act as an 'aide memoire'. Similarly, the habit of leaving particular songs to particular singers is still common in rural communities today and there is every reason to think that the habit was widespread. So, when father died his son could be expected to take on his father's songs and sing them in his turn. In the case of the literate singer the family song books would be used to polish the texts which he had heard but not sung in his father's lifetime. I found the tradition still in use in Swale Dale several years ago. One song was known to exist but no singer would sing it as it was considered to belong to one man only. He remained continually elusive; he seemed to be always out on the moors with his arthritis, two sticks and a shot gun looking for rabbits. When he died the song would be taken over by one of the other singers in the dale but until that time came they would not trespass on his singing territory. In the folk song revival the same reticence is seen in some clubs when permission is asked before a singer takes a song from another and it is quite common for permission to be refused.

We do not know how prevalent the custom was among 18th century singers, but we do know that tunes often changed names to commemorate a player so that it seems justifiable to think that songs were treated as the property of one singer and his family, in the same way.

Writers assume that most English folk singing was monodic in character, and developed from the story telling of the minstrels, but

the village singer of 1800 may have been more inclined to use the harmonies heard in church to augment the melody lines of some of his songs. The technique of the Copper family of singing harmonies is looked upon as non-traditional by some writers but it may be a direct link with the style of singing developed from the church bands.

It is perhaps significant that on the collecting trip to Swale Dale in December, 1971 the village band of Reeth, after playing carols in the church spent the remainder of the evening in the Inn opposite. The players numbered about 10, and they began by repeating the carols they had played in the church. The performance was a mixture of singing and playing; as one performer remembered a verse, he sang it in the part he had been playing; if he forgot the words he resumed playing. Therefore four-part singing and playing harmony continued throughout the carol, the balance between voices and instruments changing from verse to verse.

After the carols many other songs were sung, sometimes with the band instruments and sometimes without, but always using the pattern of four-part harmony used in the carols. The songs included local songs in praise of Swaledale, one of which was in strict waltz time, to 19th century favourites as Grandfather's Clock, The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill, and Nellie Dean. The mixture of religious secular and traditional songs was related to the time and place, but must have owed something to the influence of an earlier widespread tradition. At the time I was surprised by the un-self-conscious integration of voices, instruments and subject matter, but now, having looked at the probable traditions of the 18th and 19th

centuries, it seems a natural process and a most welcome reminder of a lost tradition. Perhaps in the areas where the church band was translated into a village band, i.e. where the musical impetus was great enough to allow musicianship to continue in the community, the singing traditions of the area also continued.

Nottingham seems to have lost most of her musicianship and musical life with the demise of the bands in the mid 19th century. Although this bald statement has exceptions, it may be supported by the lack of songs and tunes collected in the county in the present century. On collecting trips into rural areas over the last ten years, I have had no success in collecting songs but have been surprised at the considerable number of mumming plays and plough plays<sup>1</sup> which may be found in nearly every community visited. Why the oral tradition of these plays remains so strong while the songs have disappeared is a mystery and there seems little hope of finding an answer. It seems clear that the Reddish Ms. was compiled at a time when National and local musicians enjoyed a 'high spot' in self made music, and that the Reddish family reflect this trend. If their musicianship owes its training in part to the church band, then, although the songs came from outside this influence, the singers owed their enthusiasm to the atmosphere of music fostered by the activities of the band.

The songs of Simon come mainly from a higher social music strata than those of John and Garves. The songs tend to be composed songs mostly from the pen of Dibdin and Hook, two popular writers of the 18th. century, and they represent a popular song tradition of the time. It is thought that the same authors remained in favour

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1. See notes on 'The Light Cockade'. p.

with literate singers of the farmers and yeomen class throughout the nineteenth century. Many were to be found on the Pitt and Catnach broadsides and must have been known to a wide audience but they were most popular in the first few years of their life.

Baring Gould was most scathing towards this type of song in his introduction to Songs of the West, when in 1888 he undertook to collect the remaining fragments of folk song remaining in Devonshire. He writes 'I found that it was of little use going to most farmers and yeomen. They sang the compositions of Hooke, Hudson and Dibden'.<sup>1</sup> Cecil Sharp concludes that the traditional singer did not use this type of song, the popular songs of a still earlier period, 1800-1850, if they were ever sung by the peasantry, have long since been forgotten by them. Dibdin's songs for instance, have almost entirely disappeared. We only know one of them that is still sung in Somerset and Rev.S. Baring-Gould tells him that he has only heard two of them in Devon and Cornwall.

Baring-Gould's rejection of a class of singers because he believed that they only sang songs by writers of the class of Dibdin and Hook means that he was applying preconceived censorship which seems to have been the worst fault of the early collectors. In their struggle to take down only what they considered to be good they must have lost material which would have been of great value to scholars trying to form links between the 18th and 20th centuries.

In general terms Simon collected composed songs from printed sources, and, as he transcribed them with instrumental introduction and conclusion, probably for the flute, we may conclude that he

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1. S. Baring Gould. Songs of the West, 1889. Introduction

thought of them as songs to be performed with an accompaniment. It may have been to earn some extra money that encouraged Simon to copy the songs so carefully into his book; there would be a market for a singer or musician of this type in Southwell or the big houses in the area, and it is quite possible that he performed these and similar songs at functions in the neighbourhood. We cannot say where he obtained the printed material to copy, it is possible that he borrowed them from a wealthier friend. In his financial state it seems unlikely that the family could afford to spend money on printed music which was not yet being cheaply printed, and the very act of copying indicated temporary rather than permanent ownership.

In contrast to his father's songs only one of John's collection mentions authorship and none carry the tune with the words. John copied 'The Kings Picture, an answer to Abraham Newland by C. Dibdin Jr'. from a broadside or single sheet rather from the more expensive music of his father's songs. It is clear from the headings to most of John's songs that they are from the popular cheap song sheets of the time, for no matter how ancient a song might be, the printer hoped to gain more sales by calling it 'A New Song'.

It may be suspected from textual evidence that John did not see the actual broadsides and it is possible that he had to learn the songs by heart and then write them out at home. We cannot be sure that the mistakes in the Ms. have been made by John while learning the songs, or if they were made by the singer who taught them to him. Such serious errors as 'Her cherry cheeks and rubin

lips I had lossed the farmer's dye'<sup>1</sup>, in place of 'Her cherry cheeks and rubin lips had lost their former dye', could never have been made if John had seen the text for himself, nor has this mistake been seen in any of the printed versions of this very popular ballad. Many of the other spelling mistakes seem to indicate Nottinghamshire dialect and its pronunciation rather than stupidity.

It cannot be clear how John knew that certain songs carried the heading 'A New Song' if he was taking the song down from the singing of another. We can only surmise that he could have glanced at the printed version but was not allowed to borrow it from the owner, or the printed version may have been pasted up on a wall as was the intention for single sided sheets, but actually learned the song from a more accomplished singer. When the Reindeer Inn was partially rebuilt within the last two years it would have been possible and most rewarding to find broadsides under the layers of wallpaper in the oldest part of the Inn. Certainly it seems to have been the most popular meeting place for the villagers in John Reddish's day. Church meetings were held in comfort here in the winter and it may have provided a room for other village societies.

John's songs are nearly all to be found in collections of broadsides surviving from the late 18th and early 19th centuries and many continue throughout the broadside tradition. Several are still popular with singers today and others have enjoyed new life in the folk song revival of the last few years. It has not been

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1. Reyardine V.4. lines 5 & 6. R.Mss. p.86

possible to trace a small proportion of John's songs and although it seems likely that they reached the Ms. through the broadsides, it is just possible that they are original compositions. John was experienced enough in the type of song popular at the time to have been capable of writing in the same manner. It is more likely that the songs have not survived in either the oral or printed traditions and that this is merely an indication of their worth or lack of continuing relevance.

We have no indication in the Ms. of the tunes employed by John or Garves in their songs and if we had been in possession of the words to the songs alone, we might have been tempted to wonder if they had been copied for the word content with no thought of singing, but, as we know that the family were musicians, there is little doubt that the songs would have been sung not recited. It is often possible to trace the tunes which were likely to have been used in East Bridgford at the time. Some songs were written to fit existing tunes and other printed sources give the title of these tunes. These are often supported by the recovery of the song from oral transcriptions and when the tune is consistent from both sources it is practically certain that this would have been used by the Reddish family. If, however, a wide variety of tunes have been recovered to one set of words then it is impossible to say for certain which of the tunes was known to the early singers. In the notes the variety of tunes has been noted and on the tape the most likely has been selected. Other tunes may be completely unknown as the song has not been recovered from oral performances; in these cases it may have been possible to relate the song to a contemporary tune through the metre of the Song. Some songs are written in such

individualistic patterns of lines and stresses that only one tune or family of tunes could be used, and as more sets of words exist than tunes it is often expected to relate an unknown set of words to a known tune.<sup>1</sup>

Where the East Bridgford broadsides were printed and how they reached the rural areas of Nottinghamshire is not easy to answer. We know from the Mss. that the family was in the habit of visiting the Feasts<sup>2</sup> in their own and neighbouring villages and it is likely that the village festivities were also used to advantage by travelling stationers (persons selling small items of cheap print, chap books or broadsides). The nearness of Nottingham would suggest that the material on sale came from Nottingham printers but we have so little remaining evidence of the actual broadside production in Nottingham from before 1800 that it is difficult to draw conclusions. The Nottingham printers appear to have been more productive during the 19th century and it is possible that the booksellers of the town who supplied the sellers (running stationers, travelling stationers, chaunters or ballad singers as they were variously called), drew their material from the big printers in London or even Newcastle. It is of interest that most of the songs in the Ms. appear on the broadsides of Pitt of London. It may be that Pitt did not begin printing until after 1800<sup>3</sup> which would have made his output unlikely to have been available in Nottingham immediately he began and therefore outside the dates of the Ms. But if he had begun to print in London by about 1790 and this would be more easily related to the Mss.

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1. This argument is at the centre of an article in preparation relating John Bunyan's verses "He who would true valour..." to the original broadside which was used as a model & back to Vaughan Williams' tune for the Hymn. through oral developments of original tune & words.

2. Visits to feasts in Ms. . p. 14

3. Reddish Ms. . p. 88.



The version of 'Early one summer's morning....' given in the Ms. is related to the broadside printed in Newcastle and might indicate that the song had travelled south rather than north. With habits of re-printing and pirating common among broadside printers, we have no way of knowing if the song was brought from the north in printed form or re-issued by a local printer. One interesting link with the north which should not be ignored, is the possible influence upon local musicians and singers by the drovers bringing the cattle from the feeding grounds of the north of England and Scotland to the markets in London<sup>1</sup>.

Although the people south of Yorkshire referred to them as Scotch drovers many would have been from the north of England, and the Yorkshire term of 'North Britain' was much more suitable. Even when the cattle themselves came from Scotland, the drovers would be more likely to come from the North East as it was frequently the habit to send the cattle by stages, the drovers selling the cattle and returning north after approximately 1/3rd of the journey. Therefore, some of the Scottish drovers were likely to have sold their stock in Northumberland or Durham, the next set of drovers bringing the cattle through the midlands perhaps as far as Nottinghamshire and then selling to the drovers who took them to London. The drove roads came through the Nottinghamshire area; one branch appears to be through Newark to Leicester and another through Oxtun and Nottingham. The drovers coming through Newark seem likely to have been from the North East and would pass near

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1. J. Clare was also conscious of the drovers. See poem Valentines Day.

the village of East Bridgford bringing their music and song with them. In 1809 a Newark solicitor named Smart wrote to his friend Robert Lowe at Oxton telling him of the difficulties he had experienced in trying to find a Scottish bagpipe player, and that he had had the drovers coming through the town questioned to no avail. He finally found a retired highland soldier living in the town who could teach his servant Boot to play for his master<sup>1</sup>.

It is perhaps possible to imagine the drovers exchanging songs and tunes with the local musicians at the Reindeer and they may have had a significant influence upon the expansion of repertoires among local singers and instrumentalists. Evidence of the drovers and their influence is scant but it does indicate that this is an area of great interest which has not been investigated. The only two authors who have made any significant writings on the drovers seems to be K.J. Bonser and Alfred Stapleton.<sup>2</sup> Both hint that music was of great relevance to the travelling men who were unable to bring luggage with them but who might be able to have a musical instrument and a headfull of music and songs.

K.J. Bonser, who died two years ago, wrote an interesting book concentrating upon the droving routes in the north of Britain Wales and Norfolk thereby denying us information concerning Nottinghamshire. He quotes Packie Manus Byrne who wrote 'The Life of a Drover', an Irishman who worked until after the turn of the present century.

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1. Local Records Office. D.D.S.K. 220/4.

2. K.J. Bonser, The Drovers, p.20. & Alfred Stapleton, article in *Meat traders Journal*. 1900

'Every drover I've known (and ther's quite a few) was either a singer, musician or both. Traditional music and folk songs played an important part in our lives, it was almost a religion to us'.<sup>1</sup>

Packie Bryne's own song called Highways & Byeways or The Life of a Drover is worth quoting.

I am an old drover, I earn my pay,  
By tramping this country all over;  
With nowhere to stop at the end of the day,  
For that is the lofe of the drover.

Chorus:

And over the highways and byeways I plod,  
My clothes are all tattered, my feet are illshod,  
But there isn't a roadway that I haven't trod,  
Being forty-five summers a drover.

When the weather is raining, the journey is long,  
And the cattle get foot-sore and lazy,  
Then I help them along with an old droving song,  
And I hustle them careful and easy.

And when at the end Mr. Death comes around  
To tell me my days are all over,  
As they bury my bones six feet deep in the ground  
My ghost will appear as a drover<sup>2</sup>.

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1. K.J. Bonser, The Drovers, p.120.

2. Bonser, p.121.

Bonser also quotes, but does not give the source of, a taproom song called The Drover Grey - a song which might well have been found on a broadside of the day.

With a smiling face and a nod of head  
He chapped at the door and asked for a bed,  
Little thought my mother as 'Yes' she said,  
She'd rule the day at our house he lay.

Oh, the drover said that he'd wed me,  
But he changed his mind and married would not be  
It's little recked he what became of me,  
Deceived I was by the drover grey.

All the lads pass me without nod or say,  
And the girls go by they look t'other way,  
'Tis a pity', they say, 'that she did stray,  
Out for a walk with a drover grey.'

To our house came he again for a bed,  
His words were honey, but his thoughts I read,  
With a handy hammer I tapped his head -  
That was the end of the drover grey.

Chorus:

'Tis a fool I was that ever did,  
'Tis a fool I was that ever did,  
'Tis a fool I was that ever did,  
Go for a walk with a drover grey.'

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1. Bonser, p.117.

It is interesting to notice the debt owed to the Jovial Beggarman by the writer of this song.

Alfred Stapleton writes more of the Scottish drovers than those from the north of Britain but he gives a clearer picture of the drover in Nottinghamshire than does Mr. Bonser. It is noted that the Scottish Highland drovers who brought the animals from the north of the highlands or the islands were in the habit of bringing a sack of oatmeal with them and that this was their main food for the journey. 'There was a recognised standing arrangement with the inns at which they passed the night. Drovers in charge of the cattle were lodged free, much the same as until recent times the railways allowed them free travel, under like conditions'.

Stapleton says that 'There was one of Chambers' penny tracts for the people which dealt with these old drovers, but it is hard to get access to (this tract) nowdays'.

The droves could be as large as 400 head, a head drover was in charge with men under him, each responsible for about 25 animals. So, fairly large numbers of men were wending their way over recognised routes towards London. Cattle could only be moved when there was enough grazing on roadsides and in rented fields to support them. So for a few months of the year new and remembered faces would come to the village inn.

At East Bridgford the enclosure act had given the parish wide road verges which were gated into sections and let yearly to local farmers through a parish meeting ceremony called 'letting the lanes'.

This took the form of a candle and pin auction and for several years at the beginning of the 19th century we find Paul Reddish, miller and farmer, giving over £3 a year for a stretch of lane between East Bridgford and the Fosse way. It would seem to be a large rent to pay for extra grazing or grass for hay, but it became a more reasonable proposition if the stretches of grazing were let to the drovers for overnight feed for their charges; Stapleton mentions 3d or 4d per head per night as the usual fee for drovers to pay.

Stapleton recognises that the drovers from the north of Scotland brought the pipes with them and says 'it seems, however, that the Highland Shepherds and cow herds were frequently in the habit of carrying the "pipes" about their native mountains while on duty, and that the animals under their charge came to recognise and follow the musician. So it was that, on removing the half-wild Highland cattle from the farms on which they had been born and bred into strange lands, experience soon showed that the drover's anxious and hard task was rendered lighter by retaining a Highland piper at the head of the herd. This practice would no doubt do much to familiarise rustic England with that hitherto strange instrument'.

Several of the dance tunes noted by the family have a Scottish flavour and may have come from this source. One song which seems unlikely to have been written or even tolerated by any Scotsman is Simon's 'Caledonian Laddi O', which in its way, reflects the London stage or pleasure garden type of pseudo-scottish song just as words of Murphy Delany or 'Come listen a wile and I sing you a dety'

are the products of a humorous type of stage Irish song. The tune fragment Gispy (Gypsy) Laddie Hoe may be related to a Scottish tune, as may the Lady's Birth Right or Birth Night, and The Plaid but it would seem more likely that the last mentioned comes from a book of tunes as it is written among a series of tunes, three to a page. We cannot say with any certainty that John was capable of writing his music from hearing it played; the accuracy with which it is written and the associated instructions tend to indicate that he had copies in front of him rather than transcriptions from memory.

So we have a picture emerging of a community at East Bridgford in the years around 1800 which is made up of people of widely differing abilities; with some families being traditionally literate, the Caunts, Jallands and Lievers families, with the Reddishes, were mainly capable of signing their names upon marriage. They shared literacy abilities with other individuals from the village though with how many we cannot tell, but probably a more significant number than many historians of the period expect; they used their literacy in an interchange of music and songs in the area and the survival of one manuscript can only tantalise us into wondering at the output of written material in that period.

In their spare time the villagers provided their own entertainment and were within walking distance of other villages and towns known to encourage musical events which could give new ideas and stimulus for more ambitious undertakings in East Bridgford. The mumming plays and seasonal entertainments were still a considerable part of village life, the church had not yet attempted to transform what it considered to be residual pagan forms of worship into Christian

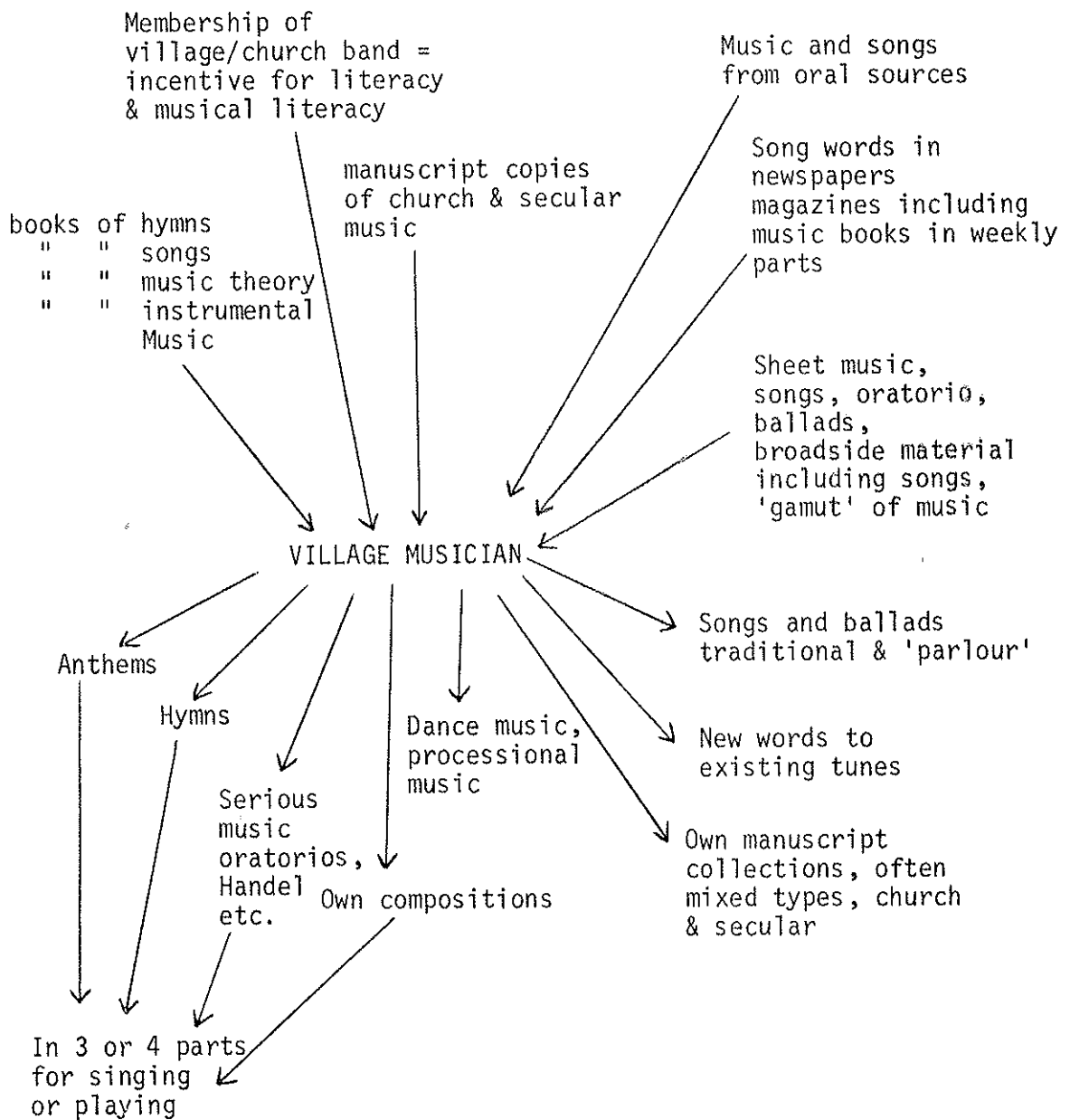
moulds, the church harvest festival had not yet supplanted the harvest home; the church band was still in charge of music in the village, the organ had not yet taken over the group activity. The village school teacher was not yet attempting to educate the children away from traditional dialects and values and, although the harvests may have been poor, money short and work variable, the labourer still had a traditional life style to draw upon and family and friends in or near the village to lend support.

East Bridgford itself was prosperous at this time and although enclosure had forced changes upon them, there were enough trades in the village to offer jobs to most of those needing work. The hard times and unrest of the Luddite Movement were still to develop and the decline in living standards and the breakdown of traditional values seen in the 19th century were still mainly hidden from the inhabitants.

The 25 years covered by the manuscript were perhaps the most exciting and interesting period in modern history, being the watershed between one way of life and another, and the collection of Simon, John and Garves reflect many of the national trends of expression of patriotism, fear, hardship, love, humour, and joy of living - a microcosm of the national scene. They may have been underfed, unhygienic, poorly educated, dissatisfied with life, they survived war and flood, enclosures and dispossession, family rows and family disgraces, trivialities and sudden death, but they were not brutalised by their experiences, they found time to read and sing, play and collect, save for a new watch, help to rescue a farmer's sheep and insure against the conscription for the army.



## THE VILLAGE MUSICIAN - INFLUENCES



### Notes to the songs

In the notes it has been difficult to select material for inclusion. I would like to have listed every broadside reference relating to the songs in the manuscript, but I have only included those broadsides I have examined, I have only mentioned such collections as those in American Universities in passing as it is not possible to obtain enough information about printers, word variations, head and tail pieces &c.

Printing mistakes and errors of typesetting often form some indication of distribution or perpetuation of mistakes and these can only be gained through first hand examination of the material.

No mention can be made of any collections of material in the Bodlean Library owing to peculiar difficulties in retrieval, in three days intensive study in that library no useful information came to light.

The main source of information on broadsides came from prolonged study in the Cambridge University Library, which contains the Madden Collection of Broadside and some other volumes of the same type. Each of 24 volumes of the Madden Collection contains nearly 2,000 slip songs or broadsides and I examined each one.

The Madden index system is not useful enough to enable the searcher to find every variant and there is no short way of gathering material. In the notes the references have been indicated by Madden,

followed by the volume number; a stop, then the song number within the volume, e.g. Madden 13.256.

The same process of careful searching was extended to the extensive broadside collections in the British Library, and I have continued to use the old abbreviation B.M. for British Museum rather than the newer British Library.

Other smaller collections of broadsides have been useful and there are many references to the collections in Newcastle University Library. The area surrounding Newcastle produced many small printers and imported material from both north and south, and the collections give a strong indication of the popularity of the songs.

Some references are given to contemporary or near contemporary song books, sometimes printed by the broadside printers or from their typesettings, also from the collected works of such song writers as Charles Dibdin, but the most useful of the 19th century songbooks for examples of the songs collected by Simon Reddish, is the Universal Songster, a three volume collection of song words.

In some of the ballads collected by John, the song has continued in popularity throughout the 19th century and even into this century, and a number of references of retrievals from the oral tradition have been considerable. I have chosen to indicate the frequency of occurrence rather than list every later collecting or appearance in a song book. Nearly every later publication or collection may be found through the excellent new card index in Cecil Sharp House.

Personal contact with the oral tradition has been mentioned where appropriate; sometimes this has been amusing, I have heard a song from the list in the manuscript, only to find that it had passed through the repertoire of several singers since I had revived it from the Reddish Collection four or five years earlier.

Complete sets of words have been included in some notes when there are considerable deviations from text to text.

The tunes are chosen from contemporary printed sources when these can be found, or from early oral tradition often from the collecting of Baring-Gould or Sharp. There can be no way of knowing which tune was used by the Reddish family, but care has been taken to select the most suitable for the rhythm and metre of the manuscript words. In essence it results in the tune I feel happiest singing. Occasionally a tune fits the words but has no known connection with the song; in these cases I include the tune for interest only, the tune having been used to revive the song.

Three songs, The Mountains High, The Curragh of Kildare, and The Beggar Man, have more extensive notes. They have continued in popularity up to the present day and it seems of interest to extend the investigation. Reynardine, or The Mountains High, gives some indication that there is a need to extend the research much further into the implications of this theme of Man/animal.

The dance and band music can be less well documented except for Murphy Delaney and Croppies Lie Down where song words are known to have existed at the time of the writing of the manuscript. The way

John wrote out the dance tunes convinces me that he had a tune book similar to those of Thompson and Oswald and that he copied three from a page; the normal lay-out of these books. I hoped to find such a book with the tunes in the same order but this has not occurred yet.

Most of the dance tunes are for the most popular type of dance at the end of the 18th century, 'long ways for as many as will.'

SONGS - JOHN REDDISH

1. p. 41 'Through life to go easy & free.' 'A New Song.'
2. p. 41 'The Rochester Lass. A New Song.'
3. p. 46-47 'The Blooming Rose. A New Song.'
4. p. 57 A Man of mean extraction...
5. p. 59-60 'The Squire's Change. A New Song.'
6. p. 61 A Collection of Valentines.
7. p. 62-63 'A New Song.' The Mountains High. (Rong)
8. p. 63-64-65-66 'The Sea Captain. A New Song.'
9. p. 69 Good Morrow Pritty Maids.
10. p. 75 The Winter it is Past.
11. p. 76-77 'The Pritty ploughboy new song.'
12. p. 77-78 'The Unhappy Parting new song.'
13. p. 79-80 'Kings Picture or an answer To Abraham Newland  
by C. Dibdin jun.'
14. p. 80-81 'The Pretty ploughboy a new song.'
15. p. 82 Early one valentine day. One line only
16. p. 85 O yes prity maid I will marry you. One verse only
17. p. 85-86 'A New Song Upon the Mountain high.'
18. p. 88-89 'A New Song.' The Winter it is Past.
19. p. 89-90 'A New Song.' Its of a Jolly Bagerman.
20. p. 91 'A New Song.' Long time have I Travelled.
21. p. 92-93-94 'A New Song.' Early one Summers Morning.
22. p. 94-95 'A New Song.' Come Hither Suaner.
23. p. 96 'A New Song Sung at Mr. Kings Concord by Mr. Yates  
Over the Mountains Over the Moor.

- |     |            |                                           |
|-----|------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 24. | p. 97      | 'A New Song.' I Took my Little Horse.     |
| 25. | p. 99-100  | Come Listen a wile and I sing you a dety. |
| 26. | p. 100-102 | 'Young Johnson a new song.'               |
| 27. | p. 103-104 | 'A New Song plough Boy.'                  |

MUSIC AND SONG - GARVES REDDISH

- |    |                |                                       |                   |
|----|----------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | p. 9           | 'Quick Steep'                         | music only        |
| 2. | p. 11          | 'Murphy Delancey'                     | " "               |
| 3. | p. 24          | Unnamed but repeat of Murphy Delancey | music only        |
| 4. | p. 39-40-41-41 | 'An New Song'                         |                   |
|    |                | The ould maid lovd for a Souilder     | words only        |
| 5. | p. 57-58-60    | 'The Jally slaves'                    | " "               |
| 6. | p.             | 'Gipsy Laddy hoe'                     | fragment of music |
| 7. | p. 107         | ...'Laddy ho'                         | fragment of music |

Handles water piece', appears twice, first time incorrectly.

'Winter it is past', appears twice, both complete but minor changes

'Mountains High', appears twice, first version incomplete.

'Murphy Delancey', appears twice.

Fragment of 'Gipsy Laddy Ho', appears twice.



MUSIC - JOHN REDDISH

1.	p. 46	'Graro's March.'	2 part
2.	p. 50	'Shooters Hornpipe.'	
3.	p. 50	'Astleys Hornpipe.'	
4.	p. 50	'Welcome Here Again.'	
5.	p. 51-52	'Handles Water Piece. (Rong).'	2 part
6.	p. 53	'Down Fall of Paris.'	
7.	p. 54	'Coldstream March.'	3 part
8.	p. 55	'The flowers of Masons Cort.'	
9.	p. 55	'The plaid.'	
10.	p. 55	'Temple Gavat.'	
11.	p. 56	'The Storac.'	
12.	p. 56	'Holsom Kamp.'	
13.	p. 56	'Ladys Birth night.'	fragment, same as father's
14.	p. 56	'Quick Stap.'	
15.	p. 71	'A March.'	2 part
16.	p. 71-72	'Boston March.'	" "
17.	p. 72	'Minuet Dillacore.'	" "
18.	p. 73-74	'Handles water piece (right)	" "
19.	p. 83	'Hariott.'	
20.	p. 83	'Haymakers.'	
21.	p. 83	'A March.'	
22.	p. 84	'Farewell to Manchester.'	

# WORDS AND MUSIC - SIMON REDDISH

1.	p. 17-18	Poor Jack	words & music
2.	p. 21-22	A sailors life's a life of woe	" "
3.	p. 23-24-25	Batchelors Hall	" "
4.	p. 27-28	See the Dawn how it Rises	" "
5.	p. 29-30-31	The carfindo	" "
6.	p. 33-34	Soldiers Adieu	" "
7.	p. 35-36	The Woodman's stroke	" "
8.	p. 37-38-39	Caledonian Laddie Oh.	" "
9.	p. 43-44	Come and listen Rowling Kiddy.	Words only
10.	p. 19	Lady Birth Right or Night.	music only

8 songs with music and words

1 song with words only

1 dance tune

The ould maid lovd for a Soulder. a new song. Garves Reddish pp.39.42.

Com all you theat delight in mith  
liston while i prayer i tell you of a  
merray jest theat happy the othe day.  
an ould maid of three scory and (tenne)

three and tenn not one tooth in  
her head She loved a Soilder mighty  
Well and fain with hem would wed

1

this ould maid had great story of gauild,  
houses and land all so her nose  
and cheen did failly meet She was  
hump backed too a Soilder young and  
neat and trim a Courting to her  
went he Saysd my dear to marrow  
you it is my whole In tent

2

She Said my houses I will Sell  
and all my land all So and when  
we are married a long with you  
I go Its true i walk upon too  
Sticks but then I lay a Side no  
longer will I be a maid but  
a Soilder wife.

3

a dinner then was orderd a way  
they went to Church you would have  
laugh to See the bride go tumbling  
limping lurch this ould maid was  
three scor and ten a Soilder Just  
nineteen i sure a more unequal  
match before was never seen

4

this couple they wear married tis  
true as I been tould she gave to hem  
five hundred pounds in Silver and  
in guild She Said the night it dose  
approach my dear let go to bed for  
i becom a married bride new thought  
Come in my head 5 The Soilder.

5

Carried on the joke he Sent  
for drum and fife he said beat up  
apoint of was to plise my loving  
wife then my dear you go to bed and i  
i will Come Stright way that night  
unto his quarts when next morning  
marched away 6 in the next

Morning She cried out husband and  
money lost. i Cannot walk with out  
my sticks in love i ham quight Cruch  
all ould maids be warned by me and of your  
gould take care for if you with a Soldier wed  
he drew you in a Snear.

The Old Maids Love for a Soldier.

Madden 8.1160 & 8.1159 (poor print)

Printed for and sold by J. Pitt, 14 Great St. Andrew St, Seven Dials.

All you that delight in mirth, listen awhile I pray,  
I'll tell you of a merry jest that happened t'other day,  
An old maid of threescore and ten, not one tooth in her head,  
She lov'd a soldier mighty well and fain would with him wed.

2

This old maid had great store of gold, house and land also,  
Her nose and chin did fairly meet she was humpbacked also,  
A soldier young and neat and trim a courting to her went,  
He said, my dear to marry you it is my whole intent.

3

She said, my house I will sell and all my land also,  
And when that we are married along with you I'll go,  
Its true I walk upon two sticks but them I'll lay aside,  
No longer will I live a maid but be a solder's bride.

4

A dinner then was ordered, away they went to church,  
You'd have laugh'd to see the bride to tumble, limp and lurch.  
This old maid was threescore and ten, the soldier just nineteen,  
I'm sure a more unequal match before was never seen.

## 5

This couple they were married, it's true as I've been told,  
She gave to him five hundred pounds in silver and in gold,  
She said, the night it does approach, my dear lets go to bed,  
For now I am married bride new thoughts came in my head.

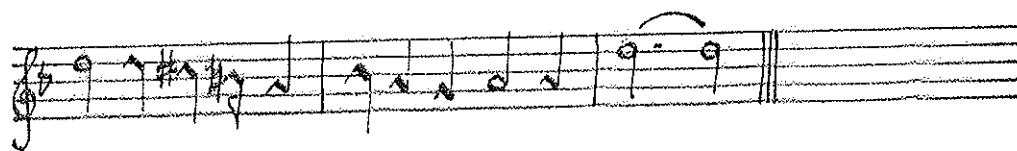
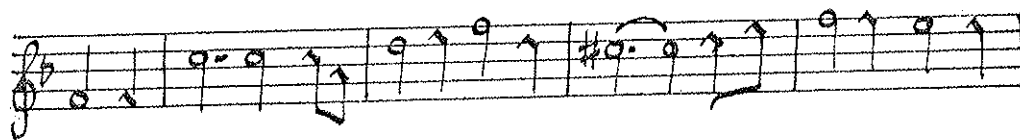
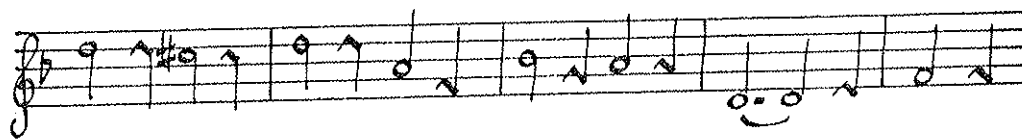
## 6

The soldier carried on the joke, he sent for drum and fife,  
He said, beat up a point of war to please my loving wife,  
Then my dear you'll go to bed and I will come straight way,  
That night he to his quarters went, next morning marched away.

## 7

In the morning she cried out, husband and money lost,  
I cannot walk without my sticks in love I am quite cross'd.  
Old maid's be warned by me and of your gold take care,  
For if you with a soldier wed he'll draw you in a snare.

*The old maid's love for a Soldier, tune from Simpson, p. 554*





The Old Maid's Love for a Soldier.

Garves fails to divide this ballad into lines and therefore it is difficult to read as a song, although his spelling is immature he is surprisingly accurate in his transcription of the sense of the story. Only two broadside versions occur in the Madden Collection, printed by Pitts, one of good typeface and the other much worn, and I have not found any other printings of the song, indicating a limited popularity. The theme occurs more frequently and songs telling of a relationship between a handsome young man and a decrepit old woman for the sake of her money are widespread over many centuries.

The Old Maid's Love for a Soldier seems closely connected to An Old Woman Poor & Blind, the tune of which, also called The Old Woman's Wish, in Pills to Purge Melancholy was used in Johnson's The Village Opera, and Ralph's The Fashionable Lady, 1730.

Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad, p.555 adds that several early broadsides were sung to this tune under the title The Toothless Bride. Although this is not conclusive I have not found stronger links with any other tunes and this tune fits the words admirably in both rhythm and feeling of humorous sadness.

1. The Old Maid's Love for A Soldier. J. Pitts, 14 Great St. Andrew St., Seven Dials. Madden 8.1160.
2. The Old Woman's Love for a Soldier. Pitts, poor print. Madden 8.1159.

Full notes on the tune in The British Broadside Ballad & its Music,  
Simpson. p.552.

The Toothless Bride. Bagford. I.25. dated 1705.

Related Songs.

The Old Maid's Levee. No Printer. Madden. 7.558

Mrs. Finn and the Bold Dragoon, Hurt. Shaston. Madden. 23.124.

Also Roxb. Collection 1.308 & 336, Songs on same subject.

The Jally Slaves.

Garves Reddish pp. 57-58-60.

Collated with The Galley Slave, by Cross,  
Universal Songster. Vol.II. p.38.

O think on my <u>fat</u> I	/fate once
<u>freedham</u> <u>injoy</u> was as happy as happy	/freedom enjoyed,
Could be but the pleasure <u>his flad</u>	/is fled,
<u>Even when hope his disstroyed a captiver</u>	/even hope is destroyed, a captive
alas on <u>seas</u> <u>iwas taken by foe</u> <u>It was</u>	/the sea; I was ta'en by the foe, 'twas
the <u>fight of fat</u> to tear me from <u>har</u>	/fiat of fate her
<u>i adore but</u> thought brings to mind my	/I adore; when
once happy <u>fat</u> I sigh o I sigh while	/state,
<u>he tug hat oar</u>	/I tug at the oar

the gally Slaves (1805)

Garves Reddish year of our Lord

O hard hard his my <u>fat</u> how <u>gallings</u> hare	/fare galling
my <u>chainge</u> my life <u>steers</u> my <u>mercy</u>	/chain! steered misery's
<u>change but tho</u> <u>again</u> my tyrants I	/chart; and though 'gainst
scorn to complain tear <u>guist for</u> to	/gush forth
<u>Eas my fond heart</u> <u>idistain</u> even to	/ease full I distain
<u>Shroink tho</u> <u>ifeel</u> the sharp lash yet	/shrink, though I feel
my <u>brist</u> bleeds for <u>iadore</u> while <u>arounde</u>	/breast her I adore around
me the <u>unfellning</u> <u>billowls</u> do <u>gush</u>	/unfeeling billows dash
Sigh <u>ai</u> sigh while <u>he</u> tug <u>hat</u> the oar	/oh I still at
how fortune <u>deseive me</u> <u>the</u> pleasure	/deceives! I had
<u>hyin</u> <u>vow</u> the port <u>wean</u> she <u>dwelte</u>	/in two, where dwelt
in sight but the <u>wish</u> <u>unptial</u> <u>morning</u>	/we'd in view wished nuptial
was <u>clouded</u> with woe <u>dear Annia</u> <u>was Carried</u> from you	/o'erclouded and dear Anna I was hurried
our Shallop was <u>boarded</u> and I <u>bore</u> away	/boarded borne
to <u>beould</u> my dear <u>Annea</u> no more but	/behold Anna
<u>dissapair</u> <u>wash</u> my <u>spirites</u> my <u>faind</u>	/dispair wastes spirits form
feels decay <u>I sigh o I sigh while</u> <u>tug hat the oar</u>	/he sighed! and expired

Oh! think on my fate, once I freedom enjoyed,  
Was as happy as happy could be;  
But pleasures is fled, even hope is destroyed,  
A captive, alas! on the sea:  
I was ta'en by the foe - 'twas the fiat of fate,  
To tear me from her I adore!  
When thought brings to mind my once happy state,  
I sigh! while I tug at the oar.

2

Hard - hard is my fare! - oh! how galling my chain!  
My life steered by misery's chart;  
And though 'gainst my tyrants I scorn to complain,  
Tears gush forth to ease my full heart:  
I disdain e'en to shrink, though I feel the sharp lash;  
Yet my breast bleeds for her I adore!  
While around me the unfeeling billows will dash,  
I sigh! and still tug at the oar.

3

How fortune deceives! I had pleasure in tow,  
The port where she dwelt we'd in view;  
But the wished nuptial morn was o'erclouded with woe,  
And, dear Anna! I was hurried from you:  
Our shallop was boarded, and I borne away,  
To behold my dear Anna no more;  
But despair wastes my spirits, my form feels decay.  
He sighed! and expired at the oar.

## The Galley Slave.

A widespread and popular broadside reprinted until the text became practically unreadable.

Although Garves' spelling is individualistic, he records the pattern of the broadside accurately, and makes his own sense of some of the more difficult passages. He misinterprets the 'fiat of fate' (line 6) as the 'fight of fat' whereas the Pitts broadside gives the 'fat of fate', an even more unlikely reading.

Because the version written by Garves is so difficult to understand, I have included the ballad printed in the Universal Songster on its own as well as correlating the Garves version with it. I have also given the full text of a Pitts broadside as an example of an extreme case of worn out typeface. Perhaps Garves was trying to copy from a broadside of this standard.

Throughout the printed versions seen, the text remains constant except for a small number of broadsides which use the variable last line quoted from the Universal Songster. Most use the same ending as verse one, and I have tried to indicate this in the references.

Authorship of this ballad is not clear, an 1809 publication<sup>1</sup> gives the song as being written for the opera 'Purse' by Arnold, music by Reeve and sung by Mr. Kelly; The Universal Sonster indicates that it was composed by Cross. We may guess that it owes its

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1. A Select Collection of Songs, John Waldrie, Hendersyde, London 1809 p.228.

popularity to the Pleasure Garden stage or the Ballad Opera before it became known on broadsides. There seems no evidence to show that it became popular in the oral tradition and neither can I find the tune to which it was sung.

1. The Galley Slave. From the Opera Purse, words by Arnold &c.  
A Select Collection of Songs, John Waldrie,  
Hendersyde, London, 1809. B.M. 1507/1754.
2. The Galley Slave. Batchelor. Printer, Long Alley (fiat of fate)  
B.M. 1875d5 p.186
3. The Galley Slave. Pitts (early, long S, fiat of fate).  
B.M. 1875d5 p.134
4. The Galley Slave, (with) Success to the Blues. Catnach,  
Baring-Gould Collection, B.M.LR27/a2 Vol.4 p.321
5. Galley Slave. Pitts, 6 Great St. Andrew St. (fiat of fate)  
B.M. 1875d5 p.70.
6. The Galley Slave. Included in The Myrtle and Vine Collection,  
Walker Jr., Durham Chapbooks c.1836 B.M.012331g3
7. The Galley Slave. Howard and Evans, printers, 4 Long Lane,  
(fiat of fate) Madden 7.100.
8. The Galley Slave, (with) Bessy the Sailors Bride. Barkness, Printer.  
Madden, 18.555
9. The Galley Slave, with Will Watch & The Wounded Sailor, Pitts,  
Madden 9.634.
10. The Galley Slave. Catnach. Madden 10.393
11. The Galley Slave. No printer. 41 Long Lane, Madden 4.666&667
12. The Galley Slave. Pitts, printer, Marble and Toy Warehouse,  
6 Great St. Andrew St. Seven Dials. Madden 8.271a.

13. The Galley Slave. No printer, (Northern? fiat and variable chorus)  
Madden 17.385
14. The Galley Slave. Walker Jr., Sadler St., Durham (Variable chorus)  
Madden 16.675
15. The Galley Slave. (&) The Answer to the Galley Slave. no printer  
with Newcastle broadsides. Madden 16.42
16. The Galley Slave (&) The Answer to the Galley Slave. Swindells,  
printers, Manchester. Madden 18.100
17. Sequel to the Galley Slave. No printer, Madden 6.1689
18. Sequel to the Galley Slave. Jennings 13 Water Lane.  
Madden. 7.486
19. The Galley Slave. Robert White, Collection Newcastle University.  
Also Madden 8.967, 9.635, 9.636, 17.432, 18.110, 22.35, 10,673 & 16.1689.  
Known in America The Galley Slave. Phil Carr's musical Repository 1794.  
(possibly first publication in America. 'A song from  
the opera of the Purse. Quote from Senneck).

Galley Slave.      Madden 8.271 a.

Pitts Printer, Marble and Toy Warehouse, 6, St. Andrews Street, 7 Dials.

I think on my fate, I once freedom enjoy'd  
Was a happy as happy could be,  
But pleasure is fled e'en hope is destroyed  
A captive a a- on the sea,  
I wa ta n by the for, t'was the fat of fate  
To tear me from her I adore  
But thoughts bring to mind my once happy state  
I sigh, I sigh whilst I tug at the oar.

How hard is my fate, how galling my chains  
My life's s eered to misery's chart  
And though against my tyrants I scorn to complain  
Tea s gushed forth to ease my fond heart  
I distain e en to shrink tho I feel the sharp lash  
Yet my breast bleeds for her I adore  
While a cound me the unfeeing bi lows do      clash  
I sigh, I sigh while I tug rt the oar,

How fortune deceived me, I'd pleasure in tow  
The port where she dw l I'd in view  
But the wish'd unptia morn was e'e clouded with woe  
Dear Anna I am hu ried      rom you

Our shallop was boarded      en I bore away  
to behold my dea Anna no? more  
But despair wastes my sp its my form feels decay,  
I sigh I sigh wh le I tug at the oar.

(Long S throughout)



Croppies Lie Down.          Madden 7.59; 7.60.

Howard and Evans, printers, 42, Long Lane, London.

We soldiers of Erin, so proud of the name,  
We'll rise upon rebels, and Frenchmen our fame,  
We'll fight to the last in the honest old cause,  
And guard our religion our freedom and laws,  
We'll fight for our country, our King and his crown,  
And make all the traitors and croppies lie down.

The rebel so bold when they're none to oppose  
To houses and haystacks are terrible foes,  
They murder poor parsons and likewise their wives,  
At the sight of a soldier they run for their lives,  
Whenever we march, thro' country or town,  
In ditches and cellars the croppies lie down.

United in blood her country's disgrace,  
They secretly shoot those they dare not face,  
But when we catch the fly rogues in the field,  
A handful of soldiers make hundreds to yield  
The cowards collect but to raise our renown  
For as soon as we fire the croppies lie down.

While thus this war unmanly they rage  
On women, dear women they turn their damn'd rage,  
We will fly to protect the dear creatures from harm,  
They'll be sure to find safety when clasped in our arms,  
On loving a soldier, no maiden will frown  
But bless the brave troops that make croppies lie down.

Should France e'er attempt by force or by guile,  
Her forces to land on old Erins sweet isle,  
We'll show that ne'er can make free soldiers slaves,  
They shall only possess our green fields for their graves,  
Our country's applause our triumphs will crown,  
Whilst low with their Franch brothers the croppies lie down.

When wars and when dangers again shall be o'er,  
And peace with her blessings revisit our shore,  
When arms we relinquish no longer to roam,  
With pride our families will welcome us home,  
We'll drink full bumpers past troubles to drown  
A health to the lads that make croppies lie down.

Crophis Lie Down.

Garves either mis-hears or mis-spells the Irish Tune title Croppies Lie Down by writing Crophis Lie Down, giving an incomplete transcription of the tune.

The term Croppy; a person who has had his hair cut or Cropped in prison<sup>1</sup>, or Croppie; one of the Irish rebels of 1798 who cut their hair short in imitation of the French Revolutionaries,<sup>2</sup> was widely used in Irish song titles after the 1798 rebellion. Occasionally the meaning was extended to include the punishment inflicted on these rebels by tarring their remaining hair and setting it alight thereby effectively scalping the captive.

A set of words to the title Croppies Lie Down, was in circulation in Britain and Ireland in the early part of the 19th century. Madden includes three similar broadsides, two by Howard and Evans and one by Shelmadine. The two by Howard & Evans retain the long S in printing both being from the same type setting but with different picture blocks, and seem to indicate an early printing.

It is interesting to note that the tune title at least was known in Nottinghamshire before 1805, a speedy distribution if the tune/song was only written after 1798.

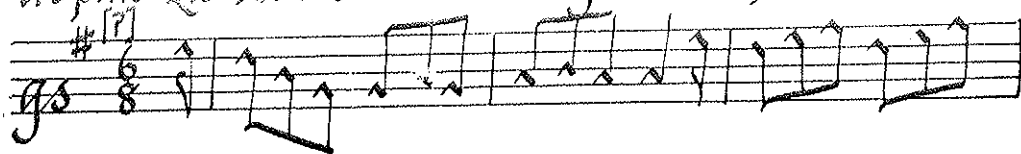
1. Croppies Lie Down. Howard & Evans, 42 Long Lane. Madden 7.59;7.60.
2. Croppies Lie Down. Shelmadine. Madden 18.94
3. Cropies Lie Down. Robert White Collection, Scottish Imprint, no.124  
Newcastle University Library.

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1. J.C. Hotten, The Slang Dictionary, 1859 p.133  
2. Chambers, Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1903 p.222

Grophis Lie Down.

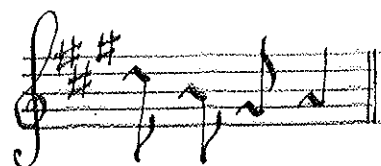
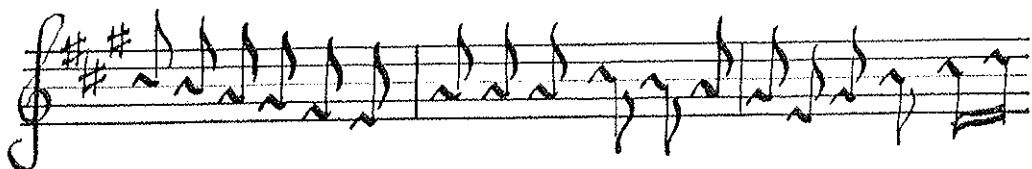
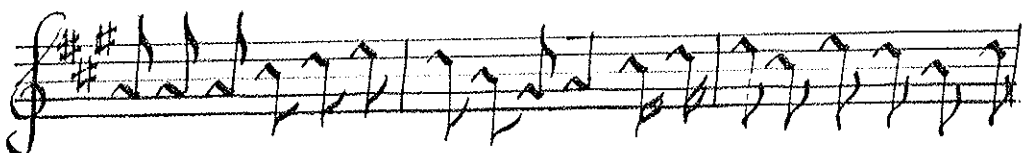
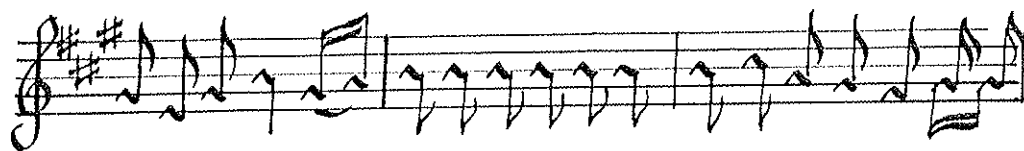
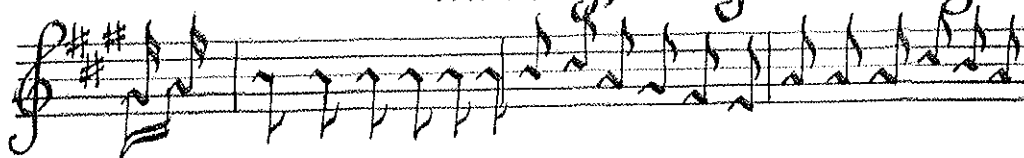
Garves. p. 74.



incomplete.

Murphy Delaney.

June. Priest in his Boots.  
Mackney, Forty Comic Songs.



Murphy Delany. (Device of Fox hanging by neck) Madden 8.560 & 559,561.

All by J. Pitt, 14 etc., one printed and sold for J. Pitt.

signed by MANTZ, Finsbury.

All same words.

It was Murphy Delany, so funny and frisky,  
Reel'd into a shelbeen shop to get his skin full,  
And popp'd out again pretty well lin'd with whisky  
As fresh as a shamrock, and blind as a bull,  
When a trifling accident happen'd our rover,  
Who took the waterside for the floor of his shed,  
And the keel of a coalbarge he just tumbled over  
While he thought he was decently going to bed.

#### Chorus

And sing phililiu, hubbuboo, whack boderation  
Every man in his humour, as Teague kiss'd the pig.

Some folk coming by pulled him out of the river,  
And got a horse doctor his sickness to mend,  
Who swore that poor Murphy was no longer a liver,  
But dead as the devil, and there was an end,  
Then they sent for the coroner's jury to try him,  
But Murphy not liking the comical strife,  
Fell to twisting and turning, the while they sat by him,  
And came, when he found it convenient to life.

Says he to the jury your worship's ain't pleased ye,  
I don't think I'm dead, so what is it you do?  
Not dead says the forman, you spalpeen be aisy?  
Don't you think that the doctor knows better than you?  
So they went on with the business further,  
And examined the doctor about the belief,  
When they brought poor Delany in guilty of murder,  
And swore that they'd hang him in spite of his teeth.

Then Murphy laid hold of a clumsy shelala,  
And laid on the doctor as he would a post,  
Who swore that it couldn't be Murphy Delany  
But something alive so it must be his ghost,  
Then the jury began, joy, with dear to survey him,  
(While he like the devil about him did lay)  
And sent straight out of hand for the clergy to lay him  
Bur Murphy laid the clergy, and then ran away.

Murphy Delany.

A broadside version of Murphy Delany, printed in North Shields by W. Orange, directs the ballad to be sung to the tune of 'The Priest in his Boots' (Madden vol 16/851); printed also in Mackney's 'Forty Comic Songs', part of a volume of Great Comic Songs, published by C. Sheard. c. 1870, where the words to Murphy Delany are given with instructions that they are to be sung to the tune of the preceding song, Paddy's Trip to Dublin, Air, The Priest in his Boots. The tune is widely known in Scotland, England and Ireland both as a song tune and as a dance tune and, although the title is given variously as Murphy Delany or the Priest in his Boots, it is possible that the tune is older than the words. When John Glen was compiling his 'All known collections of Scottish Dance Music published in Scotland to the year 1784', he includes a tune called 'Parson and his Boots', and the Menzies Manuscript, 1749 in the Athol Collection of the Sandeman Library, Perth, mentions a tune called 'The Priest and his Books'.<sup>1</sup>

'The Priest and his Boots', would seem to be the corrupt title to the Scottish tune 'The Priest and his Books', travelling via fiddlers to Ireland and England and being used for at least two pseudo-Irish songs.

Songs making mock of the Irish developed from the political broadsides of the seventeenth century, chief among these being 'Lillibulero', beginning 'Ho, brother Teague, hast heard the decree?', libeling the Irish and James II's stupidity in calling Irish recruits

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1. Mentioned in Ranting Pipe and Trembling String, George S. Emmerson appendix.

to his army.<sup>2</sup> This mockery of Irish men and their ways continued through the songs written for the pleasure gardens of the eighteenth century, and culminated in the music hall songs of the nineteenth.

The chorus of Murphy Delany provides an interesting link with the earlier political ballads by using the name 'Teague', as the typical Irishman's name rather than the later Murphy or Paddy, and by quoting the title of Ben Johnson's play 'Every man in his Humour'. The play title was itself an earlier 'catch-phrase' and is here used as yet another derogation of the Irish character. 'Every man in his humour, as Teague kiss'd the pig', can only emphasise the English's picture of the stupid half-educated and ill-mannered Irish. Teague continues his unintelligent way through such ballads as 'Teague's Ramble' (Madden 3.378) in which an ignorant Irishman visits London; 'Sawney & Teague; an Irish Dear-Joy & a Scottish Loon who had never seen a Windmill'. (c. 1714, B.M. C 108 bb 33 Vol.II p.222).

Teague was displaced by Paddy or Murphy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but he continued as the butt for the humour of the English and later, the Americans, both in song and story. Irish jokes continue to this day, direct links with the political ballads of the seventeenth century; today mostly written and distributed by the Irish themselves, who delight in 'running-down' their own way of life.

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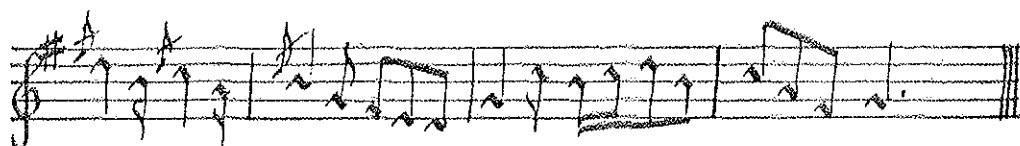
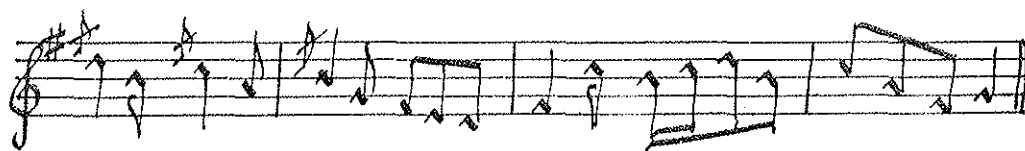
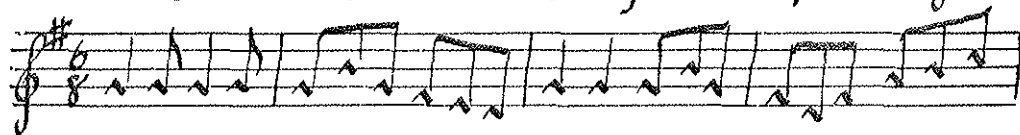
2. Reginald Nettel, The Social History of Traditional Song, (1954). pp. 129-130.



1. Murphy Delany. Pitts 14 Great St. Andrews St. Madden. 8.559,560,561.
2. Murphy Delaney. J. Davenport, No. 6 Georges Court, St. John's Lane, West Smithfield. Madden 5.1170
3. Murphy Delany, Tune the Priest in his boots. W. Orange, printer, North Shields. Madden 16.851.
4. Murphy Delaney. Sung by Mr. Johannot in the Comet, at Ashley's Amphi-theatre. J. Davenport. Madden 5.1321.
5. Tune. The Priest and his Boots. O'Neill's 1001 Irish Tunes.
6. Tune. Parson & his Boots. Bremner p. 15 from All known collections of Scottish Dance Music before 1784, compiled by John Glen.
7. Tune. The Priest and his Books. Menzies Ms. 1749. Sandeman Lib. Perth. Mentioned in Emmerson's Ranting Pipe and Trembling String.
9. Tune. Priest in his Boots. Mackney. Forty Comic Songs. c 1870.
10. Tune. Dance to Murphy Delaney. 2 parts. Mentioned in T.Wilson, The Treasures of Terpsichore. 1809. p.85.  
(single fig. & double fig.)
11. The Irish Haymaker, Tune, The Priest in his Boots. Fordyce, Robert White Collection Vol. 24.17.  
Newcastle University Library.

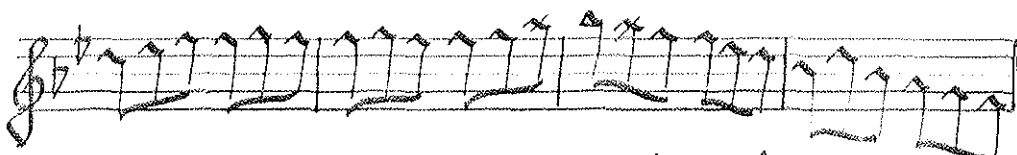
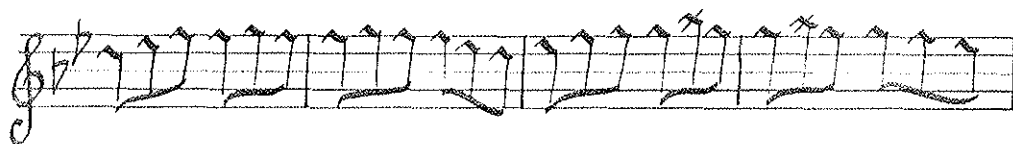
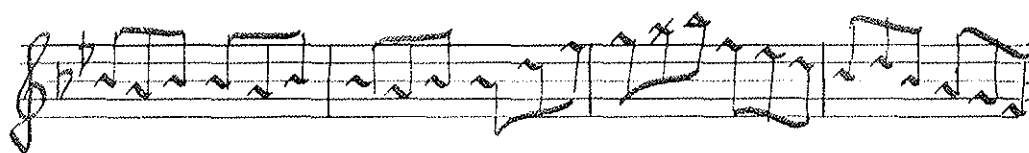
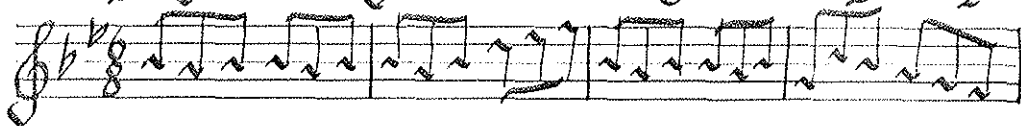
[Faw. Hornpipes c1765-77.

*The Priest in his boots*. C. & S. Thompson's Complete Coll. of 120



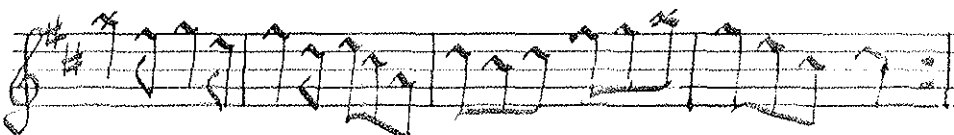
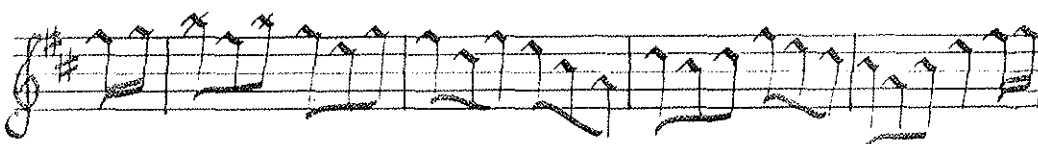
Murphy Delancy

Garves p. 11 + p. 24



The Priest + his boots.

O'NEIL'S 1,001.



Poor Jack.

Simon Reddish p.17 collated with

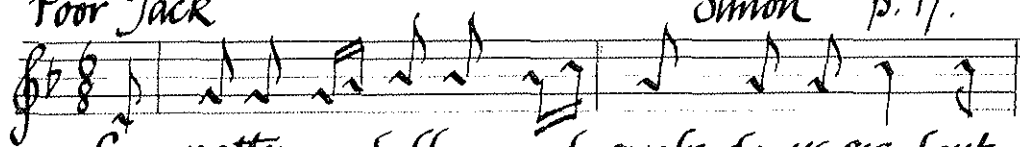
Universal Songster. Vol.I p.131.

Go patter ye lubbers and swabs do you see,  
bout dangers and fears and ye like,  
A tight water boat and good searoom give me  
and tint to a little all strike, /tent I'll  
tho' ye tempest top gallant mast /through masts smack  
smooth should smite  
and shiver each splinter of wood,  
and shiver each splinter.  
Clear ye wreck show ye yards /stow, the  
and bouze everything tight /bouse  
and Under each foresail we's scud, /reef'd we'll  
avast! there dont think me a milk Sop so soft /nor  
to be taken for trifles aback;  
for they say there a providence sits Upon loft  
they say there's providence sits up a Loft  
to keep watch for ye life of Jack. /the  
  
Why I hard ye good Chaplin palaver one day, /heard our  
about souls heaven mercy and such  
And my timbers, what lingo he'd coil and belay,  
why, twas just all as one as high duce /High Dutch  
But he said how a sparrow cant founder, d'ye see /for  
without order that comes down blow /below  
And many fine things, that prov'd clear to me.  
that providence takes us in tow /Providence  
for, says d'ye mind me, let storms e'er so oft, /he  
take ye top lifts of sailors aback /the top sails  
there's a sweet little cherub sits pirch'd up aloft /that sits perched  
to watch for the life of poor Jack.

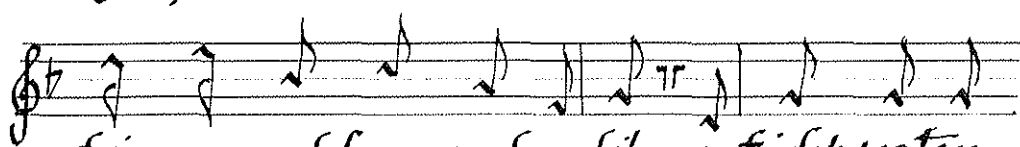
I said to our <u>poll</u> for you see she would cry.	/Poll
when last we weighed anchor for sea	
what argufies snivling and piping your eye	
why what a d--d fool you must be	
Cant you see ye world wide and there room for us all,	
both for seamen and lubbers <u>on shore</u>	/ashore
And if to old davy <u>friend poll I should fall</u> ,	/I go, my dear Poll
why you never will here of me more:	
what then <u>all</u> a hazard, come dont be so soft,	/all's
perhaps I may laughing come back	
for <u>you see</u> there a Cherub sits smiling aloft,	/d'ye see,
to keep watch for ye life of poor Jack.	
D'ye mind me, a sailor should be every inch,	
all as one as a piece of the ship	
and with her brave ye world without flinch	/offering to
from <u>ye</u> moment <u>ye</u> anchor a trip	/the the anchor's
as to me, in all weather, all times, sides, and ends,	
<u>noughts</u> a trouble from duty that springs	/naughts
My <u>hearts</u> is my poll's and my <u>rino</u> my <u>friend</u> ,	/For heart rhino's friends
and as for my life 'tis ye <u>king's</u>	/King's
Ev'n when my times <u>come</u> ne'er believe me	/comes
so sof <u>y</u> <sup>t</sup> <u>with</u> grief to be taken aback	/as for
<u>Ts</u> <u>ye</u> same little cherub that sits up aloft,	/For the
will look out a good <u>birth</u> for poor Jack.	/berth

Poor Jack

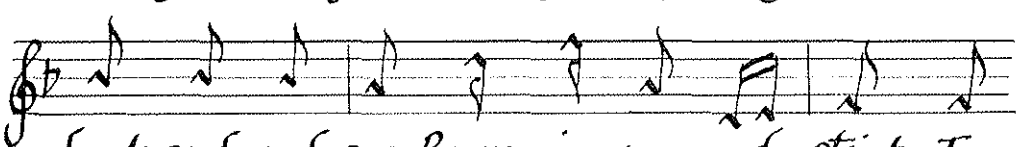
Simon p. 17.



Go patter ye lubbers and swabs do ye see, bout



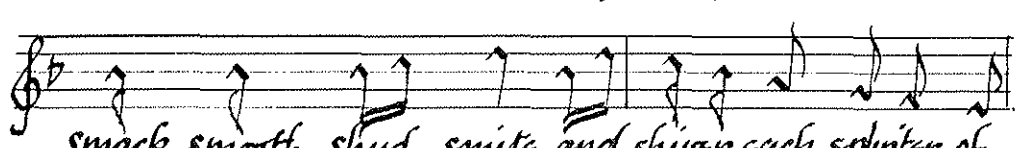
daingers and fears and ye like, a tight water



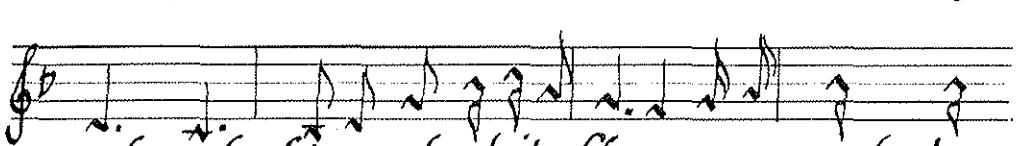
boat and good sea Room give me and stint. To



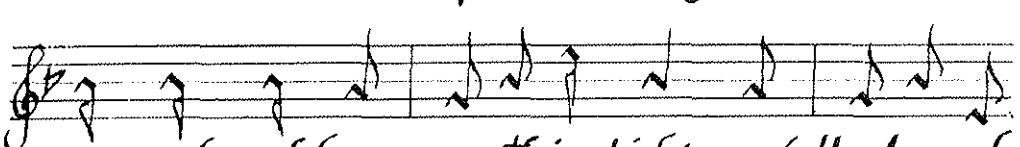
a little ... strike tho ye tempest top gallant mast



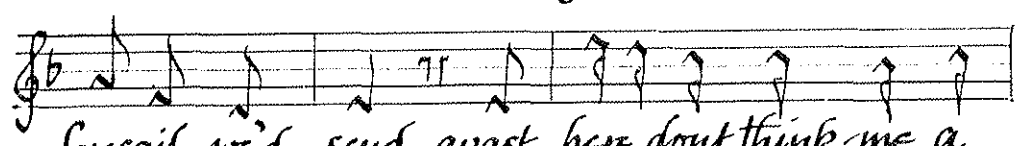
smack smooth shud smite and shiver each splinter of



wood and shiver each splinter Clear ye wreck stow



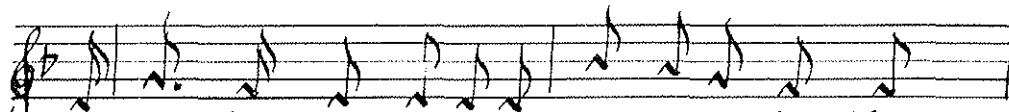
ye yards and borge everything tight and Under each



foresail we'd send awast here dont think me a



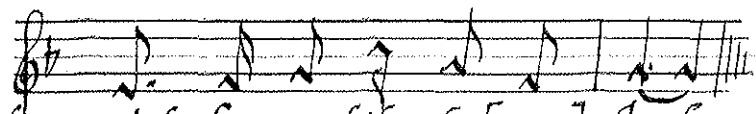
milk Shop so soft to be taken for triffls a-back for



they say theres a providence sits Upon loft they



say theres a providence sits Up a Loft too keep



watch for ye life of [poor] Jack

One of the most famous of Charles Dibdin's songs, first heard in Dibdin's soiree or musical lecture with which he toured various county towns and finally brought to London under the title 'The Whim of the Moment'. From this he published 12 songs including Poor Jack which immediately became popular all over the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

Dibdin received a pension of £200 per annum from the government for raising the level of patriotism throughout the country with his popular sea songs. It would seem that he was instrumental in bringing forward volunteers for the Navy and helping to reduce the need for the brutality of the press gang.

The version given in the Ms. by Simon has again been copied from a book or a song and, although he is careless in his spelling and punctuation, the words are very close to those given in Selected Songs by Dibdin.

The song's popularity continued on broadsides and in songbooks throughout the first half of the 19th century and the tune was re-used several times, one interesting re-write being one of the Nottinghamshire Luddite songs supposedly written for Ned Ludd.

1. Poor Jack's Garland. being a choice garland of songs, words and music by Mr. Dibdin. J. Smart, Wolverhampton. B.M. 1076c17



2. Poor Jack, in Neptune's Delight; a selection of sea songs chiefly  
by Dibdin. Catnach, Madden 10.706
3. Poor Jack. No printer. Madden 10.253
4. Poor Jack, a sea song by Mr. Dibdin. No printer. Madden 6.1561  
and 6.1563
5. Poor Jack. No printer. From Carlisle 2 copies. Madden 17.171 and  
172.
6. Poor Jack. Christopher Stone. Sea Songs & Ballads 1906 p.48
7. Poor Jack (with) Savourna Delish. J. Fraser, Stirling 1817.  
John Bell Collection of Broad sides. Vol. 15 No.45.  
Newcastle University Library.
8. Poor Jack. Robert White Collection. Scottish Imprints nos. 192,  
391 & 477. Ibid.
9. Poor Jack (with) Bold Jack, Garland of New Songs, M. Angus & Son.  
John Bell Collection Vol.16 No. 22. Ibid.
10. A Sailor's farewell to the Wars, tune Poor Jack. Madden 6.1655
11. Go patter to Lubbers and swabs, d'ye see. The Universal Songster.  
Vol.I p.131.
12. Go pater to paper sculls, saps d'ye see. Ibid. Vol.II p.135.
13. General Ludd's Triumph to the tune of Poor Jack. H.0.42/119.  
Malcolm Thomas' Luddism Nottinghamshire.  
Philimore, 1972 (Thoroton Society Record  
Series. V.26).
14. Poor Jack the Taylor, Madden. 6.1562.  
(Go patter to weavers an snobsd'ye see,  
'Bout shuttles and awls, and the like).

15. Parody on the song of Poor Jack. The Radical Reformers.

New Song Book. J. Marshall, Newcastle.

Robert White Collection. Vol.22.19 N/C Un.Lib.

(Go patter to Placemen & pimps d'ye see,

Bout pensions & posts, & the like,

Equal Rights, Equal Laws & Strict Justice give me,

And I never to tyrants shall strike).

Known in America (Sonneck, Bibliography of Early American Music).

Poor Jack, Elegant Extracts for the German Flute or Violin.

Baltimore, 1794, Vol.I. p.6-8.

General Ludd's Triumph, tune, Poor Jack. H.O. 42/119

quoted from Malcolm Thomas, Luddism in Nottinghamshire, Philmore, 1972.

(Thoroton Soc.Record Series v.26).

Chant no more you old rhymes about bold Robin Hood  
His feats I but little admire,  
I will sing the Atchievements of General Ludd  
Now the Hero of Nottinghamshire.  
Brave Ludd was to measures of violence unused  
Till his sufferings became so severe,  
That at last to defend his own Interest he rous'd  
And for the great work did prepare.

2

Now by force unsubdued, and by threats undismayed,  
Death itself can't his ardour repress,  
The presence of Armies can't make him afraid  
Nor impede his career of success,  
Whilst the news of his conquests is spread far and near  
How his Enemies take the alarm  
His courage, his fortitude, strikes them with fear  
For they dread him Omnipotent Arm!

## 3

The guilty may fear, but no vengeance he aims  
At the honest man's life or Estate,  
His wrath is entirely confined to wide frames  
And to those that old prices abate.  
These Engines of mischief were sentenced to die,  
By unanimous vote of the Trade  
And Ludd who can all opposition defy,  
Was the grand Executioner made.

## 4

And when in the work of destruction employed  
He himself to no method confines,  
By fire and by water he gets them destroyed  
For the elements aid his designs,  
Whether guarded by Soldiers along the Highway,  
Or closely secured in the room,  
He shivers them up both by night and by day,  
And nothing can soften their doom.

## 5

He may censure great Ludd's disrespect for the Laws,  
Who ne'er for a moment reflects  
That foul Imposition alone was the cause  
Which produced these unhappy effects.  
Let the haughty no longer the humble oppress  
Then shall Ludd sheath his conquering sword,  
His grievances instantly meet with redress,  
Then peace will be quickly restored

Let the wise and the great lend aid and advice,  
Nor e'er their assistance withdraw,  
Till full fashioned work at the old fashion'd price  
Is established by Custom and Law.  
Then the Trade when this ardorous contest is o'er  
Shall raise in full splendor it's head,  
And clothing, and cutting, and squaring no more  
Shall deprive honest workmen of bread.

A Sailor's Life.

Simon Reddish. p.21-22. collated with

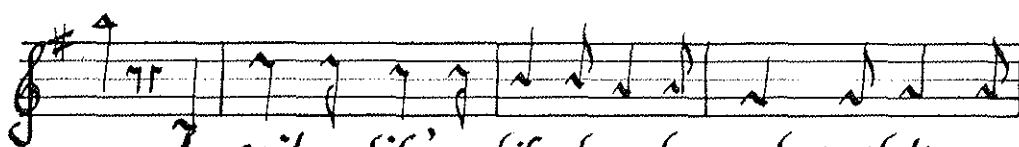
The Flowing Can. Selected Songs of Dibdin p.239.

A sailor's life's a life of woe,  
he works now late, now early,  
now Up & down now too and fro,  
what then, he takes it Clearly, /cheerly  
blest with ye smiling can of grog, /a  
If duty call, stand, rise, or fall, /calls  
to fate let Vergilks joy /fate's last verge he'll jog  
ye cadge to weigh, ye sheets belay /the  
he does it with a wish,  
to heave ye led or to capehead /the lead cat'shead  
the pondrows Another dish /pond'rons anchor fish  
for while the grog goes Round,  
all sence of dainger dround /sense danger dround  
we despise it to a man /despite  
we sing a little, and laugh a little, and work a little  
and swear a little and fiddles a little and foot it a little  
and swig the flowing Can and swig ye flowing Can  
and swig ye flowing Can

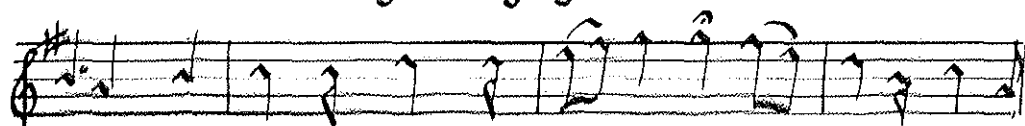
If <u>Troubles</u> winds and Roaring Seas	/Howling
<u>Gives</u> proof of Coming <u>dainger</u>	/give danger
We View the storm, our hearts at Ease,	
for Jack to fear a <u>strainger</u>	/stranger
Blest with the smiling grog, <u>so sly</u>	/we fly
When now below we <u>head</u> Can go	/headlong
Now Rise <u>or</u> mountains high	/on
Spite of the gale, we hand the <u>seale</u>	/sail
Or take the needful Reef	
Or man the deck to clear the <u>Reck</u>	/some wreck
To give the ship <u>Releif</u>	/relief
<u>then puls</u> the Rest a Round	/though perils threat around,
all <u>sence</u> of danger <u>dround</u>	/sense drowned
We <u>dispiise</u> it to a man we sing a little &c.	/despise
<u>But yet thinks</u> not our Case is hard,	/But think
the storms at seas <u>they brest</u> Us,	/thus treat
For <u>Comeing</u> home, a sweet Reward	/coming
with Smiles our sweethearts <u>meet</u> Us	/greet
Now to the friendly grog we <u>goes</u>	/quaff
Our <u>Ammerous</u> toast, her we love most	/am'rous
And <u>gaily</u> laughs and <u>sings</u>	/gayly sing and laugh
the <u>sale</u> we <u>fill</u> , then for each girl	/sails furl
<u>there</u> <u>Company</u> display	/the petticoat
the deck we <u>Cheer</u> then <u>Chaseing</u> there	/clear, three time three
As we there Charms survey	/their
And then <u>ye</u> grog goes Round	/the
all <u>since</u> dainger <u>dround</u>	/sense of danger drowned
We <u>dispiise</u> it to a man we sing a little &c.	/despise.

A Sailor's life's a life of woe....

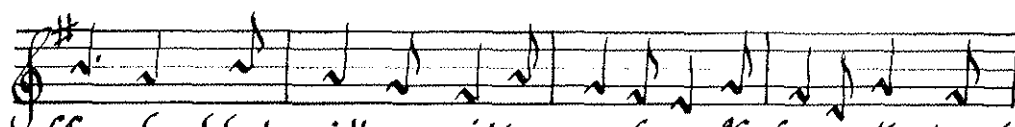
Simon p. 21.



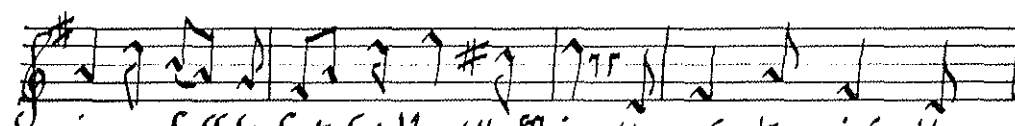
A sailors life's a life of woe he works now late now



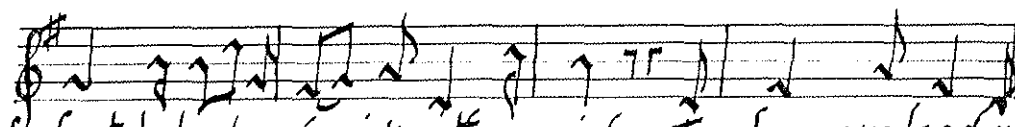
early, now up and down now too and fro what then he takes it



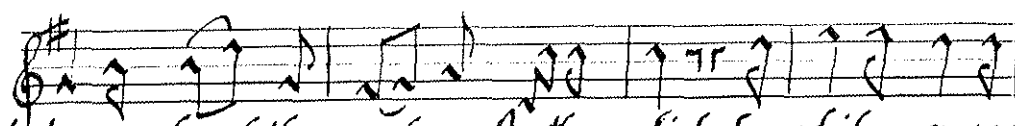
Cheerly, blest with ye smiling can of grog If duty calls stand



rise or fall to fate let Vergil's joy ye cange to weigh Ye



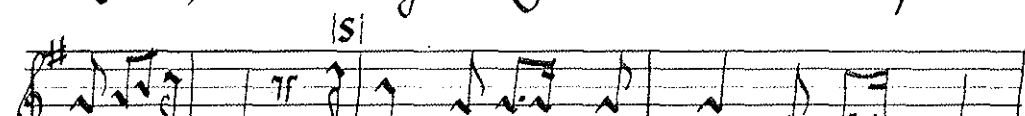
sheets belay he does it with a wish To heave ye lead or

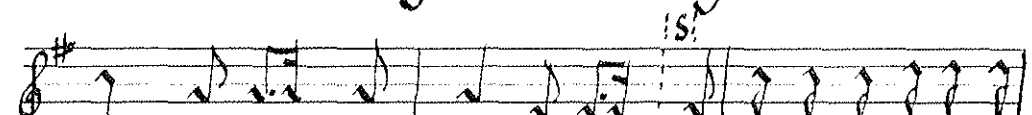


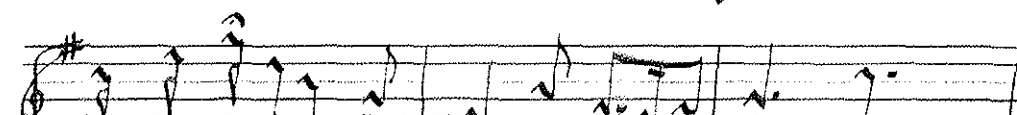
to cape head the pondrous Another dish for while ye grog goes

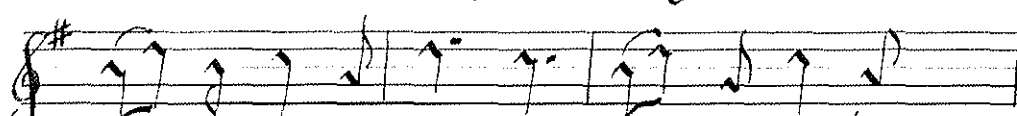


  
Round, all sence of dainger dround we dis-prise

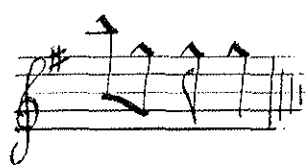
  
it to a man we sing a little and laugh a little and

  
work a little and swear a little and fiddle a little and

  
foot it a little and swig the flowing can and

  
Swig ye flowing can and swig ye flowing

  
can.



A Sailor's Life.      or The Flowing Can.

Another of Dibdin's songs written at the same period as Batchelor's Hall and performed in Dibdin's Entertainments. This song seems to have been more short lived than others of his popular work and although it appears in two song books I can find only one chapbook printing, from Belfast, for the use of hawkers.

1. The Flowing Can.. Selected Songs of C. Dibden. p.239.
2. The Flowing Can. The Universal Songster. Vol.I p.92.
3. A Sailor's Life is a Life of Woe. Newcastle Broadside.

Printed in Belfast. Vol.17, no.56

Newcastle University Library.

Batchelors Hall, Charles Dibdin. Simon Reddish p.23.

Collated with Dibdin's Selected Songs, page 237.

1

To <u>batchelors hall</u> we good fellow invite,	/Batchelor's Hall
to partake of ye <u>chace</u> that makes up our delight,	/chase
we have spirits of fire, and of health such a stock,	
that our <u>puls</u> strikes the seconds as true as a clock,	/pulse
did you see us you'd swear as we mount with a grace,	
did you see us you'd swear as we mount with a grace,	
that <u>diana</u> had Dubb'd some new gods of the <u>chace</u> ,	/Diana chase
that <u>diana</u> had dubb'd some new gods of the <u>chace</u> .	/Diana chase
harkaway, harkaway, all nature looks gay	
And Aurora with smiles Ushers in <u>ye</u> bright day	/the

2

Dick <u>thickset</u> came mounted upon a fine black,	/Thickset
A Better fleet gelding ne'er hunter did hack;	
Tom Trig rode a bay, full of mettle and bone;	
And Gayly Bob Buxom rode proud on a roan,	
But the <u>hore</u> or all <u>horses</u> that <u>Rivall'd</u> tha day,	/horse of rival'd
was the <u>sqyiers</u> <u>hack of nothing</u> and that was a grey.	/Squire's Neck or Nothing.
Harkaway, harkaway, while our spirits are gay,	
Let us drink to the joys of the next coming day.	

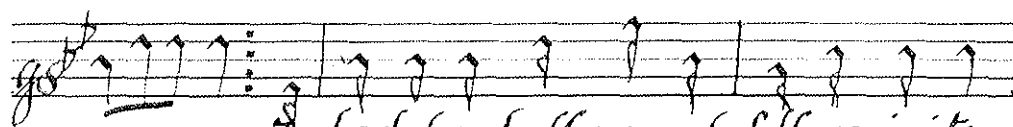
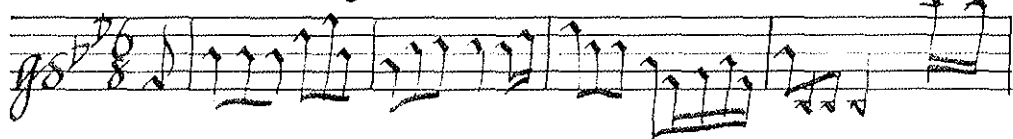
Then for hounds, <u>they</u> was <u>nimble</u> so well <u>they climb</u> rocks,	/there Nimble that climbs
And <u>cocknose</u> , a good one for scenting the fox;	/Cocknose
<u>little plunge</u> , like a mole who will ferritt and search,	/Little Plunge
And beetlebrow'd <u>hawk eye</u> , so dead at the lurch,	/Hawks-eye,
young <u>sly looks</u> <u>that</u> scents the strong breeze from the south,	/Sly-looks, who
And <u>musicka</u> Echo well with his <u>Deep</u> mouth.	/musical, Echo-well.
Harkaway.	/deep.

Our horses thus all of the <u>Verry</u> best blood,	/very
Tis not likely you'll find such a <u>stood</u> ,	/stud
And for hounds our opinions with thousands <u>we'll</u> back	/we'd
That all England throughout <u>car'nt</u> <u>perduce</u> such a pack,	/can't produce
Thus, having <u>discribe'd</u> you dogs, horses, and Crew,	/described
Away we set <u>of</u> , for the fox is in View,	/off
Harkaway.	

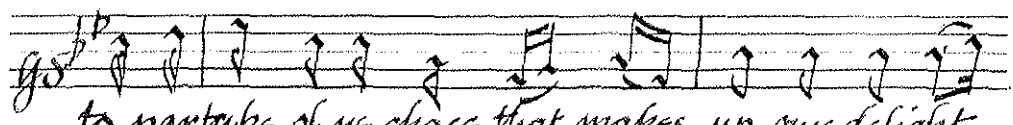
Sly <u>Reynard</u> brought home while <u>ye horn</u> <u>sounds</u> <u>a call</u> ,	/Renard's the /horn's sound
And how you're all <u>welcom</u> to <u>batchelors hall</u>	/welcome, /Batchelor's
The <u>Savory</u> sirloin <u>greatfull</u> smokes on <u>ye</u> board,	/sav'ry /grateful/the
And <u>bacchus</u> pours wine from his favourite hoard:	/Bacchus
Come on, then, do honour to this <u>jov'al</u> place,	/jovial
And enjoy the sweet pleasures that spring from the chase.	
Harkaway.     Hark away, hark away, while our spirits are gay,	
Let us drink to the joys of the next coming day	

*Bachelors Hall, by Dibdin.*

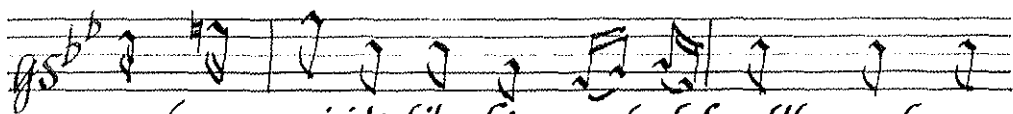
*Simon p. 23*



*To bachelors hall we good fellows invite*



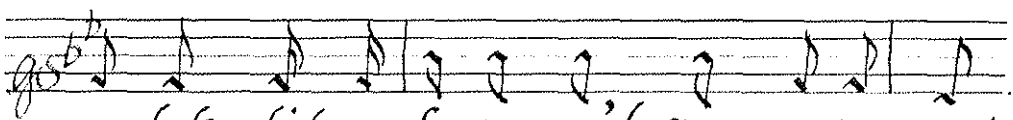
*to partake of ye chace that makes up our delight*



*we have spirits like fire and of health such a*



*stock, that our puls strikes the seconds as true as*



*a clock, did you see us you'd swear as we mount*



*with a grace*

*did you*

*g♯* *b* *See us you'd swear as we mount with a grace*

*g♯* *b* *that diana had Dubb'd Some new gods of ye chace,*

*g♯* *b* *that Diana had dubb[d] some new gods of the Chase*

*g♯* *b* *hark away hark away all nature looks gay and*

*g♯* *b* *Aurora with smiles Wshers in ye bright day.*

*g♯* *b*

*g♯* *b*

Batchelor's Hall. C. Dibdin.

Charles Dibdin wrote Batchelor's Hall for one of his entertainments - a type of musical lecture - called The Oddities, first performed between 1789-1791, the songs from the entertainment becoming immensely popular, selling in sheet music over much of the country.<sup>1</sup>

By its inclusion in Simon's collection of songs with both words and music, we know that the sheet music was available in Nottinghamshire in the 1790's. It continued to appear on broadsides and in song books in the first half of the 19th century.

1. Batchelor's Hall. The Selected Songs of Charles Dibdin. p237
2. Batchelor's Hall (Dibdin) Universal Songster. Vol. II p.355
3. Batchelor's Hall. S.W. Fores London April 30. 1791 No.3.  
Piccadilly. Drawn by Cruikshank, written and  
composed by Mr. Dibdin. Madden 15.174
4. Batchelor's Hall. Catnach, est. 1813, 2 Monmouth Court. Madden 10.64
5. Batchelor's Hall. 42 Long Lane. Madden 4.90.
6. Batchelor's Hall. T. Batchelor, opp. the Refuge, Hackney Rd.  
Madden. 12.396.
7. Batchelor's Hall. T. Batchelor, 14 Hackney Road Crescent, Nottingham.  
University Collection of Broad-sides. Vol. II No.4.
8. Batchelor's Hall, (with) Love has Eyes (&) The Tartan Drum.  
J. Russell, Birmingham, Madden 21.398.
9. Batchelor's Hall. T. Birt, 10 Great St. Andrews St. B.M. 1875d5 p.188
10. Batchelor's Hall. Newcastle Chapbooks No. 148, 209, 504.  
Newcastle University Library.

Known in America - Batchelor's Hall; Elegant Extracts for the German  
Flute or Violin. Baltimore, 1794 Vol.I p.34-35.

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1. From Memoir of Charles Dibdin, an introduction to Selected Songs, of Charles Dibdin, 1845. 177

See the Dawn How it Rises, by Hook. Simon Reddish pages 27-28

1

See the dawn how it Rises in golden array,  
While the horn sounds the summons to join in ye chace,  
hark the dogs with there Voices now welcome the day, /their welcomes  
when for sport and true concord we hunters imbrace. /embrace  
ye hounds are abroad see the breaking of day,  
the hounds are abroad See the breaking of day,  
from the cover the cover Unkennel the fox,  
Attend to the cry, hark away, hark away,  
we'll bound over mountains and rocks,  
we'll bou....nd, we'll bound over mountains and rocks  
Over mountains and Rocks.

2

While we sweet o'er the dale or the mountains assend /sweep? ascend  
Or the Rapid Rivers our steeds boldly guide,  
No dainger we fear that can hunters attend, /danger  
For courage was ne'er to a sportsman deny'd /denied  
The hounds are abroad &c..

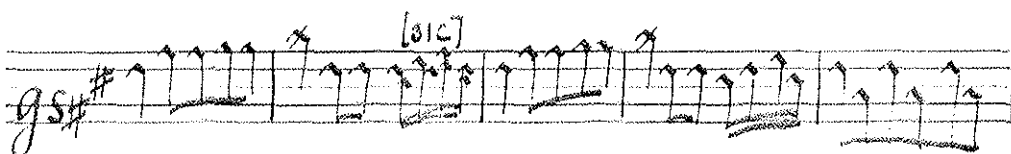
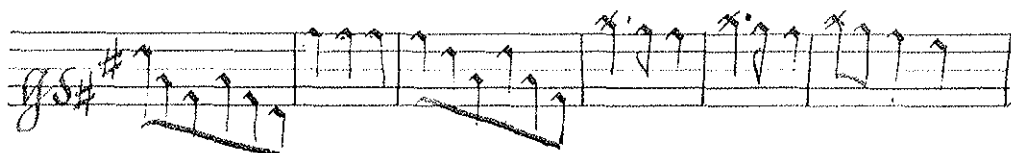
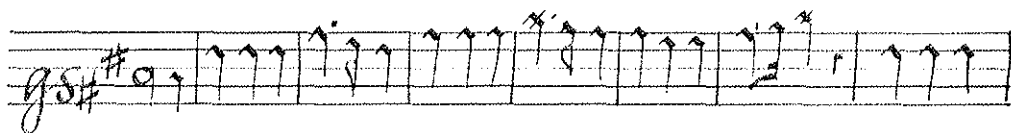
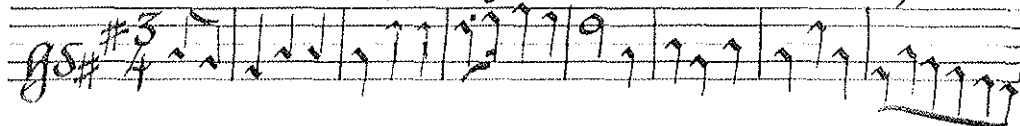
3

Then leave for a while ye soft arms of your fair,  
See, Aurora to tempt you, has nature display'd  
the sports of diana the morning must share, /Diana  
Then to friendship and love let due tribute be paid,  
The hounds are abroad &c..

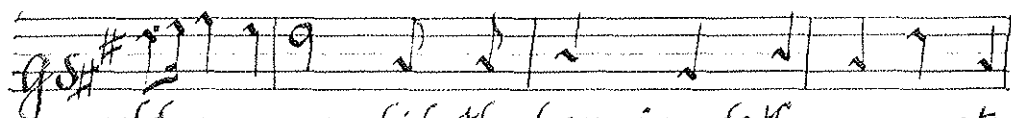


See the Dawn how it Rises. by Hook

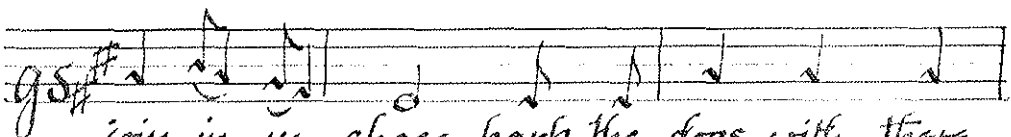
Simon p27.



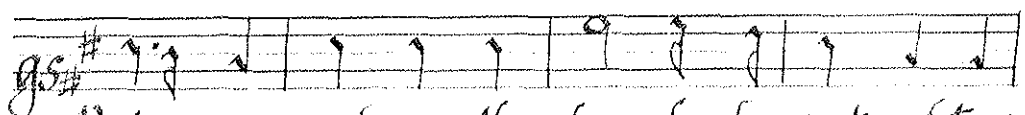
See the dawn how it Rises in



golden array while the horn sounds the summons to



join in ye chase hark the dogs with there



Voices now welcomes the day when for sport and time

g♯5# concord we hunters embrace.

g♯5# [The] hounds are abroad see the

g♯5# breaking of day the hounds are abroad See the

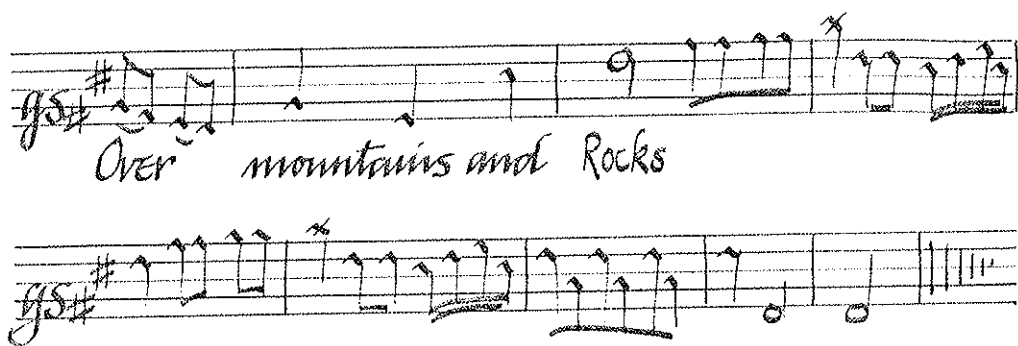
g♯5# breaking of day from the cover the cover unkennel the

g♯5# fox Attend to the cry hark away hark away we'll

g♯5# bound over mountains and Rocks we'll

g♯5# bo..... u.....

g♯5# --[mol] we'll bound over mountains and Rocks



See the Dawn How it Rises. James Hook.

Although this is the only song<sup>1</sup> by Hook in Simon's part of the collection, the names of Dibdin and Hook are often coupled in references to popular song writers of the late 18th century. Baring-Gould had a poor opinion of the output of these song writers in comparison to the traditional songs of the West Country. Baring-Gould began his collection of folk songs in 1888 and quickly formed ideas of the most suitable people to contact. 'I found that it was of little use going to most farmers and yeomen. They sang the compositions of Hooke, Hudson and Dibden.'<sup>2</sup>

This may confirm our placing of Simon in a class above the common labourer or it may indicate that the continuation of the older, more musically literate tradition, established through the church bands, was still to be traced among the more educated members of the community although completely dead within the labouring classes.

It does indicate the continuance in popularity of the printed songs of the late 18th century and early 19th century for nearly one hundred years, at least among a small group of people.

- 
1. Unless Caledonian Laddie is by him as mentioned in an American publication of 1794.
  2. Baring Gould, Songs of the West, 2nd Ed. p vii.

James Hook held the musical management of Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens from 1774 to 1820, a time of popularity of the Gardens and the entertainment they provided. "It was in the season of 1780 that his famous, 'Within a mile of Edinburgh Town', (founded on an earlier lyric by Tom D'Urfey,) was first sung at the Gardens by Mrs. Wrighten. Some few years later Charles Incledon sang Hook's other famous lyric, 'The lass of Richmond Hill'."<sup>1</sup>

Baring-Gould was less complimentary of Hook's abilities as a song writer.

'James Hook is said to have set over two thousand songs to music; among these a large number were imitation Scottish songs. They were composed for Vauxhall. Hook produced a 'Monthly Banquet of Apollo,' in 1795-6, and a number of Ballad Operas. Amongst this profusion it is not easy to find a single pure melody that is a real creation of genius. The song we now give (Lashed to the Helm) is an echo of the robust sea-songs of his age, but nothing more than an echo.'<sup>2</sup>

Certainly Hook enjoyed enough popularity for many of his songs to be reprinted in America<sup>3</sup> and for his name to be mentioned in the same breath as Dibdin, but he does not seem to have been as great a composer as Dibdin nor his songs reprinted as frequently.

'See The Dawn how it Rises,' is not in the Universal Songster though some of his hunting songs are; all in the same style.

- 
1. Frank Kidson, Contribution to Musical Quarterly, 1915(?)  
Leeds Public Library. 7808 K 54 L.
  2. Note to the Song 'Lashed to the Helm,' in Vol.II of English Minstrelsy. p. xi.
  3. D.G.T. Sonneck, Bibliography of Early Secular American Music.

I have found no other printing of this song but it seems to be in the style of his other work and there is no reason to doubt Simon's statement of authorship.

I that once was a ploughman....

Simon Reddish pages 29-30

Collated with The Selected Songs of  
Charles Dibdin. p.293.

I that once a ploughman, a sailor am now, /was  
no lark that aloft in the sky, ever flutter'd his wings,  
to give speed to the plow, was so gay and so carless as I, /careless  
was so gay and so carless as I, but my friend was a carfindo<sup>1</sup>  
abord a king's ship and he ask'd me to go just to sea for a trip, /aboard  
And he talk'd of such things, as if sailors was kings,  
and so teazing did keep, and so teazing did keep, /teasing  
that I left my poor plough, to go ploughing the deep,  
no longer the horn calls me Up in the morn, /called  
I trusted the carfindo and the Unconstant wind, /inconstant  
that made me for to go, and leave my dear behind.

2

I did not much like for to be on boaed a ship, /aboard  
When in dainger ther's no door to creep Out, /danger there's  
I lik'd the jolly tars, I lik'd bumbo and flip  
But I did not like Rocking about,  
By and by came a hurrican I did not like that, /hurricane  
Next a battle that many a sailor laid flat,  
Acrid I who would Rome, the like me had a home, /Ah! cried that roam  
When I'd sow and I'd Reap, when I left the poor plough, /I could could ere  
To go ploughing the deep, where so sweetly ye horn &c.

---

1. carpenter. 'this word, clearly a corruption of carpenter,  
occasioned him at least 'forty anonymous letters (footnote to song).

## 3

At last safe I landed and in a whole skin,  
 Nor did I make any Long stay,  
 Ere I found by my friend who I ask'd of my kin, /for  
 father dead and my wife Ran Away, /ran  
A who but myself, said I, had thou to blame? /Ah!  
 Wives losing there husbands oft lose a good name, /their  
A why did I roam, when so happy at home, /Ah!  
 I could sow, I could Reap, ere I left my poor  
 plough to go ploughing the deep, When so sweetly ye horn &c.

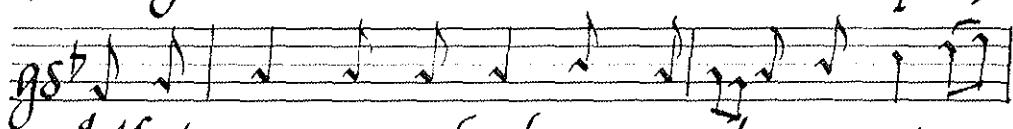
## 4

'Why, if that be the case'said this Verry same friend, /very  
 'An you ben't no more minded to Roam,  
 Gi 's a shake by the fist, all your care's at an end -  
 Dad's alive, and your wife safe at home!  
 Stark staring with joy, I lept out of my skin,  
 Buss'd my wife, mother, sister and all my kin:  
 Now, cried I, let them road,  
 Who want a good home; /wants  
 I am well, so I'll keep, nor again leave my plough  
 to go ploughing the deep, Once more shall ye horn &c.

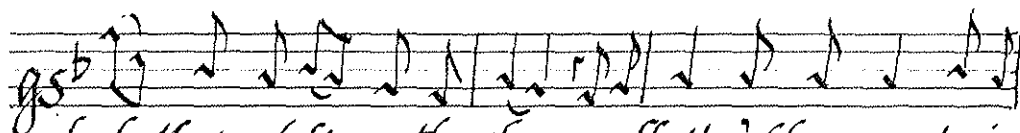


*The Carfindo.*

Simon p. 29



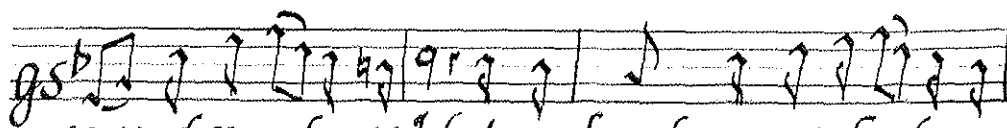
I that once was a ploughman a sailor am now, no



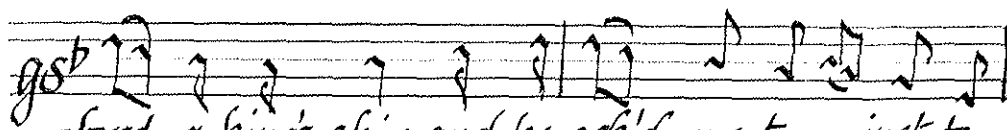
lark that aloft in the sky, ever flutter'd his wings, to give



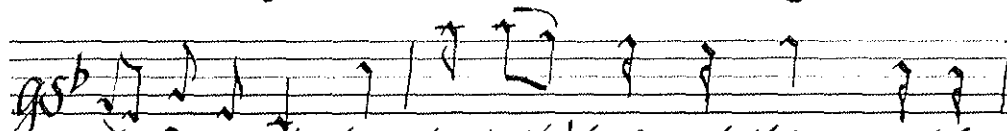
speed to the plow, was so gay and so careless as I, was so



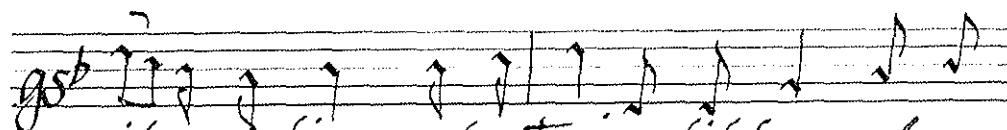
gay and so careless as I, but my friend was a carfindo a-



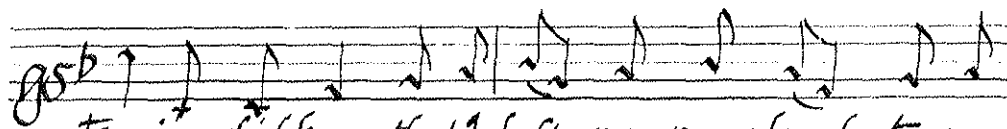
-bord a king's ship and he ask'd me to go just to



sea for a trip And he talk'd of such things, as if



sailors was kings, and so teasing did keep, and so



teasing did keep, that I left my poor plough to go

*g s b* ploughing in the deep, no longer the horn calls me

*g s b* Up in the morn No longer the horn calls me Up in

*g s b* the morn, I trusted the carfindo and the Unconstant

*g s b* wind, that made me for to go and leave my dear

*g s b* behind.

*g s b*

I that once a ploughman. or The Carfindo, The Lucky Escape or  
The Ploughboy turned Sailor.

Another of Dibdin's songs first performed in one of his entertainments; it appears to have been written to allay fears of the navy and life at sea.

This is another example of Simon transcribing a Dibdin song from a book or from sheet music not from broadsides. Members of the family visited Nottingham from time to time and he may have bought a song book there, but it is more likely that he borrowed the music from one of his friends. At this time the musical life of both Bingham and Southwell was thriving and we may speculate that Simon attended concerts and had friends in either or both these places.

1. The Lucky Escape. The Selected Songs of Dibdin, p.293
2. The Ploughman Sailor. The Universal Songster. Vol.II p.359.
3. The Carfindo, (with) I'll not beguile thee from thy Home. E. Hodges  
from Pitts (1850?) Madden 11.58 & B.M. C11611
4. The Ploughboy turned Sailor. (Carpenter not Carfindo) Madden 10.676  
& Madden 18.366.
5. The Lucky Escape (with) Huzza! for the Blooming Lasses (&) Sweet  
London Belles! Pitts, 6 Great St. Andrews St.,  
Madden 9.181.
6. The Lucky Escape. No printer Madden 8.1098
7. The Carfindo or Lucky Escape. Batchellar, 14, Hackney Rd. Cr.  
Madden 12.503.

8. The Lucky Escape. No printer. Madden 7.608 (Large print with diamond-shaped illust. in centre).
  9. The Ploughman turned Sailor. John Harkness, 121 Church St., Preston. T. Crampton Collection of Broad­sides. Vol.V. p.65 B.M. 1162h11
  10. The Carfindo. H. Disley, 57, High St. St. Giles. Ibid. Vol.II p.62.
  11. The Ploughman Sailor. W.S. Fortey (Catnach Press). 2 & 3 Monmouth Court. Ibid. Vol.II p.81.
  12. The Lucky Escape. The Edinburgh Musical Miscellany. 1793 p.195 (Tune as in Reddish).
  13. Ploughman turned Sailor. Robert White Collection of Broad­sides. No. 104 Newcastle University Library.
  14. Ploughman turned Sailor. (Large print of sailor returning home) Ryle & Co, printers 2 & 3 Monmouth Court, (1850?) Madden 11.539
  15. The Ploughman turned Sailor (with) Quite Politely. John Harkness, Preston No.15. Madden 18.542.
- Known in America, The Lucky Escape. Elegant Extracts for the German Flute or Violin. Baltimore 1794. Vol. I. p.26-28.

Soldiers Adieu.

Simon Reddish, pages 33-34.

collated with The Selected songs of  
Charles Dibdin, p.259.

Adieu, Adieu my only life, my honour calls me from ye,  
Remember thowst a soldiers wife, those tears but will become thee, /thou'rt  
what though by duty I am call'd, Where thundering Cannons Rattle,  
where Valour self might stand aplaud, where Valour might stand appall'd  
when o ye wings of thy dear love, /appall'd  
To heavin above thy servant or her sons are flown, /fervent orisons  
the tender prayer thou put on shall call a guardian angel down, /put'st up  
shall call a guardian angel down to watch me in the battle. there

My safty thy fair truth shall be, as sword an bucklet serving, /safety  
my life shall be more dear love, because of they preserving, /to me  
Let heril come let horroure threat, let thundering cannons Rattle, /peril  
Fearless seek the conflict heat, assured when on the wings of love, /I'll  
horror  
conflicts

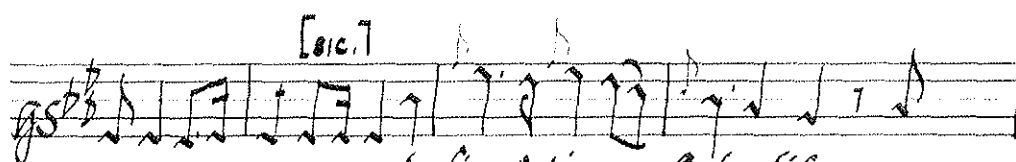
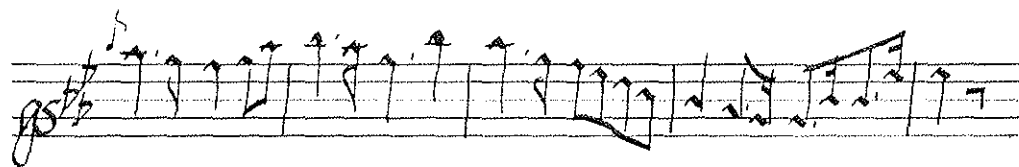
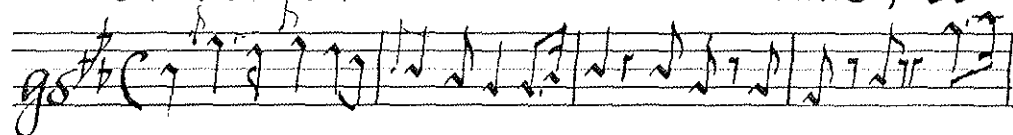
To heav'n above &c.

Enough, with that benignant smile, some kindred gods inspiring thee  
who saw thy bosom Void of guile, who wondred and admired thee, /knew wonder'd  
I go assured, my life, adieu, the thundring cannons Rattle, /though  
the murdering carrase stalks in View, when on the wings of thy true love,  
/though carnage

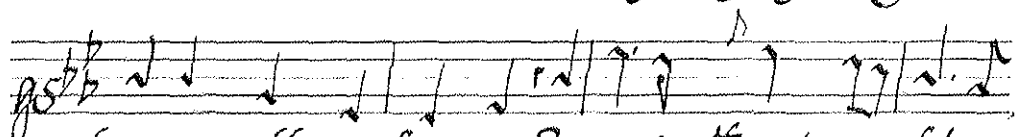
To heav'n above &c.

*Soldiers Adieu.*

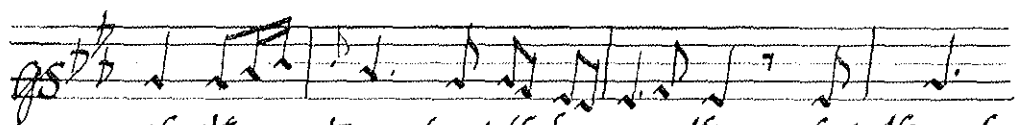
*Simon p. 33*



*Adieu Adieu my Only life my*



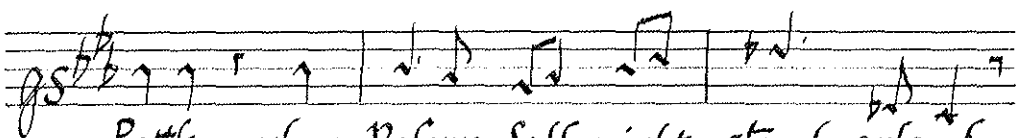
*honour calls me from ye Remember thou't a soldiers*



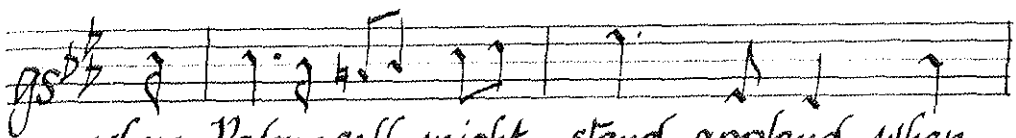
*wife those tears but ill become thee what though*



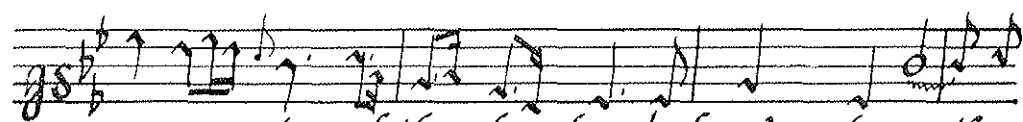
*by duty I am call'd where thundring Cannons*



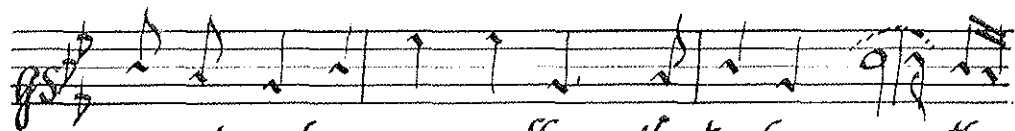
*Rattle where Valour Self might stand apland*



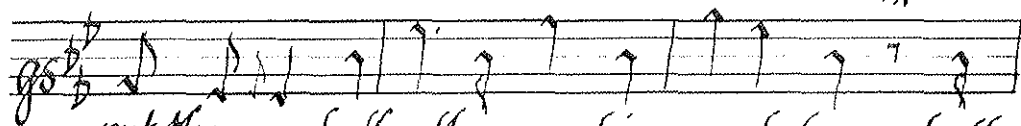
*where Valour self might stand apland when*



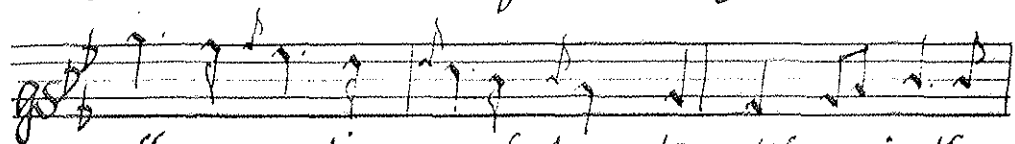
on ye wings of thy dear love to head'n above thy



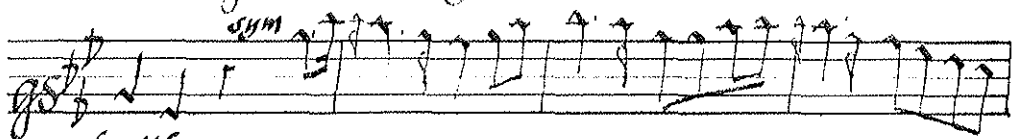
servant or her sons are flown the tender prayer thou



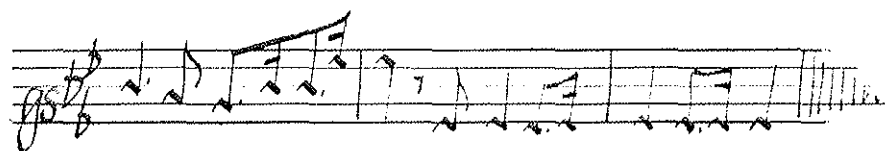
put there on shall call a guardian angel down shall



call a guardian angel down to watch me in the



battle



The song was written for one of Dibdins entertainments named 'The Wags' or 'The Camp of Pleasure', possibly about 1790, and enjoyed some degree of popularity at the time, appearing in songbooks and chapbooks. France Thompson refers to six printings in Newcastle Chapbooks in the University Library Collection, a surprising number from one collection.

The versions inspected have all been of a high standard of printing and it would be interesting to know if the mistakes found in Simon's version were made by him or if they were in the song sheet or book he had borrowed. Certainly he appears to have been an inaccurate copyist, but the difficult phrase 'they fervant orisons' becoming 'thy servant and her sons' pose the question, when was the change made?

1. A Soldiers Adieu. The Select Songs of Charles Dibdin. p.259
  2. A Soldier's Adieu. The Universal Songster. Vol.I p.212
  3. A Soldiers Adieu. A Select Collection of Songs. John Waldrie, Hendersyde. B.M. 1507/1754.
  5. A Soldiers Adieu. Newcastle Chapbooks, Numbers 14, 203, 236. 237, 281, 428. Newcastle University Library.
- Known in America. The Soldiers Adieu. Elegant Extracts for the German Flute or Violin. Baltimore, 1796. Vol.II. pp. 10-11.



The Woodman's Stroke.

Simon Reddish page 35-36.

collated with Universal Songster

Vol.III. p.325.

Far Remov'd from Noise and smoke,  
Hark! I here the woodman's stroke. /hear  
Who dreames not as he fells the Oak, /dreams  
what mischief dier he brews, /dire  
how art may fell the falling tree /shall shape his trees  
in Aide of ease and luxery, /luxury and ease  
how art may fell the falling tree /shall shape his trees  
in Aide of Ease and Luxery. /luxury and ease  
He weighs not matters such as these  
but sings and hacks and hews  
sings, sings, sings, sings and hacks and hews.

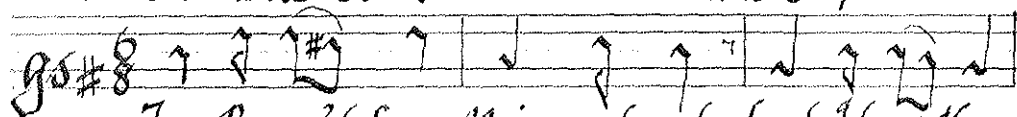
perhaps Now felled by this bold man,  
the tree may from the spruce Sedan,  
Or wheelbarrows where Oister Nan /oyster  
Runs on her Vulgar Riggs. /rig  
The stage, where boxes crouds and flocks /boxers crowd in  
Or Elss the quacks, perhaps the stocks, /else  
Or posts for signs, Or Barbors blocks /barbers  
Where shines the parson's Wigg.

<u>he makes</u> , <u>bold phesants</u> O what Grief	/thou mak'st, bold peasant,
the <u>Gibet</u> , on which hangs the thief,	/gibbet
the Seat, where Sits the <u>Grave</u> lord Chief,	/great
the throne, the <u>coblers</u> Stall;	/cobbler's
thou promp <u>et</u> s life in Every Stage	/pamp'rest
Make <u>follies</u> whims, <u>prides</u> <u>Acquepage</u>	/Folly's Pride's equipage
Or <u>Childerns</u> toys Or Crutches for Age,	/children's
And Coffins for Us all.	

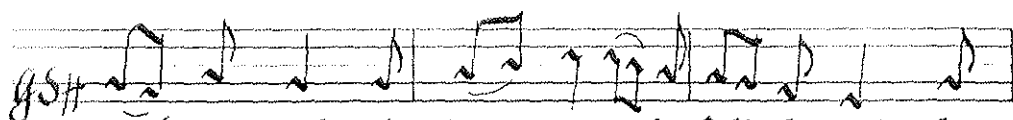
Yet, justice lets Us Still <u>a ford</u> ,	/afford
these <u>chaire</u> and this <u>Conovall</u> Board,	/chairs convivial
the <u>bings</u> , that holds good bacchus hoard,	/bin
Confess the woodmans Stroke	
he makes the press, that <u>bled</u> the Vine,	/bleeds
the <u>but</u> that holds the <u>Generous</u> Wine,	/butt gen'rous
the hall itself, where <u>typlers</u> join	/tipplers
To crack the mirthfull <u>joake</u> .	/joke

# The Woodman's Stroke

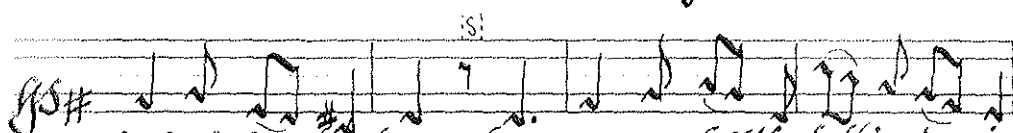
Simon p35



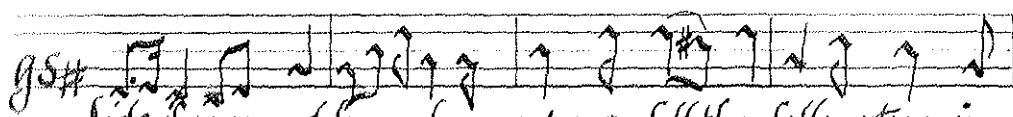
Far Remov'd from Noise and smoke hark I here the



woodmans stroke who dreames not as he fells the Oak what



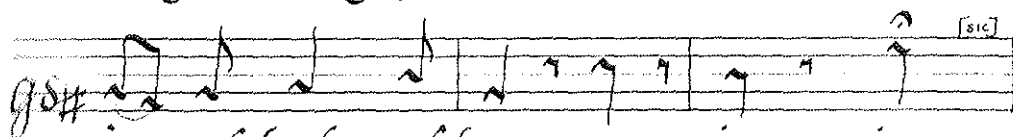
mischiefe dier he brews, how art may fell the falling tree in



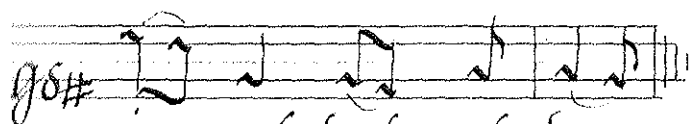
Aide of ease and luxury how art may fell the falling tree in



Aide of Ease and Luxury he weighs not matters such as these but



sings and hacks and hews sings sings sings



sings and hacks and hews.

This ballad was written while Dibdin was in Nottinghamshire in the time of the Prince Regent. He was engaged as a master of ceremonies at Rufford Abbey to provide entertainment for the future George IV, and during one of his rambles in Rufford Park he noticed the activities of an aged woodman who had felled a vulnerable oak. The incident gave him the inspiration to write the song The Woodman's Stroke which was first sung by the author on one of the evenings during the Prince's stay at Rufford.<sup>1</sup>

The song enjoyed great popularity on song sheets and broadsides in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and continued to appear in songbooks until the 1860's. It does not seem to have been recovered from the oral tradition and, although most versions in print follow the original words, one or two changes have been found.

'The late Captain Strickland of the Port of Lancaster: who as afterwards killed in defending his Ship, against a French Privateer of superior force, 'wrote an additional verse.<sup>2</sup>

We are most indebted to that Stroke,  
Which first proclaimed the fall of oak,  
By it we're freed from Slavery's Yoke,  
Which tyrants would impose;  
'tis Oak which still protects our Coast,  
Britannia's Bulwarks and her boast,  
So let us England's Navy toast,  
the dread of all her foes.

- 
1. A visit to Sherwood Forest, James Carter 1850. from a letter to Nottingham Weekly Express, 1916, Doubleday, A.p.60.
  2. The Woodman, Harkness. Madden 18.729.

The tune was re-used in the area in a Song of the Derbyshire Colliers.<sup>1</sup> The theme is a common one praising the collier and his worth, the first verse being typical of the song.

Ye sons of luxury and sloth,  
List while I sing the Colliers Worth,  
Who when due labour calls him forth  
He quits the smiles of day;  
Descends to regions underground;  
Where death and danger lurks around,  
Yet cheerful at his work he's found  
And sings his fears away.

In the Reddish manuscript, Simon has been careless in his copying of the words and has made some apparent errors of understanding, for example, in verse 2 he writes 'boxes, crouds and flocks', instead of 'boxers crowd in flocks'; and in verse 3, 'bold phesant' instead of 'bold peasant', surely the earliest example of this hoary chestnut! He also makes a nonsense of the word 'convivial', in verse 4 by writing 'conoval'.

Oyster Nan (verse 2) enjoys a broadside ballad of her own, 'As Oyster Nan Stood by her Tub', a bawdy ballad of Nan discovering the delights of copulation.<sup>2</sup>

---

1. Song of the Derbyshire Colliers, tune Woodmans Stroke, B.M. 11621, h.11.

2. Oyster Nan, Pills to Purge Melancholy, 1719-20.

1. The Woodman (with) Winter Piece, Pitt, 6 Great St. Andrew St.,  
Madden 9.645.
2. The Woodman, T. Batchelor, 14 Hackney Road Crescent, Madden 12.438
3. The Woodman (with) Virtuous Resolution. Duker, Printer, Prescot.c.1808  
Madden 18.520
4. The Woodman. Walker, Durham. Madden 16.695
5. The Woodman. Pitt, 14 Great St. Andrews St. (Mixed italic and  
normal typeface). Madden 8.1337
6. The Woodman. no printer. Madden 8.1337a
7. The Woodman. George Waters, Bookbinder, Dudley, Staffs.  
(Late printing). Madden 20.280
8. The Woodman (with) Crazy Jane. Swindells. Madden 18.143
9. The Woodman. T. Batchelor, 115, Long Alley, Moorfields, London.  
Madden 7.637
10. The Woodman. J. Davenport, 6 St. Georges Court, St. John's Gate.  
West Smithfield. (poor printing) Madden 6.1968
11. The Woodman (with) The King, God Bless Him. (William IV?)  
Fordyce. Newcastle. Madden 16.214.
12. & B.M. 18 76e3 & Robert White Collection  
Vol.24.10. Newcastle University Library.
13. The Woodman. Catnach. B.M. 1876d41
14. & Madden 10.569
15. The Woodman. No printer. Sheffield University Broadside  
Collection.
16. The Woodman. Universal Songster. Vol.III p.325
17. The Woodman. Selected Songs of Charles Dibdin. 1845. p.278.
18. The Woodman. Willey, Cheltenham. Madden 23.539.
19. The Woodman. Nantan & Davis, Hanging ditch, Manchester.  
Cecil Sharps Book of Broadside, no.1.  
Cecil Sharp House.
20. The Woodman. & additional verse. Harkness. Madden 18.729.

Blithe sandy is a bonny boy  
and always would be wooing,  
nor is he e'er two bold or Coy, /too  
all tho' he is a cooing.  
Last night he prest me to his bræst, /pressed breast  
and Vow'd he'd ask me dady, /Daddy  
Oh dear to wed me he Confess'd  
he's mee Caledonian Laddy O. /me  
he me bonny, bonny, bonny heland boy, /he's form of Highland  
me bonny, bonny, bonny, heland boy  
he's me bonny, bonny, bonny, bonny, heland boy,  
he's mee Caledonian lady O. /me laddie

2

The Maidens tries both far and Near, /try  
to gain Young Sandy Over,  
but all their arts I do not fear,  
he will not prove a Rover,  
for sure he told me frank and ffree /free  
In Spite of mam or dady O /daddy  
he'd marry me and none but me  
he's mee Caledonian Lady O /me Laddie  
he me bonny &c.

the Other day from Dunden fair,

/Dundee(?)

he brought me home a bonnet,

A Cap and Ribben for my hair,

/Ribbon

But mark what Soon came on it

for straight to kirk we some how stood,

Unknown to mam or dady o

/daddy

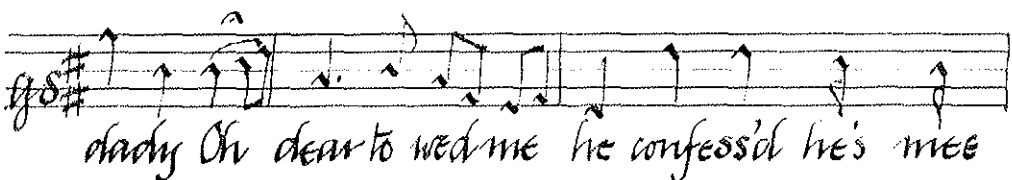
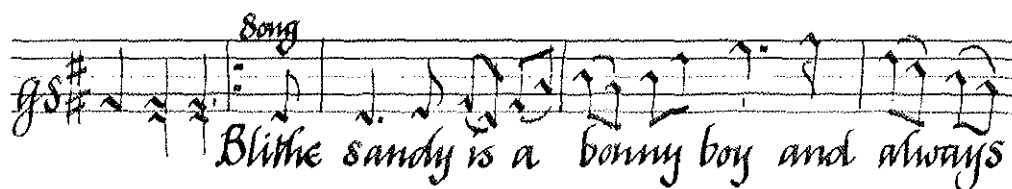
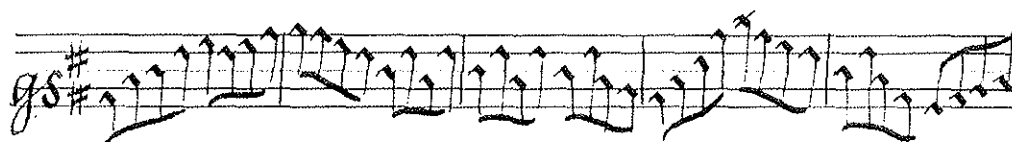
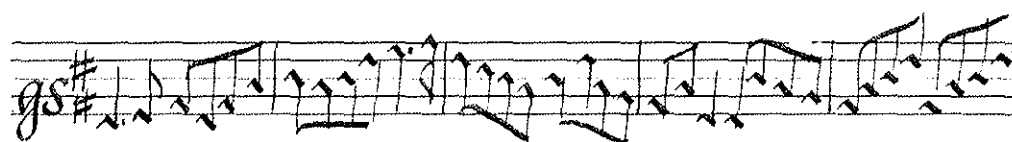
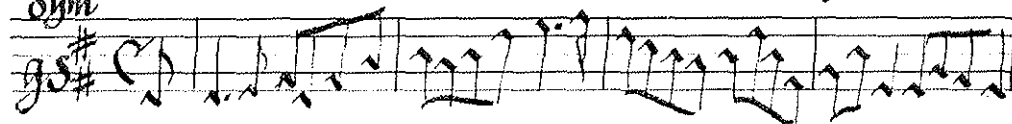
he'ed marry me do all I could

he's me caledonian Laddy O

he me bonny &c.



Nwice Caledonian Laddie Oh. Simon p37.  
Sym



g♯ *Caledonian Laddy O he[s] me bonny bonny bonny*

g♯ *heland boy me bonny bonny bonny heland boy*

g♯ *he's mee bonny bonny bonny bonny heland boy he's mee*

g♯ *Caledonian lady O*

g♯

Caledonian Laddy O.

This song was popular on broadsides late in the 18th and early in the 19th centuries, all versions having the same words; it seems to have faded from the song sheets and books by the middle of the 19th century and it does not appear in the Universal Songster; a reasonable guide to loss of popularity of this type of song.

It does not seem to have been written by Dibdin or any of the well-known writers as no authorship is given on any of the broadsides except for one American Publication giving authorship to Hook, but two state that it was sung by Mrs. Franklin which may indicate that it is a song from the pleasure gardens or the concert hall, sung by the same type of singer, to the same sort of audience, as The Beggar Girl (see notes). I have found no trace of the song in the oral tradition, perhaps not surprisingly.

1. The Caledonian Laddie (with) The Bailiffs Daughter. W. Shelmadine,  
Manchester, Madden 18.75
2. The Caledonian Laddie (with) Jockey to the Fair. Swindells.  
Madden 18.107
3. The Caledonian Laddie. Mantz for J. Pitts. Madden 8.841.
4. The Caledonian Laddie. J. Jennings, 15 Water Lane, Fleet St.,  
Madden 7.377
5. The Caledonian Laddie (with) Such a getting up stairs.  
Harkness, Preston. Madden 18.531
6. The Caledonian Laddie. Printed by M. Bowley, 96, Aldergate St.  
London. Sung by Mrs. Frankin. Madden 4.249.

7. The Caledonian Laddie. Howard & Evans, 42 Long Lane. Sung by  
Mrs. Franklin. Madden 7.37
8. The Caledonian Laddie (with) the Swiss Girl. Hodges from Pitts.  
31, Dudley Street. B.M. 11621k4  
Vol.II p.276.
10. The Caledonian Laddie. No printer. Madden 18.531.
11. The Caledonian Laddie. Nottingham University Broadside Coll.  
Vol.II no.17.
12. The Caledonian Laddie. Newcastle Chapbooks. No.39. Newcastle  
University Library.
13. The Caledonian Laddy. Favorite Songs by Mr. Hook. Philadelphia  
1794-95 (Harmony) p.2-3.  
Quoted from Sonneck, Bibliography of Early  
Secular American Music.

Come and listen Rowling kiddys<sup>1</sup>, to ye songs which now I sing  
how I by a brace of bibbers<sup>2</sup>, tother night was taken in,  
being funny, full of money, nothing but a moll<sup>3</sup> would please me  
But the brimston<sup>4</sup> did me fling.

2

Nigh to temple bar I met her, maddam, she was dress so fin, / Temple Bar, <sup>maddam</sup>  
With a smile she stopt and ask'd me, to trate her with a glass of wine, / .. <sup>dressed</sup>  
Up an Alley we did salley, Rumley<sup>5</sup> to a kent<sup>5</sup> did blunder, / <sup>stopped treat</sup> sally  
There we had pleasant shine.

3

Maddam tos'd the glass so freely, that I quickly went to sleep,  
There she nail'd<sup>8</sup> myself so neatly, Ops the twigg with all my bit.<sup>9</sup> / <sup>removed</sup>  
when the bully<sup>10</sup> wake the cully<sup>11</sup>, crying blow your bundle quickly, / <sup>herself</sup> bugle(?)  
And no longer sleeping sit.

4

Staggering home I meet another blossom<sup>12</sup> too here I told me case, / to her  
There, she said, I should go no further, then she took me to her place,  
And she told me how she lov'd me then we went to bed together  
Curs'd like on her and some face. / light handsome

5

In the morning when I waked what a sceneing of missorry showd, / scene of  
the docksy<sup>13</sup> gone and left me naked missled<sup>14</sup> of with all my close. / <sup>miserly showd</sup> doxy  
in Vain I called, Ror'd and brawled, Cap't ye Ragged blanket / <sup>clothes</sup> bawled(?)  
Round me, In that plight Right home I goes.

The worst of all I'm sure it shock'd me, my case it was so vere,  
 She rob'd and stript besids she pox me enough to make a parson swar,  
 Young men take warning night and morning  
 Least that you should go a molling,<sup>15</sup>  
 And the same hard fate should Share.

It serves me Right the truth is granted  
 we find it so thro life,  
 If I had a woman wanted  
 I might gone home to my wife  
 She'd not have teas'd me  
 but have please'd me  
 And we might have Sleep'd in safety  
 wich would Ne'er a caus'd this strife.

- 
1. Rolling Kiddy - smart thief (Partridge)
  2. Bib - to tipple (Partridge)
  3. Moll - harlot (Partridge)
  4. Brimstone - avirago or harlot (Ibid)
  5. Rumley - Finely, gallantly, or oddly eccentrically. (Ibid)
  6. Ken - House or place, Boozing Ken, a drinking den, or ale house (Ibid)
  7. Shine - a fine show (Ibid)
  8. Nail - to rob or steal (Ibid)
  9. Bit - money or purse.
  10. Bully - protector of prostitutes or a companion.

11. Cully - a constable 17thC or man companion 19thC. (Partridge)
12. Blossom - variant of Bloss or Blowen - low harlot (Ibid)
13. Doxy or doxey - a beggar's trull or female beggar (Ibid)
14. Missled - decamped, departed slyly (Ibid)
15. Molling - going about with low women (Ibid)

Come and Listen Rowling Kiddy.

The Dictionary of Historical Slang edited by Eric Partridge was essential in understanding this ballad, written in cant. Why Simon chose to write down this song is a puzzle, and how much he understood of the slang, we can not know.

Mr. Partridge attempts to indicate the earliest and latest dates for the use of expressions, but this does not always prove to be accurate. He defines Rolling Kiddy - A smart thief. c.a. 1820-90, but as Simon's version must be before 1800 this predates Partridge's reference by a considerable number of years, nor do we know how old the ballad was when Simon found it.

No identical broadside has been found in any of the broadside collections studies, but one other has the same title, The Rolling Kiddy<sup>1</sup>. It begins:

The youth comes up to town to learn all modern foppery,  
To London town, no better place to teach those from the country,  
He soon finds out what is wanting, like him he sees one in ten,  
He runs to the barber's shop and hits a swinging tail, and then,  
O this is the way to be a rolling Kiddy O,

The girls will admire you, and say you are the tippy O. &c.  
It is written in the same type of slang and may ne from the same date and writer.

In his delination of blossom, Partridge mentions that the word occurs in an anonomous ballad The Rolling Blossom, c.1800 and it is

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1. Rolling Kiddy. No printer. Madden 6.6128.



possible that this may be the title of John's Come and Listen...  
Hotton's Dictionary of Slang 1859 adds to the definition of Blossom  
by relating it to 'Blowen - a showy or flaunting female, now (1959)  
a prostitute only'. (Our word Blousy must be from the same root).  
'In Wiltshire a blowen is a blossom and in Germany Bluhen, a bloom'.  
In the old german folk song Die Fahren in's heu, it seems to be  
used in the sense of a promiscuous person. 'Sie Drückte den blühendedn  
Buben ans herz..

Through Life to go easy and free. a New Song. John Reddish, page 41.

A traveller full forty years I have been

But never tript over to france;

/tripped

/France

All Cities, and most markets, towns have been in,

/market towns

Twixt berwick-on-tweed and penzance,

/Berwick-on-Tweed

/Penzance

All Seasions and times of the year,

/seasons

In fashion Still find a

---

The Traveller

by J. Pitt, 14 Great St. Andrew Street. Madden. 8.1291.

A traveller full forty years I have been  
But never went over to France  
All cities and most market towns have been in,  
Twixt Berwick on Tweed and Penzance,  
My own native country with pleasure I range,  
All seasons and times of the year  
In fashion still find a continual change,  
Something novel will always appear,  
The world, tho' tis round, as about it we go,  
Strange ways turns, and crosses we see,  
But the favourite road, which I wish to pursue  
Is through life to go easy and free.

The traveller braving a bleak win'try day,  
To what place he so e'er may resort,  
When reaching his inn, is as cheerful and gay,  
As the sailor that gets into port,  
Well feasted and serv'd, his refreshments how sweet,  
What comfort it gives to the heart,  
And where a few friends unexpectedly meet,  
How fond each his tale to impart,  
For know, this idea, which non can detest  
Has long been imparted to me,  
That whatever maxims are follow'd, the best  
Is through life to go easy and free,

If fraught with good humour I care not how much  
In sentiment people divide,  
In opinion for differing, my temper is such,  
I scorn any soul to deride,  
Tho' the dictates of reason flow pointed and strong  
Such prejudice hangs on my mind,  
From debates, howe'er pertinent, nervous and strong  
You seldom, a convert will find;  
Then give me the man, wheresoever I call,  
That always will sociable be,  
If we can think alike still the beauty is all,  
Is through life to go easy and free.

As sons of the Whip must to business attend,  
I always make much of the day,  
At night with my bottle, my pipe and my friend  
The moments glide smoothly away.  
All travellers, truly it must be confest,  
Good orders are glad to receive,  
Disappointments in trades never rob me of rest  
For madness I deem it to grieve;  
Then my worthies, the toast which I give I'm inclin'd,  
I trust with all minds will agree,  
Wishing every free hearted friend to mankind,  
Through life to go easy and free.

The Widow that Keeps the Cock Inn.    Nottingham Broadsides 118/B2.

A traveller for many years I have been,  
But I never went over to France -  
Most cities and all market town I've been in,  
From Berwick on Tweed to Penzance,  
Many hotels and taverns I've been in my time,  
And many fair landladies seen -  
But of all the fair charmers who other outshine  
Give me the sweet widow -  
The dear little widow,  
I mean the sweet widow that keeps the Cock Inn.

2

Her lips are as roses as e'en is her wine,  
And like all her liquors, she's neat,  
She's full of good spirits, that's really devine  
And while serving her bitters, looks sweet,  
Excuse these outpouring, they spring from the heart,  
You may laugh - so shall I, if I win,  
One smile of consent, how 'twould lessen the smart,  
From the active young widow,  
The spruce little widow,  
The little widow that keppts the Cock Inn.

There's Bet at the 'Blossom' and Poll of the 'Crown',  
 Fat Dolly who owns the 'Red Heart',  
 There's Kate of the 'Garter and Star', of renown  
 And Peggy who keeps the 'Skylark',  
 Spruce Fan of the 'Eagle' and Nan of the 'Bell',  
 Pretty Jane of the 'Man drest (in Green)' /broadside torn  
 But of all the fair creatures (that) others excel,  
 Give me the sweet widow,  
 The nice little widow,  
 My neat pretty widow who keeps the Cock Inn.

Ther's Nance at the 'Old Women clothen in Gray'  
 I look black upon her I vow,  
 Even Letty who graces the 'Old Load of Hay',  
 I don't care a straw for her now,  
 There's another decanter'd just now in my heart  
 I for none of the rest care a pin.  
 Oh, that Cupid the rogue, would but let fly his dart,  
 At the pump little widow,  
 The gay little widow,  
 The Spirited widow that keeps the Cock Inn.

When last in her little bar parlour I sat  
 I joked her about her lone state,  
 A brood of young chicken's dear widow mind that,  
 Would be netter around you prate,  
 Says she, pray dont reckon 'for they are hatched,  
 says I, where's the harm or the sin?  
 You can manage a second, we're very well match'd  
 You dear little widow,  
 You charming young widow,  
 You're nice little widow to keep the Cock Inn.

Then here's to the dear little charmer I prize,  
 In a bumper now filled to the brim,  
 For who could resist such a pair of black eyes,  
 As in rich liquid moisture they swim,  
 Away, then away, with my batchelors vow  
 My hand then in hders, with the ring,  
 For is she is willing to take me in tow,  
 I'll marry the widow,  
 The dear little widow,  
 I'll marry the widow and keep the Cock Inn.

Through life to go easy and free.

This fragment of the first verse of a ballad appears to come from the broadside in the Nottingham University Collection 118/B2, entitled 'The Widow that Keeps the Cock Inn'. The first four lines are identical but the remaining one and a half lines do not match the broadside quotes, neither does the title given by John occur anywhere in the words of The Widow. The song John had begun to copy was a different ballad found only twice in the Madden Collection, and titled on the broadside the Traveller, and using John's title as the recurring last line.

I have given both ballads in full to demonstrate the inter-relationship of the subject matter. It is not clear which song came first, but the Traveller is set on a higher moral plain and for this reason may be considered the original, but it could be argued that a popular writer tried to re-write a low song of the day into a more worthy composition.

Another song with related opening verse is The Itinerant Confectioner.

'Iv'e travell'd up and down,  
All the country over,  
een every market town  
All the way to Dover.....

1. Traveller, J. Pitts, 14 Great St. Andrew St., Seven Dials.  
Madden 8.1291 (Grey paper & blunt type).
2. Traveller. No printer. Madden. 6.1839.
3. The Widow that Keeps the Cock Inn. Nottingham University Collection.  
118/B2
4. The Itinerant Confectioner to the tune 'Bob & Joan'.  
J.P. Robson, Bards of the Tyne. 1849.



In Rochester City a damsel did dwell,  
for wit and for beauty none could her excel /excell  
Admired she was and had many a Suitor /Suitor  
But one youth above all and he lov'd her well,  
This Charming young Lad he was a brisk sailor,  
Long time had been plowing the watery main.  
The enemy insulted the British flag royal,  
He was Summon'd to go to meet them again.

Rochester Lass.

Printed and sold by, J. Pitt. No. 14 &c. Madden 8.683.

In Rochester City a young damsel did dwell,  
For wit and for beauty none could her excell,  
Admired she was and had many a suitor,  
But one youth above all he loved her too well,  
This charming young lad he was a brisk Sailor,  
Long time he'd been ploughing the watery main  
The enemy insulted the British Flag Royal,  
He was summon'd to go with them again.

This jolly young fellow has true as reported,  
Has been but a few weeks on the shore,  
But as he and his true love was walking  
He by a large press gang from her was tore,  
They cried we perceive you are a young sailor,  
That's fit for to fight for your country and King,  
And as we want sailors you musy plough the ocean  
No excuse we will have, we must face the bold rebels over again

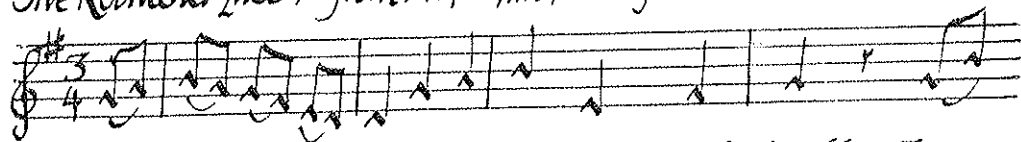
It was early one morning as the day was dawning,  
This bloom'd young fair one a letter receiv'd,  
'Twas to inform her the ship had weigh'd anchor,  
With grief and vexation this fair one was griev'd  
She said O the waves they do prove cruel  
They have robb'd me of one I esteem so dear  
My mind so tormented with grief and vexation,  
While from her bright eye fell many a tear.

It was wrote in these words my love don't be surprised  
Once more I'm compell'd to plough the rough sea,  
But never the less dear girl don't be grieved,  
To you and you only constant I'll be,  
Tho' many a fair one I shall see there's no doubt on't,  
When the ship is in port or in harbour she lays  
No one shall induce me to think of another,  
While I am away, mind I hope in return you will do so by me.

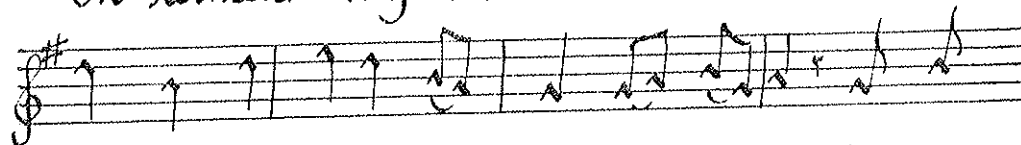
So adieu my dear Sally, till next time I see you,  
Our ships bound for India all with a free gale,  
Quite early tomorrow the day is appointed,  
All hands must prepare to go and not fail,  
So heavens protect you until the next meeting  
Which I hope will be soon that the wars may be oer,  
And then my dear Sally, we'll unite in sweet harmony,  
And lead our lives happy when secure on the shore,

Also a sequel, including "Sally having been whining and pining  
for grief while he fought the Spaniards and came home to marry her"  
Last line missing!-

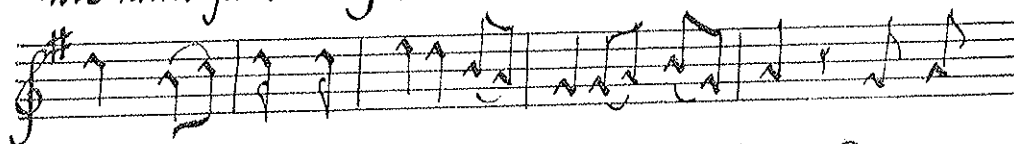
*The Rochester Lass. from Mrs Hill, Stamford. J.F.S.S. No 4. p 224.*



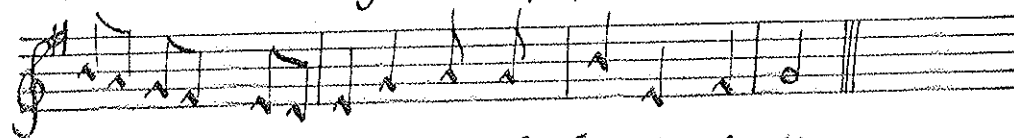
*In Rochester city a damsel did dwell. For*



*wit and for beauty none could her excel. She was*



*handsome in her features, proper and tall, But a*



*constant true lover was the beauty of all.*

### The Rochester Lass.

The single verse given by John is close to the Pitts broadside quoted in full, the song being popular on broadside during the first half of the 19th century. Bob Thompson thinks the song goes back to 1684<sup>1</sup> but I can not quote the black letter broadside he has seen. It was not written by Dibdin nor does it appear in the Universal songster although several different broadside printers produced copies of the song over a considerable period of time.

Sharp, Vaughan Williams, and Kidson all knew the song from broadsides but there is no evidence that any of these collectors recovered the song from the oral tradition, the only record of such recovery being found in the Hammond, Gardiner and Broadwood collections.

The song contains sentiments found in The Unhappy Parting (Ms. p 77) but there is no indication why John should give one verse only, yet, at a presumed later date give the complete text of The Unhappy Parting.

1. Rochester Lass. Printed & Sold by J. Pitts. Madden 8.683
2. Rochester Lass. T. Bloomer. Madden 21.42
3. Rochester Lass. J. Pitts. Madden 11.438
4. Rochester Lass. J. Pitts, 6 Great St. Andrew St. Madden 9.544
5. Rochester Lass. J. Pitts, 6 &c. Madden 10.321
6. Rochester Lass. No printer, Madden 8.1206 & 19.157
7. Sequel to the Rochester Lass. Madden 8.706 & 707
8. Rochester Lass (&) Annie Laurie. A. Ryle B.M. C11611 p. 240
9. Rochester Lass. Rial & Co. T. Crampton Collection of Broad­sides. B.M. 11621 h 11 Vol. II p.118
9. Rochester Lass. H.P. Such. Ibid. Vol.000 p.118
10. Rochester Lass. From Mrs. Hall Stamford, Lincs. 1893 J.F.S.S. No.4.p244 words & tune.

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1. Interview at Cambridge, 9.12.72.

11. Rochester Lass. Newcastle Chapbooks no. 205. Newcastle Univ.Lib.
12. Rochester Lass. Cecil Sharp's Book of Broad­sides, no. 54 Cecil Sharp House.
13. Rochester Lass. Broadwood Ballad Sheet Coll. p.96, p.170 Ibid.
14. Rochester Lass. Vaughan Williams Scrapbook of Broad­sides, p.38 Ibid.
15. Rochester Lass. Library Broadside Collection. Vol.4 p.16 Ibid.
16. Rochester Lass. Broadwood Ms. p.114 Ibid.
17. Rochester Lass. Gardiner Ms. H.519; H 1204; H 1348 Ibid.
18. Rochester Lass. Hammond Ms. D900. Ibid.

Off all the Sweetest flowers that grow  
There is none Compared to the rose;  
The roses red, the roses white,  
and things pleasant to my Sight.

Chours

/Chorus

Let them come early, late, or Soon  
I will enjoy my rose in June.

2

Amongst the thorns the rose it grows,  
If you prove false it will prove false to you,  
The rose is gone, the rose is fled,  
The pain of love is in my head.

3

You lads and lasses beware in time,  
Dont neglect Sweet betsy in her prime  
For She is gone whome I adore,  
and She has left me for evermore.

/Betsy

4

The vilets on the banks are Sweet,  
But not to Compare to the rose I greet,  
For She is the girl I only love,  
So help me all ye powers above.

/violets

Farewell my rose Since we must part,  
For you're the girl that's wounded my heart,  
But now that the war calls me away,  
No longer with my jewel can I stay.



The Rose in June.

Madden. 7.569.

P. & S. by Jennings Water Lane Whitefriars, London.

Some idle throughout spend their time,  
Not to enjoy the rose in prime.

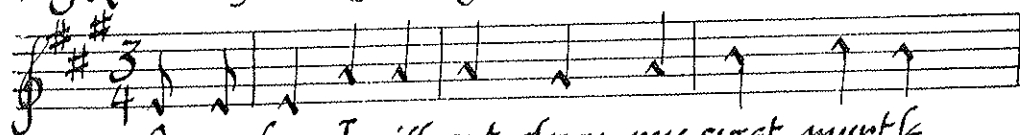
Let is be early late or soon  
I will enjoy my rose in June.

The violets make the meadows smell sweet,  
None with my roses are complete,

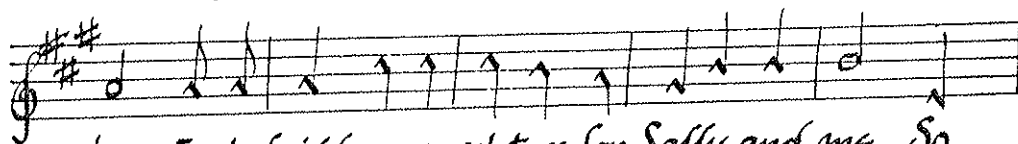
Let etc.,

Primroses make the meadows look neat  
None with my roses are so neat,  
Cowslips make the meadows look fair,  
None with my roses can compare,  
Of every sweet flower that grows,  
None can compare with my blooming rose.

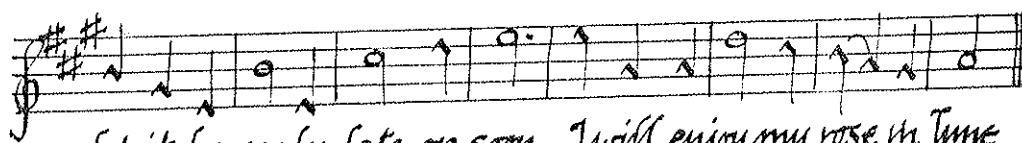
My Rose in June. from G. Dowden. Hammond Ms.



O my love I will cut down my sweet myrtle



tree For to build up a cot tage for Sally and me, So



let it be early, late or soon, I will enjoy my rose in June

Rose in June.

Although the ballad appears frequently in both broadside and oral collections, and with several verse patterns, I have not found John's song in any of the versions. His ballad has a four line verse instead of two lines and it cannot be sung to the usual tunes without being monotonous.

Most of the other songs detail the beauties of country life and the superiority of the rose of various flowers, while John tells of the thornier side of the rose and his broken heart which he will forget in the wars to which he is called. The chorus remains the same in all examples.

1. Rose in June. Jackson & son, Birmingham. Baring-Gould Broadside Collection. British Museum, no number.
2. The Rose in June. Jennings, Water Lane Whitefriars, London.  
Madden 7.569
3. The Rose in June. Walker, printer Durham. Madden 16.630
4. Rose in June. 42 Long Lane. Madden 6.1630
5. Rose in June. No printer, B.M. 1875d5
6. Rose in June. with The Buxom Lass. Jackson & son, later J. Russell  
Madden 21.485.
7. The Rose in June. or Let it be Early, Late or Soon. from  
John Vincent, Priddy, Somerset, 1906. Cecil Sharp's  
Collection of English Folk Songs. Vol I, No. 102.
8. The Rose in June. From Will Lockyer, Middlezoy, Somerset, 1906.  
Ibid.
9. Rose in June. From Henry Thomas, Chipping Sodbury, 1907. Ibid.

A man of mean extraction.

John Reddish, page 57. Collated with  
BM 1162/c2

A man of mean <u>extraction</u> <u>that</u> <u>Liv'd</u> in	/Directions of late
<u>Woosterd</u> was guided and derected to	/Worcestershire by Affection
<u>Coat</u> of Lady fair, whose <u>face</u> <u>Shine</u>	/Court Eyes shin'd
Like the morning <u>Son</u> upon the <u>Lies</u> gay	/Dew Lilly
She <u>head</u> grace in her face and <u>well mixt with</u>	/had pleasing to the Sight
<u>Modestie.</u> &c.	

The constant Lovers of Worcestershire.

A man of mean Directions  
Of late in Worcestershire,  
Was guided by Affection,  
To Court a Lady fair:  
Whose Eyes shin'd like the Morning Dew,  
Upon a Lilly bright;  
She had Grace in her Face,  
Was pleasing to the Sight.

2

She was an only Heir  
Unto a Gentleman,  
And all her Father's Care,  
Was to match her unto one:  
But the Farmer's Son being handsome,  
To gain the Lady's Heart,  
In so far that no Ransome,  
Could ease a Lover's Smart.

## 3

But when her Father came to hear,  
 And understand the Thing;  
 Then said he, I will free,  
 My fond Daughter in the Spring:  
 The Spring time being come and gone,  
 There did a Press begin;  
 And all her Father's Care,  
 Was to press the Farmer's Son.

## 4

No Money shall be taken,  
 Said she, if it be so,  
 For I will never tarry here,  
 But along with hem will go,  
 On the twenty third of April,  
 She writ a Surgeon's Part,  
 With Bagle and with Instrument  
 To all try loyal hearts.

## 5

With Bagle and with Instrument,  
 A Surgeon's Part to try,  
 Then said she, I will be  
 Where the Cannon Bullets fly:  
 On the Twenty third of May,  
 Then did the Fight begin;  
 In the Forefront of the Battle,  
 There stood the Farmer's Son.

Who did a Wound receive,  
 In thick Part of his Thigh  
 In his Veins near his Reins,  
 There it pierc'd something nigh;  
 Then to the Surgeon's care,  
 He was commanded straight,  
 The first that he saw there,  
 Was the Surgeon's Mate.

And when that he had seen her,  
 And view'd her in every Part;  
 Then said he, one like thee,  
 Once was the Mistress of my Heart;  
 If she be dead, I ne're will wed,  
 But stay with thee for ever;  
 And we will live, like a Dove,  
 And we'll live and die together.

I'll go to thy Commander,  
 If he'll set thee at large,  
 Ten Guineas I'll surrender,  
 To purchase thy Discharge;  
 So they went both together,  
 And in a little Space,  
 She met with his Commander,  
 And to him told her Case.

He pleased with the Gold,  
 Soon set the Farmer free;  
 And she brought him to England,  
 Over the raging Sea:  
 And when she came to her Father's Gate.  
 And there had knock'd a while;  
 Then out came her Father,  
 Who said, here stands my Child.

Which long Time hath been missing,  
 I thought to see no more:  
 Then said she, I've been seeking,  
 For him that you sent o're;  
 And since that I have found him,  
 And brought him safe on Shore,  
 I'll spend my Days in England,  
 And cross the Seas no more.

Oh, Daughter, I am sorry,  
 For the Thing that I've done;  
 Oh, Daughter I am willing,  
 That he shall be my Son:  
 Oh then they were married,  
 Without any more Delay,  
 And now the Farmer's Son,  
 Does enjoy his Lady gay.



A man of mean extraction.

John chose to write one verse of this song and it seems likely that he decided that the story of the song was unacceptable to him, either because it was close in substance to another ballad or he was daunted by the sheer length of the broadside; nine verses in the version quoted.

The story is common to several ballads; the problems of a rich girl falling in love with a poor boy.

In this particular version, the press gang is employed by the father to remove the farmer's son to fight overseas; the girl becomes a surgeon's mate and rescues him from the battlefield after he is wounded, buying him from his commander and bringing him home in triumph gaining her father's forgiveness and living happily ever after.

A similar story occurs in 'The Pretty Ploughboy', page 76, and we may speculate upon the impact of the press gang in Nottinghamshire at this time. Simon writes out Dibdin songs in praise of the sailors life but John and Garves are more concerned with the horrors of war and the sea in particular.

1. The Constant Lovers of Worcestershire. The Worcestershire Garland. B.M.1162c2(76).

It's a Brisk young damsel that ever you did here /hear  
She liv'd Sarvant at a inn, it was in Staffordshire, /Servant  
A welthy Squire as you here upon her cast an eye, /wealthy  
A guinea he did give her all with him for to lie.

2

But on the next morning while drinking of his tea,  
These words unto the mistress the squire he did say  
Mistress where is your Chambermaid for I think it Strange,  
Last night I gave her a guinea She has not brought me change?

3

Good lack-s-day said the mistress you need not be afraid  
Upon my life and honour She is an honest maid  
Young Betsy hearing what was Said Strait in the room She went /straight  
Here take again youre guinea Sir I cannot get it Changed. /your

4

But mark what follows after you presently Shall hear,  
Her Sister being married and living very near,  
Her Siter She did prove with Child & She brought forth a son, /sister,  
They both agreed to gather to take the Squire it home. /together

5

In its best bib and tucker without any more to do  
Then Straight unto the Squire's hall ye Sarvant girl she gow /Servant go  
Inquiring for the Squire bould directly out of hand /bold  
He nimbly Stepp'd up to the door witch put him in a Stand. /which

## 6

Oh do you remember a guinea to me you gave,  
 And now Iv'd brought you back your change and you ye same shall have,  
 And if you do the same refuse to a Justice I will go,  
 And you shall have your Change again whether you will or no.

## 7

He said go to the rose and Crown and I to you will Come,  
 And let all things be Smother'd up and not one word be known,  
 A hundred guineas he paid down to her that very day,  
 And glad enough the Squire was she took her Chang away.      /change

## 8

Good Luck unto young betsy for She had wit at will,      /Betsy  
 She Sarv'd the Squire very well for using of her ill,      /Served  
 Young Betsy in Service Still so witty and so mild,  
 A hundred guineas She has got all with her Sister's Child.

The Squires Change

J. Pitt. 6 Great Andrews Street. Dials. Madden 8.1267.

Its of a brisk young servant maid as you the truth shall hear,  
She lived servant at an inn, it was in Staffordshire,  
It's of a brisk young squire on her cast his eye,  
A guineas he would give her one night with her to lie,

2

Then early the next morning he to her mistress said,  
He said to her mistress, where is your servant maid?  
Where is your servant maid? for I do think it strange,  
Last night I gave her a guinea and she has not brought the change.

3

Good lack-a-day! said the mistress, you need not be afraid  
For on my word and honour she is a pretty maid,  
Betsy overhearing them into the room she came  
Here, sir, take back your guinea, for I could not get it changed.

4

But mark what follow'd after you presently shall hear  
Young Betsy had a sister and she lived very near.  
Her sister she conceived and brought forth a son,  
They both agreed to take it the squire home.

5

In it's best bib and tucker they drest it out so neat,  
Inquiring for the squire and soon they found his seat,  
Do not you remember a guinea to me you gave,  
And now I've the change and you the same shall have.

6

For if you do refuse to the Justice I will go,  
And you shall have your change sir, whether you will or no.  
He said go down to the Rose and Crown, and to you I will come,  
Let all things be hushed up and not a word be known.

7

Two hundred pounds he did pay down, to her that very day,  
Very glad the squire was she took her change away,  
Here's a health unto young Betsy, she's got wit and will,  
She searved the squire right for using her so ill.

8

Betsy keeps her service, so witty and so mild,  
Two hundred pounds young Betsy got, all by her sisters child.

The Squires Change.

Other Titles: Leicestershire Chambermaid, Staffordshire Chambermaid,  
Manchester Chambermaid, The Butcher's Frolic,  
The Butcher and the Chambermaid, Change for a Guinea.

This ballad appears in two forms, (1) The Squire's Change, in which the chambermaid uses her sister's child to gain money from the local squire; and (2) The Butcher and the Chambermaid and the other titles, in which the maid conceives and uses her own baby to force the travelling butcher to provide for her child and herself.

A place name usually appears in verse one, Pitts gives Staffordshire, others use Leicestershire, Newcastle, Manchester and Morpeth. Often the butcher is travelling from the north with cattle or to buy cattle; implying that men from the north of England are seducers and rogues. Although no version uses the word drover, travelling butcher, and drover may have meant the same thing at the end of the 18th century.

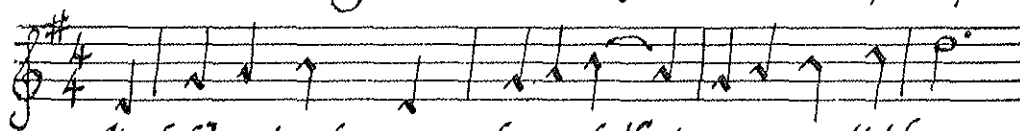
The Leicestershire Chambermaid is still sung in folk clubs but the less common Squires Change does not appear to have survived in the oral tradition.

The Pitts broadside is lacking in two lines and is obviously not the copy John used. Seven or Seven-and-a-half verses seem usual on the broadsides examined. Pitts may have pirated an earlier version or taken the words down from a singer who had in turn forgotten part of verse five. The later broadside versions seem to have to have been copied from Pitts and perpetuate the loss of two lines.

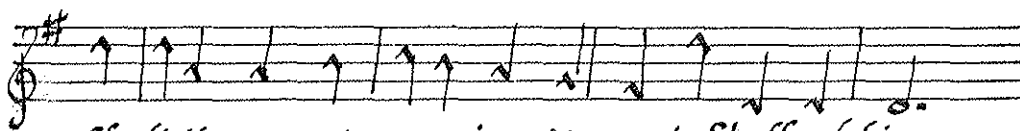
The tune heard in folk clubs is a version of the 'Lark in the Morning' tune (see Reddish p.103).

1. The Squire's Change. Pitts, 6 Great St.Andrews St., Madden. 8.1267
  2. The Squire's Change. W. Collard, Bridewell Lane & Hotwell Road,  
Baring-Gould Collection of Broad­sides.  
B.M.LR271a2.
  3. The Squire's Change. & Madden 23.298
  4. The Squire's Change. (with) Dick's Courtship. T. Bloomer, Birmingham.  
7½ verses. Madden 2.110.
  5. The Squire's Change. & Cecil Sharps Book of Broad­sides, no.191  
Cecil Sharp House.
  6. Change for a Guinea. Swindell, similar to Pitts. Madden 18.190
  7. The Butcher and the Chambermaid. mentions Newcastle & Morpeth.  
Ross, Royal Arcade. Newcastle. Madden 16.471
  7. Leicestershire Chambermaid. No printer, Madden 16.707
  8. Leicestershire Chambermaid. Birt, printer, 39 Great St.Andrews St.,  
Madden 12.258
  9. Leicestershire Chambermaid. no printer (filed with Fortey, successor  
to Catnach). Madden. 11.822
  10. Leicester (sic.) Chambermaid. E. Hodges from Pitts 1841?  
Madden 11.213
  11. Manchester Chambermaid. Swindells. Madden 18.385
  12. Staffordshire Chambermaid. No printer. Madden 3.701 & 702
  13. Staffordshire Chambermaid. No printer. Madden 3.723 & 724
  14. Butchers Frolic. Robert White Collection of Broad­sides.
  15. The Squire's Change. (with) Dumb wives Tongue let loose.  
Hurd, Shaston (Shaftesbury?) Madden. 23.112
- Related ballad; The Merry Fiddler Done Over. ....& Co. Monument Court,  
Bloomsbury. Madden. 11.586.

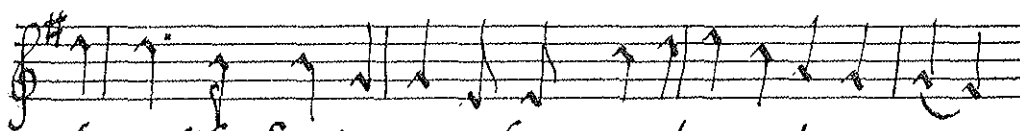
*The Squire's Change, tune The Lark in the Morn, Sharp. no. 249A.*



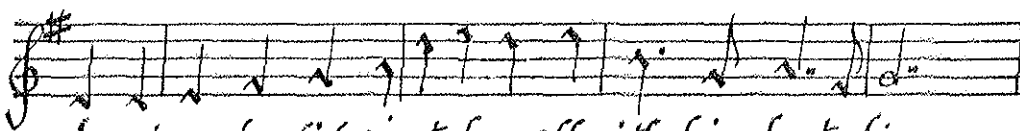
*It's [of] a brisk young damsel that ever you did here*



*She liv'd servant at a inn, it was in Staffordshire.*



*A wealthy Squire as you here upon her cast an eye.*



*A guinea he did give to her all with him for to lie.*



Valentines.

John Reddish p.61.

Sure <u>has</u> the grapes grow on the vine	/as
I drew you for my valentine. Some drew	
Valentines by Lots and Some drew them that	
They Lov'd, But you I drew to my	
Content, the fire shall freeze if I repent.	
You <u>hear</u> little you <u>heare</u> <u>pritty</u> , you	/are pretty
<u>Here</u> Single and <u>that a pitty</u> , So I keep	/are that's a pitty
Single for your Sake and a happy <u>Cupple</u>	/couple
We shall make. join <u>and an</u> heart join	/hand and
Love for ever, yours may Change But mine	
Will never, for as I was <u>viwing</u> the <u>liles</u>	/viewing lilies
Fair, the birds flew <u>Cupled</u> in the air	/coupled
But one flew out from all the Rest	
So I thought of you <u>whome</u> I love	/whom
The Best - The Rose is red and the	
<u>Vilets</u> Blue, the <u>Liles</u> fair and so <u>here</u>	/Violets lillies are
You &c, <u>Daffydowndiles</u> they <u>heare</u>	/daffodowndillies are
<u>Yallor</u> So I hope in time to <u>bee</u> thy	/Yellow be
Bedfellow, So no more from your	
Wellwisher Valentine.	
And Soforth.	

Valentines.

Valentine verses for every occasion were printed on broadsides and in chapbooks in the 18th and 19th centuries. John has copied a page from one of these, providing himself with four valentines for use at a later date. Most of the sheets of valentines I have seen have been of slightly later than the manuscript, and it is interesting to find the custom in use in Nottinghamshire as early as 1800.

Although the actual broadside copied by John has not been identified it is a good example of the types seen on other sheets. Two examples from The Herald of Love or The Complete Valentine Writer, are in the same style.

Pure as the snow-drop on the lawn  
The virtues that your breast adorn;  
Sweet lovely maid as meek you be  
As gentle doe-eyed charity.

To a Miller.

Whene'er I come into the mill  
My beating heart will not lie still,  
For love has caused such a wound  
That like your sails, my heart goes round,  
To pity may your heart incline  
And take me for your valentine<sup>1</sup>

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1. The Herald of Love. B.M.012331g3

1. The Herald of Love; or Complete Valentine Writer. Durham  
Chapbooks c. 1836. B.M.01233g3.
2. A Collection of Original Valentines. B.M.011644de30.
3. A Collection of new and original Valentines. Ward Lock c. 1850.  
B.M.11648b23.

Catnach Catalogue lists sheets of New Valentines and The Season for Love, a collection of Choice Valentines.

Rincodine

John Reddish Version A, p.62-63.

1

One evening in my ramble  
I from my true love Came  
I Met a farmers daughter  
All on the mountains high  
I said my pretty fair maid  
Your buty Shins so clare  
Upon the Lofty mountains  
I'm glad to see you heare

2

She said young man be Civele  
My Company for Sake  
for to mt great oponyon  
I fore you er Some rake  
And if my perents they Should know  
My life they will distroy  
for keeping of you Company  
All on the mountains high

3

Indeed I ham no rake But brought up in vinis train  
Seeking for Concelatement all in the judges name  
your buty so intices me I Could not pass you by  
So with my gun I'll garde you all on the mountains high

This pritty Little madin She Stood all in amase  
 With eyes as brite as amber She did upon me gase  
 Her Cherry Cheeks and rubin tips  
 I had Losd the farmers die  
 I fell into her harms love  
 All on the mountains high

I Kis'd Her once I kis'd twice  
 She Came to me again, & Said young man  
 Be Sevil my Company forsake  
 for to my grate oponyion  
 I feare you are arake  
 And if my perents they should no

This Song is Rong

A New Song      Upon the Mountains High

John Reddish Version B. p.86-87.

1

One night of late I rambled  
A mile be low Bannero  
I met a farmers daughter  
All on the mountains high  
I said my pritty fair maid  
Your buttty Shins so Clare  
And on the Lofty mountains  
I'm glad to see you heare

2

She Said young man be Sevil  
My company for Sake  
for to my great opyion  
I fear you er a Rake  
And if my parents they Should no  
My Life they will distroy  
for keeping of you company  
All on the mountains high

3

In deed I am no rake But brought up in vanis trane  
Seeking for concelatement all in the judges name  
Your buty so intised me I could not pass you by  
So With my gun I'll garde you all on the mountains high

4

This pritty Little maden  
She stood all in amazed  
With eyes as brite as hamber  
She did upon me gase  
Her Cherry Cheeks and rubin Lips  
I had Loosed the farmers die  
I fell into her harms love  
All on the mountains high

5

I kiss'd her once I kiss'd her twice  
She Came to me again  
And Said young man be Sevil  
And tell to me your name  
Go you to yonder forrist  
My Castle there you'll find  
Whose wroate in hanchant histry  
My name is rincodine

6

He Said my pritty maden  
Donte let my parents know  
Praph it may prove my ruin  
And fatill overthrow  
Go you to yonder Castle  
there you will not me find  
I will be in my garden  
there Call for rincodine

So all you pritty madens a warning take by mee  
Se that you quite in walking and Shun bad Company  
for if you doant you'll Surely rue unto the day you dye  
Bee ware of meeting rincodine all on the mountains high

Simon Reddish his Book East Bridgford Nottingham  
Wrote by John Reddish of East Bridgford Nottinghamshire



Reynardine.

This particular song fascinated a wide audience from the time it first appeared in printed form in the late 18th century until the present day in both Britain and America. Even at first hearing the underlying mystery of the song is evident and further investigation leads to a complex number of theories and interpretations which may place the song among the few remaining examples of residual and basic folk concepts. Certainly I feel that the song contains ideas far more complex than any of the other songs in the collection and is worthy of as much research and interpretation as is possible.

At a superficial level the story of the song is simple. A young man rambling in a rural area (lonesome plain, mountains high), meets a farmer's daughter and begins to compliment her on her beauty, expressing his delight at meeting her. She is not impressed and asks him to be polite enough to remove himself, citing her parents extreme anger (my life they would destroy), at the thought of keeping company with him. He denies being a rake but states that he has been well educated in good manners towards ladies (brought up in Venus' train), but that he is on the mountains to avoid detection (concealment from the Judge's men, all in the Judge's name), and promises to guard her with his gun, but does not disclose why he is carrying a gun or from what danger he is protecting her.

The girl becomes mesmerised by the man and losing her colour, falls into his arms in a faint. He kisses her twice and she recovers, asking his name. He tells her to go to the forrest and find his castle, a building so old that it is documented in

ancient history, ask for him there, his name is Reynardine. He warns her not to tell her parents as they might prove fatal to him. Again he suggests that she looks for him at a later date at his castle and if he is not indoors he will be in his garden.

The last verse in the broadsides warns young maidens not to go walking at night and keep away from bad company or they will rue for the rest of their lives, particularly if they meet Reynardine. Herbert Hughes' version from the oral tradition adds the verse that day or night she follows him because his eyes shine and tempt her.

Before looking more closely at the song and its possible background it seems relevant to state that it is impossible to look at folk songs alone in such research, folk motifs occur in both songs and stories and over centuries may change from one form of presentation to the other and back again several times, or even be found in both song and story at the same period. In earlier centuries, when people were able to spend a whole evening listening to one theme, a mixture of story and song was often used, known as a cant-fable. By the 19th century in Britain, and slightly later in America, the cant-fables were generally split up into their separate songs and stories and used individually.

I would like to suggest that in consideration of the song Reynardine, that here we have a ballad which was once part of a longer cant-fable and that if we relate it to two stories known as Mr. Fox and the Grave, and Mr. Fox and the Severed Hand, we can reconstruct at least part of the earlier work and that this cant-fable developed from earlier medieval stories of

Reynard the Fox, in conjunction with the earlier Christian missionary fables used as propaganda against cannibalism.

At the end of this chapter I have included one joint version of the two stories mentioned above. The story given appears to be the most recently collected from the oral tradition. Although it is from America it contains the essential elements of all the other versions.

In trying to analyse the continuing popularity of a song or story it is sometimes possible to isolate elements in the performance which touch some basic chords in the listener's mind and in some way reflect a half remembered primitive fear or, through the oral tradition, a continuation of a pre-christian idea. This possibility was recognised in the last century when researchers into folk song and story began to see deeper significance and underlying meanings in the motifs contained in the material in the oral tradition and the importance of the relationship between oral traditional material and the history of man before written evidence.

Sabine Baring-Gould is quoted as saying,  
"It is only of late years that household tales have been regarded as of interest by men of learning. For long they were thought to be "milk for babes", but to have nothing in them which could repay a moment's study by one who had emerged from childhood. But the great Grimm saw that in these stories for children lay fragments of ancient mythology, and he learned to trace them from land to land, and thus proved them to be previous heirlooms, derived from our primeval ancestors

before they parted into separate nationalities. The mine was discovered by Grimm, others have gathered ore from it, but none have thoroughly worked it out, traced its veins, and exhausted its stores of mythological wealth'.<sup>1</sup>

A development of this theory led to the catagorisation of the elements of folk myths and stories by Stith Thompson<sup>2</sup> and others, to try to list the motifs in folk literature and so to gain a wider understanding of their parallels.

Also to be considered in relation to this gain in understanding of the length of the folk memory, is the occasional evidence to be seen in archaeological reports supported by local legends previously considered not to be based on fact. The obvious example of this evidence is the well documented story of the opening or removing of a pre-historic or celtic burial mound near the village of Mold in Flintshire in 1832.<sup>3</sup> It had been traditionally believed that a golden spectre clad in armour haunted the area, and when the burial mound was removed, a large skeleton was found clad in a corselet of gold lined with bronze. There seems no other explanation but that the story of the burial had been passed from generation to generation orally since prehistoric times.

If we can accept that the oral tradition can, in rare cases, be traceable back to pre-christian times, it should be less difficult to accept that some of our present day stories

1. Sabine Baring-Gould, quoted by Ronald Holmes, The Legend of Sawney Bean. p.8.
2. Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature. 1955.
3. Sir J. Rhys, Celtic Britain, (Soc. for Promoting Christian Knowledge). 1884.

and songs may go back in their themes to early Christian or medieval times. The early church is known to have used stories and fables to carry its message to the common people, and by the middle ages visual support for these fables was evident in the carvings and paintings in many of the churches. Today we may find these irrelevant and purely secular, but at the time they were intended to help illiterate church members to retain the stories and the morals taught through them.

The early church must have been faced with many difficulties in grafting Christian beliefs onto paganism. In their attempts to absorb as much of the pagan practices as possible, they built their first churches on the sites of pagan temples, encouraging the converts to continue coming to the same place of worship. The pagan feast days which fell near to church festivals were linked together and it is thought that the rise of the cult of the Virgin Mary may have been linked with the continuance of the pagan belief in the powers of the earth mother which the church had failed to eradicate. Perhaps the attitude of the church in absorbing rather than openly rejecting certain parts of paganism helped the widespread acceptance of Christianity in Britain, but the tolerance of established customs could only go so far and several aspects of paganism needed to be firmly suppressed and taboos established in their stead.

It would seem that these taboos became so firmly planted in the minds of the common people that they have lasted throughout the centuries, if not in their original form, at least in their associated and underlying displeasure and

abhorrence shown through the stories and fables attached to them.

One of the basic beliefs the church was forced to take a very strong line on, and among the most difficult to deal with, was the problem of cannibalism among pagan people. Through archaeological evidence and the observation of primitive people still living in isolated parts of the world, it seems certain that many of the early pagans found strength from consuming parts of other humans, to acquire the bravery of a slain enemy, or to continue the family strength, by the son taking parts of the dead father. If blood was recognised as the life force of a person, it may have been considered that to drink the blood of a young person would rejuvenate the declining powers of the older members of a clan.

It seems probable that the first Christian missionaries to Britain found these practices being indulged in by the people they were converting to the Christian Church, and the need to establish a taboo on cannibalism would have been further complicated by misunderstanding of the Christian Communion service with its mysteries of the body and blood of Christ.

So arose the need for strong anti-cannibalistic propaganda to be established through the telling of stories and the gradual build-up of abhorrence and taboo against the practice.

That the church succeeded in building and maintaining codes of conduct and major areas of taboo in the minds of their followers, may be illustrated by studying the subject matter of folksongs and stories and how they have been recovered during the last two hundred years. If one looks at the taboo of incest as

one example of subject matter in folklore, one is struck by the minute number of songs relating to incest, and to the utter abhorrence to the inadvertent breaking of the taboo found in some of the songs remaining to us. Sheath and Knife, (Child 16), is one of this small band of songs centred on the sin of brother seducing his sister, and it has only been recovered on very few occasions although the chorus 'He'll never go down to the broom nae mair,' is still used in Northumberland at least, as a phrase illustrating the passing of youth and freedom and carrying with it the feeling of doom and gloom.

The most interesting recovery of a complete ballad thought to have been lost forever, is again a ballad of incest. Fragments of The Maid and the Palmer, (Child 21), were recovered by Child in the nineteenth century, but although the story was more frequently found in continental and Faroese ballads, it was not expected to be recovered in the 20th century in Britain or America and the conclusion drawn by Bronson in Tunes to the Child Ballads, was that we had lost the complete ballad for good. However, in the Addenda to Vol. IV, Professor Bronson is able to print two versions of 16 & 17 verses called The Well below the Valley, collected by Tom Munnelly in Ireland in 1968 or 1969 from John Reilly of Roscommon. Tom Munnelly tells us that he found that many of the older singers refused to sing the song because of its sinister, incestuous overtones.

Perhaps this is evidence more for the need to establish a close personal contact between the singer and the collector, than for lack of evidence of the existence of the song. When one considers the 19th century collectors and the prevalence of

middle-class gentlemen and reverent ministers among these hardworking enthusiasts, it is more understandable that the social gap between them and the singers caused the singers to suppress material considered to be too personal and serious for the ears of listeners outside their own class and background. In recent years this social gap has tended to disappear and a greater understanding of the art of building relationships before beginning to collect material has led to such finds as The Well below the Valley.

To return to the blood drinking element of cannibalism, Ronald Holmes, in his book, The Legend of Sawney Bean, looks at some of the folk tales where an element of the story relates to the interest of the villain, generally an ogre, giant or witch, in consuming human flesh and blood. Without thinking too hard we can recall several nursery stories which contain elements of cannibalism, perhaps the most obvious being Hansel and Gretel. Another legend known to Shakespear and still popular today, is Jack and the Beanstalk. In King Lear, Shakespeare gives, 'Child Rowland to the dark tower came. His words are still -

Fie, foh and fum,  
I smell the blood of a British man'.<sup>1</sup>

Frances James Child<sup>2</sup> gives another example of a Scottish children's version of the same,

'With fi, fi, fo and fum!  
I smell the blood of a Christian man;  
Be he dead, be he living, wi' my brand  
I'll clash his harns from his harn-pan'.

1. Lear. Act III, Sc. IV.

2. Frances James Child, English & Scottish Popular Ballads.  
Vol. V. p.201.



Blood and brains being the important part of a man supposedly carrying the life force and the intelligence, one would expect a cannibalistic giant or ogre to wish to consume those parts of his victims.

The drinking of fresh blood, warm from the body of the animal, seems to have been a normal adjunct to hunting certainly until the time of Elizabeth I and James VI, causing no surprise to onlookers and supposing to strengthen the drinker. Most versions of Johnnie Cock, (Child 144) give verses recounting that he and his hounds slept after the kill and so were vulnerable to attack.

'They eat the flesh and they drank the blood,  
And the blood it was so sweet,  
Which caused Johny and his bloody hounds  
To fall in a deep sleep'.<sup>1</sup>

If we can accept that the build up of abhorrence to eating human flesh and drinking their blood stemmed from the legends and myths begun by early Christian teaching, then we must expect to find the continuation of the stories relying upon the continued relevance of the stories or at least to a change or injection of topical interest. Therefore it is interesting to recognise that in the time of Shakespeare, we find that there is an upsurge of fear and horror of witchcraft and occult practices, and the dating of such stories as that of Sawney Bean, the Galloway cannibal can be traced to the time of James I & VI.

1. Child, No.144, collected 1780 from Percy Mss.

Sawney Bean was supposed to have lived, with his wife, children and incestuous grandchildren, in a cave system on the Galloway coast for 25 years killing and eating up to 1000 people during this time. One part of the story describes how the 'female cannibals cut out her (victim's) throat, and fell to sucking her blood with as great a gust, as if it had been wine'.<sup>1</sup> This drinking of fresh blood links the cannibal stories with the idea of vampirism and may have caused the church to give fresh impetus to its condemnation of such unnatural practices in the late middle ages when vampirism seems to have become important in the eyes of the British Church. As early as the end of the 12th century, William of Newburgh (1136 - 1201), told tales of vampires in Britain in his book, Historia Rerum Anglicarum.<sup>2</sup> It seems that the original ideas of vampires were usually dead bodies which were inhabited by demons carrying pestilence and plague, and, as was usual with legends, showed how God punished wickedness and evil and rewarded goodness. At first the stories contained information for stopping the animated corpses from spreading disease and thereby saving the area from infection; the usual way was to burn the suspect corpses. Later this aspect of generalised plague and pestilence became less important and the aspect of the stories which gained in horror was the preying upon the living individual by the 'undead' body, commonly thought to be by the undead needing to drink fresh blood to gain enough strength to continue moving and terrorising the neighbourhood. (Early blood transfusions?)

1. Ronald Holmes. The Legend of Sawney Bean. p.14.

2. Ronald Holmes. Legend of Sawney Bean. p.97.

Although Ronald Holmes<sup>1</sup> believes that vampire stories died out in Britain after the 13th century, I feel that some folk songs and stories consciously or unconsciously carried elements of these ideas through the period of the 14th to 16th centuries and were therefore ready for retelling at the time when witchcraft and occult practices became the obsession of the period during and after the reign of James I and VI. Reynardine or the unknown song which preceded it may be one example of this, but more obviously concerned with the undead is the ending to Lord Lovel, one of the older ballads. In the story the lovers die within a day of each other apparently of broken hearts, and are buried near to each other, one in the church-yard and the other in the choir, out of her grew a red rose bush and out of him sweet-brier. This romantic theme is found in most versions of the ballad, and indeed is a floating verse attaching itself to other similar songs, showing that it is a concept well liked by the oral tradition. The sinister undertones of the story have disappeared, but it is strange that over many parts of Europe, if a person had committed suicide, or was suspected of doing so, it was thought that the corpse was likely to become a vampire, and a precaution to be taken against the undead rising from the grave was to wrap the body in long prickly tendrils from wild rosebushes or briars, thereby preventing the vampire from escaping from the earth.<sup>2</sup>

1. Ibid. Legend of Sawney Bean. p.100.

2. Enid Porter, Cambridgeshire Customs & Folklore. p.30, a contemporary example of an old man planting trellis work of wild roses over new graves.

So over the centuries the picture of Reynard's character becomes established as that of an evil night roamer, red in colour, sly and clever in outwitting opponents, inveigling unsuspecting strangers into trouble, combining the natural character of the wild fox with the exaggerated moralistic evil-doer of the animal fables.

Caxton printed the story of Reynard the Fox and he also produced another romance containing an interesting name.

'The most pleasant History of Blanchardine, sonne of the King of Friz., and of the faire Eglantine, Queen of Tormaday, (surnamed) The Proud Lady in Love. By P.T.G. Gent, At London, Printed by George Sharr for William Blackwell. 1595. Reprinted from Caxton's Romance of Blanchardine and Eglantine'.

It is interesting that this title uses the name Blanchardine, 'dine' being a masculine ending as in Reynardine, seemingly a diminutive; Little Blanchard, Little Reynard. This idea is supported by another booklet printed in 1684, the first part is reprinted from Caxton and is his History of Reynard the Fox ; the second part is The Shifts of Reynardine, The Son of Reynard the Fox, or a pleasant history of his life and death. It is subtitled 'Full of variety and may be fitly applied to the Late Times. Now Published for the Reformation of Men's Morals'.<sup>1</sup>

This seems to be the first use of the name Reynardine, establishing it as being in existence before 1700, if widely known from this source, it would confirm the character as a son of the cunning and amoral Reynard, bearing his characteristics.

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1. See end of chapter for extract from this publication.

So the vampire idea probably continued in the peasant mind through oral stories and legends stimulated by fear of the occult and the powers of darkness and supported by church reminders against evil.

It seems strange that even in the present day interest in the dark side of life is unabated and stories of vampires and evil monsters are more popular than ever.

At about the same time as William of Newburgh was collecting British vampire stories we find that an animal epic with a hero or anti-hero in the shape of a fox was being written or compiled by Piere de Sant Cloud possibly based on Latin or Greek legends. The medieval church, continuing to make use of symbolism in its teaching, used this epic and other developments from it to provide a framework for moralizing allegorical teaching. The fox, now more commonly called Reynard, was depicted as a witty whiley creature by early writers as far back as the Roman, gradually became the symbol of hypocrisy, evil and deceit, in fact the devil in disguise, and very close in character to the undead, who rose at night and went to ground during the day, causing trouble in the surrounding countryside and spreading evil and terror wherever he went. It is not difficult to see how one character could merge into the other in the oral tradition. The other animal characters in the epic developed their own characteristics over a period of time and established themselves as weak or strong, stupid or cunning until it was possible to use the name to explain a type of person. In France, from as early as the 12th century, there is evidence that songs and stories written in France used the

obviously established animal names and characters to disguise political and anti-royalist satire.<sup>1</sup> The same idea was known in England and used in the animal badges of royal families and the rhymes and prophecies associated with them.

Reynard appears in Germany in about 1190 and in the early 13th century he was known in print in Italy and by about 1250 a short poem was found in English concerning the Fox and the Wolf. By about 1390 he appears as Reynard in Chaucer's *Nonne Preestes Tale* and finally the whole *History of Reynard the Fox* is printed by Caxton in 1481 in an English translation from the Dutch.

In his book on Reynard the Fox, Kenneth Varty believes that the stories contained in Continental epic built round Reynard and his animal companions were well known in England long before Caxton printed his translation from the Dutch and that this is shown by the great number of explicit carvings in churches throughout the country, made before Caxton.

It is also of marginal interest to note that the popular children's song telling the story of the Fox setting out at night to steal a goose from a farm and being seen by the farmer's wife, escaping from humans and returning to his wife and children with a good meal for them, appears to be an accurate song rendering of one of the stories found in the Romance of Reynard and frequently illustrated in church carvings.

1. Satirical songs of Phillippede Novare (1229-33) using *Roman de Reynard* names for Emperor Frederick II and his lieutenants. Quoted in Kenneth Varty. *Reynard the Fox*, P.22.

Two motifs which seem to be interrelated in the cantable and ballad are those of the fox and the vampire and I have indicated that they may have been confused in the minds of the storeytellers and singers and in the minds of their listeners. These two motifs appear in many of the stories and songs of both Europe and America exemplified in Stith Thompson's index and Katharine Briggs' Dictionary of British Folk Tales.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the more important links given in Stith Thompson illustrate the complexity of his work.

- D 113.3      Transformation of man into fox. Irish myth; Swiss; Icelandic; Missouri French; Chinese; Korean; N.A. Indian; Eskimo.
- D 313.1      Fox into person. Wolf to man; Irish.
- D 658          Transformation to seduce.
- E 217          Fatal kiss from dead child.
- E 251          Vampires, world wide.
- E 251.1       Vampires power overcome.
- E 251.2.3    Vampire brought to life by being fed human food and drink.
- E 423.23      Revenant as fox.
- E 451.41      Ghost asked to identify himself in the name of God.
- E 452.1       Dead quiescent during day.
- E 471          Ghost kisses living person
- E 612.4       Reincarnation as fox.
- F 302.3.4.11 Fairy's kiss fatal
- F 302.122    Tabu: kissing fairies, this puts one in their power.

1. Katharine M. Briggs, Dictionary of British Folk Tales. Routledge Kegan Paul, 1970.

G 303.10.14 The bagpipes are the devil's bellows. (N.B. Many carvings of foxes playing bagpipes).

G 303.3.3.22 Devil in the form of a fox.

G 303.4.3.1 Devil has a red beard.

These varied and recurring motifs seem to reflect a need to gain peace of mind and understanding of the mysteries of life and death which were not to be found in the church's teaching.

If we can consider that the song contains some of the motifs and intentions as the cant-fable then we can first discuss the cant-fable and then the placing of the song in the fable and the use of the song to enhance the whole impact of the story.

The cant-fable seems to represent a gradual building towards the exposing of the hand as proof of the guilt of Mr. Fox. Whether an object was used to lend authenticity to the story telling is not known, but a stuffed glove could be effective. (This side-light is relevant if it is considered that ghost and horror stories are an important part of a primitive culture's education towards control of fear).

The slow characterisation of Mr. Fox as an unpleasant and wicked person behind a mask of charm is apparent in all the elements of the story. It is necessary to introduce the name Fox early in the first story if he is a known type. One imagines him as red-haired, thin faced, smooth mannered and utterly amoral; slim, witty and plausible are adjectives associated with the name and through the popularity of medieval stories would be already established in the hearer's minds.



The story begins with the courting of a young girl by a stranger to the neighbourhood, a man living in an isolated house. He asks her to meet him under a big pine on the ridge on the following Saturday night. After agreeing she has second thoughts. She goes to the meeting place before the evening and hides herself in the branches of a great tree (pine tree).

Mr. Fox comes in the dark (carrying a lantern) and begins to dig a grave. Some versions have two people coming, Mr. Fox and a friend. Finally after waiting for the girl for most of the night, Mr. Fox leaves and the girl returns home, convinced that the grave was meant for her. She tells a riddle at a party on another night with the intention of informing Mr. Fox of her knowledge of his infamy, and the riddle has been preserved in oral tradition when the story has been forgotten. In 1887, Notes and Queries carried a correspondence concerning this riddle and its history and several versions were printed. One from North Derbyshire is given as:

One moonlight night  
As I sat high  
I watched for one,  
But two came by,  
The leaves did shake,  
My heart did ache,  
To see the hole the fox did make.<sup>1</sup>

1. Notes and Queries 7th S.S.O. Addy. March 19th 1887.

Another from Buckinghamshire is nearly the same:-

As I sat up in an ivy tree  
A wicked fox was under me,  
Digging a hole to bury me,  
But yet he could not find me:  
The boughs did bend and the leaves did shake  
To see what a hole the fox did make.<sup>1</sup>

A full version of the riddle and the story was sent in by Thomas Ratcliffe of Worksop,<sup>2</sup> he said that it was in every child's mouth forty years before in the Derby area. He gives the riddle as the introduction to the story and stresses that no riddle was intended; it was a calling-on-rhyme to indicate the type of story.

Riddle me, riddle me right.

Oh, read me this riddle, and read it aright.

Where was I last Saturday night?

The wind blew,  
The cock crew,  
I waited for one,  
And there came two.

1. Ibid. May 21, 1887.

2. Thomas Ratcliffe was born at Coxbench near Derby in 1843 and later went to Worksop. He never wrote any books but collected folk lore and wrote letters to journals such as Notes & Queries for fifty years. I own his only remaining common place book and hope to publish his work at a later date.

The woods did tremble,  
The boughs did shake,  
To see the hole  
The fox did make.  
Too little for a horse,  
Too big for a bee;  
I saw it was a hole  
Just fit for me.<sup>1</sup>

In another answer to the problem it was suggested that the second person to come by was not another man or fox to help dig the grave, but a second, less fortunate mistress, murdered in view of the heroine.

The riddle is not necessarily for answering and it serves to provide the first climax in the story. In the American version quoted the riddle appears at the end of the second story, the anticlimax of the first tale saying that she went home and that all was peaceful until Mr. Fox resumed his courting.

If the girl in the story had seen Mr. Fox with another victim, dragging her off to his house in the forest, this would provide a good link between the two stories, and would give an incentive for her to comply with his invitation to visit him. Some versions (including the American, speak of rumours of the disappearance of young girls in the village and the heroine is not to be caught by his guile.

1. Notes & Queries, 7th Series III, March 19, 1887

I suggest that at this point the song Reynardine could be placed as an example of his meeting and courting a young girl, one of his many victims. The last two verses in which he describes his castle in the forest, (lonely, wrote in history) tallies with the loneliness and seclusion of the house (mansion, castle) found by the heroine when she visits Mr. Fox. The song would be of help in the insidious growth of tension in the minds of the listeners. The girl visits this strange house when she knows Mr. Fox is away and finds strange signs of girls being murdered and their bodies stored in an upstairs room. She hears (is warned of) the villain's approach and hides under the staircase; she sees him drag a girl upstairs, cutting off her hand when she resists, and the severed hand drops through the lap of the hidden girl. She takes the hand home and uses it at a party to trick Mr. Fox into admitting his guilt. He is punished by the community.

We know that this section of the cant-fable is older than Shakespear's time as he quotes one of the speeches of Mr. Fox in 'Much Ado About Nothing'. Benedict says, 'Like the old tale, my Lord, "It is not so, nor twas so, but indeed, God forbid it should be to".'

There is no satisfactory explanation given to the recurring theme of blood and bodies found in the house, or the related warning given to the girl that she will lose her heart's blood if she is not careful. It could be suggested that this is a visualization of the abstract connection with vampirism or cannibalism; Mr. Fox, like a vampire, appears to have a need for young women in quantity and a habit of killing them rather than keeping them.

The song uses some of the same basic elements as the story. The girl is young and fair (farmer's daughter, pretty fair maid, your beauty shines so fair,) she is met in the evening, she is verbally seduced, she is encouraged to go to his castle in her own time; the story implies physical contact (two kisses) which have a startling effect upon the victim; she loses all fear of him and wishes to follow him. The argument may be made that kiss is the bite of a vampire which changes the victim into a vampire. Some of the motifs in Stith Thompson appear in the cant-fable and the song, and both may be read at two levels, one in which an implied seduction takes place and another where a deeper meaning, in keeping with the arguments put forward here.

It is obvious from the rewrite of Dr. Sigerson (see appendix to this chapter), that he was experiencing the original song at the first level and in his new ballad he explains the meeting as between a rebel or outlaw and his girl. Victorian morals would be appeased by the intention to marry expressed in the song, but it is possible that Dr. Sigerson felt something of the tragedy of the original when he chose to bring explicit rather than implied tragedy to his 'poor drowned bride'.

The song Reynardine has been in print in broadsides from the end of the 18th century and in songbooks from the beginning of the 19th. Bob Thompson suggests that the earliest broadside is that printed by Davenport (Madden 5.1164) datable to 1794.<sup>1</sup> The title is usually given as The Mountains High, or

1. Interview at Cambridge.

Upon the Mountains High, and by this name it is most often found in tune books. The words of the broadsides remain remarkably constant from this first printing, but, although the variations are few, they demonstrate printers' and singers' interpretation and misinterpretation of the subject.

It seems strange that the set of words appears in print in broadsides in such a complete and well rounded form and it is likely that the song had already been through the process of distillation in the oral tradition before it came into print, and that it had been in general use in both England and Ireland for many years prior to 1790.

The broadside version seems to be set in Ireland, generally 'five miles below Fermoy, or Pomeroy, although later versions corrupt the name or omit it altogether. The Reddish version B line 2 gives Bannero and version A uses a known alternative, I from my true love came, An American version corrupts the line into, 'Three miles of Rum and Rye'.<sup>1</sup>

The versions of the tune found in Ireland are generally known by the title Mountains High and it is from this family of tunes that Dr. Sigerson used the tune and idea for his rewriting of the song in the 19th century.

The variations of the name Reynardine are interesting and can be related to the mishearing of the broadside transcribers and copiers rather than to the traditional singers. Davenport gives Randal Rine and this continues as Rine or Rhine on most of the other early prints. Later and in the American versions the name appears Reynardine, Ryner Dine in West Virginia,

1. Vance Randolph. *Osark Folk Songs*, Vol.1. 1962.

Rinordine in Nova Scotia, Rincordine in Reddish A & B, Reynaldine in Vermont. Notes and Queries<sup>1</sup> gives Rinordine and then Reynardine from an answer from Herbert Hughes. The oral tradition is documented to the early 19th century through the collecting of the song from an old lady of over 80 in 1890 by Herbert Hughes. She lived in Donegal and was convinced that the name was Reynardine and gave the explanation that this was the name of an Irish Fairy who could change into a fox. This seems to support the theory that the original name was Reynardine and that this name was important to the meaning of the story and that the song existed before Davenport chose to print it, and that Randal Rine was a mishearing of the name and the importance of the character through the name was lost. That many of the findings of words or tune have been in Ireland from the oral tradition and that an extra verse came from Herbert Hughes' collecting may indicate that the ballad was more widely known in Ireland than in England in its oral form. It is possible to argue that the type of song became less popular in England in the early 18th century and that it had been taken to Ireland while still popular here and that it was retained in Ireland when the subject and its treatment was declining in popularity in this country. This would indicate an early date in England to allow time for the song to develop and then decline before the end of the 18th century. The song as it appears on the broadsides shows a completeness and lack of unnecessary material seldom found in the hack-writing tradition of the printers. Each line is important to the story and no

1. Notes and Queries 10 S. VIII. Dec.14, 1907.

verse can be abandoned without detriment to the story. Perhaps this is why the song appears to have held its form so steadily throughout the 19th century printings particularly in America.

There has been a steady interest in the song in the folk revival of the last 20 years and it is well known to most traditional singers. It has been recorded frequently and in most preambles on records and in clubs, the mystery and horror of the song are established.

A.L. Lloyd, in his introduction to the song on his record First Person,<sup>1</sup> relates the idea of 'A vulpine name for a crafty hero' to the Mr. Fox stories, paralleling the unease in these to the atmosphere of the song, and continues; 'Some commentators have thought it concerns a love affair between an English lady and an Irish outlaw, and have set its date in Elizabethan time. Others believe the story is older and consider Reynardine, the little fox, to be a supernatural lycanthropic lover. It was a favourite ballad in both England and Ireland in the 19th century..... In America Mr. Gale Hungington found a version scribbled in the back of the logbook of the New Bedford Whaler Sharon in 1845'.<sup>2</sup>

In the versions of tunes and words given after this chapter, I have tried to show the two main ways in which the song has developed. One stream came directly from the Davenport broadside, or the song from which it was printed, through the

1. Topic 12T118.
2. See appendix to this chapter for comments from John S. Crone in Notes & Queries.



broadside printings and the Reddish transcriptions, to many of the later recoveries from the oral tradition in both England and America. The words have remained remarkably constant and true to the original printed sources.

The other version of the song seems to stem from the Herbert Hughes printed copy or from oral tradition of the same type. It is more difficult to document as it is most commonly heard in the singing of the folk revival and on record and rarely finds its way into print. Shirley Collins' favourite song in Folk Scene is an example of the words and tune more often heard than the broadside type, and it is a pity that neither Shirley nor Buffy St. Marie on the sleeve of her record gives any indication of source.

The pattern of tunes is closely linked with the two types of words. In the four line Broadside type, the tune is generally recognisable as being a version of the Mountains High given in three slight variants in Petrie, whereas the tune to other type is a two line tune which, on examination, seems to be a truncated version of the second part of the Mountains High. Compare Hughes with Petrie, particularly Reynard on the Mountains, part 2.

This longer tune is still well known through the singing of the Mountains of Pomeroy, Dr. Sigerson's rewritten song.

To come full circle I am trying to reintroduce the Reddish, (broadside) version, sung to Petrie's tune in the belief that this is near to the original performance.

Although the word 'supernatural' appears in relation to Reynardine, it is only on the sleeve of a record by Buffy St.

Marie that the term 'vampire' is used.<sup>1</sup> It is unlikely that the term was invented by the writer of the sleeve notes, as the idea of underlying supernatural qualities of a vampire nature seem to have been attached to this song for twenty years within the oral tradition to my knowledge; I have heard it introduced by one traditional singer as the only vampire ballad in the English folk song collections.

To return to the Reddish versions, these are both written by John and appear in the second half of the manuscript, at the latest this dates them to 1803, as in that year John marries and leaves home, giving the book to Garves. It seems likely that both song versions date from 1802, as a later page includes a list dated Nov. 1802.

Version A is incomplete and indicates that John was writing from memory and that his recall of the ballad was not total. After refreshing his memory, by hearing the song again, or re-reading a broadside, he writes the ballad the second time in complete form. Although the two versions are substantially the same in verses 2, 3 and 4, verse 1 shows two different patterns, both known on broadsides and we can surmise that two broadsides were known to the original singer or were seen by John. This first verse shows more variation in printing than any other part of the song except the spelling of the hero's name.

We may also conclude that John was writing from memory by some of the mistakes he makes; apart from Bannero which does

1. Buffy St. Marie, Fire and Fleet and Candlelight. (VSD 79250).

not appear in any known printing and must be a corruption of Pomeroy, his main mistake which he makes in both versions in verse 4.

He gives,     'Her cherry cheeks and rubin lips  
                  I had losd the farmers die,'  
for,            'Her cherry cheeks and rubin lips,  
                  They lost their former dye.'

The English broadsides also have trouble with this line and in Pitts (Madden 9.571) it is written 'With her cherry cheeks and ruby lips, she's the lass to whom I fly.' and Pitts again (Madden 8.543) gives 'She's the lass that's for my own.' American version (Creighton) 'At last her form did die'.

John is also consistent in his misspelling of concealment as concealment, and 'quit night walking', becomes 'quite in walking' in the last verse.

John is unique in his spelling of the hero's name as Rincodine, the nearest version being a late American, Rinordine; it could be explained that by transposing the Reddish letter 'c' with the American 'r' something very close could be achieved, but this presupposes that the singer from whom John collected the song, had seen such a printing, an interesting idea as all the English broadsides of the period seem to give Randal Rine or Rhine. John's name is nearer Reynardine than most of the other spellings of his day.

John adheres to the broadside pattern in all but minor points and it is interesting to note that the only version giving a different last verse is the oral collection by Herbert Hughes where his two verse song from a Donegal singer gives one verse from the broadside and another previously unpublished.

'If by chance you look for me,  
Perhaps you'll not me find,  
For I'll be in my castle,  
Enquire for Reynardine.

the girl sings the final verse,

Sun and dark I followed him,  
His eyes did brightly shine,  
He took me o'er the mountains,  
Did my sweet Reynardine.'

This verse has had a strong influence upon contemporary singers, and it has evolved within the revival to emphasise the supernatural theme :-

'Day and night I (or she) followed him,  
His teeth so bright did shine,  
And he took me o'er those mountains,  
Did my sly bold Reynardine.'<sup>1</sup>

I have tried to discuss some of the characteristics in common between the song Reynardine, the Mr. Fox stories and the vampire legends, suggesting that some interesting parallels exist. One other point of interest appears in the song alone. The girl is fearful of the unknown or partially known man met in a lonely place, until the point when she recovers from her fainting and he tells her his name. At this point there is a complete change in her attitude towards him: she is willing, and he knows she is willing, to follow him to his castle. This may indicate that she has been convinced of his worth by his care of her when she fainted, or that the act of kissing may be in fact the act of the vampire, or she may be relieved to find

1. Oral tradition.

herself safe and alive after a fright. Her insistence on hearing his name may reflect a primitive society's belief in the power of knowing a name, even in Biblical times in the story of Jacob at the ford of Jabboc, he wrestles with an Angel and his attitude changes when he knows the name (personality) of his opponent.<sup>2</sup> Until recently a Christian name was never used until a person gave a friend permission to do so, a survival of the power of a name.

Other stories in folk lore contain certain elements found in the stories under consideration; Grimm's Blue Beard; the Robber Baron; The Oxford Student and several variants of these exist. Some tenuous links with certain Child ballads may be found and it is interesting that Child does not give Reynardine in his collection; no full text was available outside the broadside press at this time.

The only ballad in Child which has any obvious connection with the cant-fable is perhaps one version of Child no.4, Lady Isobel and the Elf Knight. The story has some parallels with Mr. Fox and a version given by A.L. Lloyd<sup>2</sup> gives the most clear indication of these points of contact.

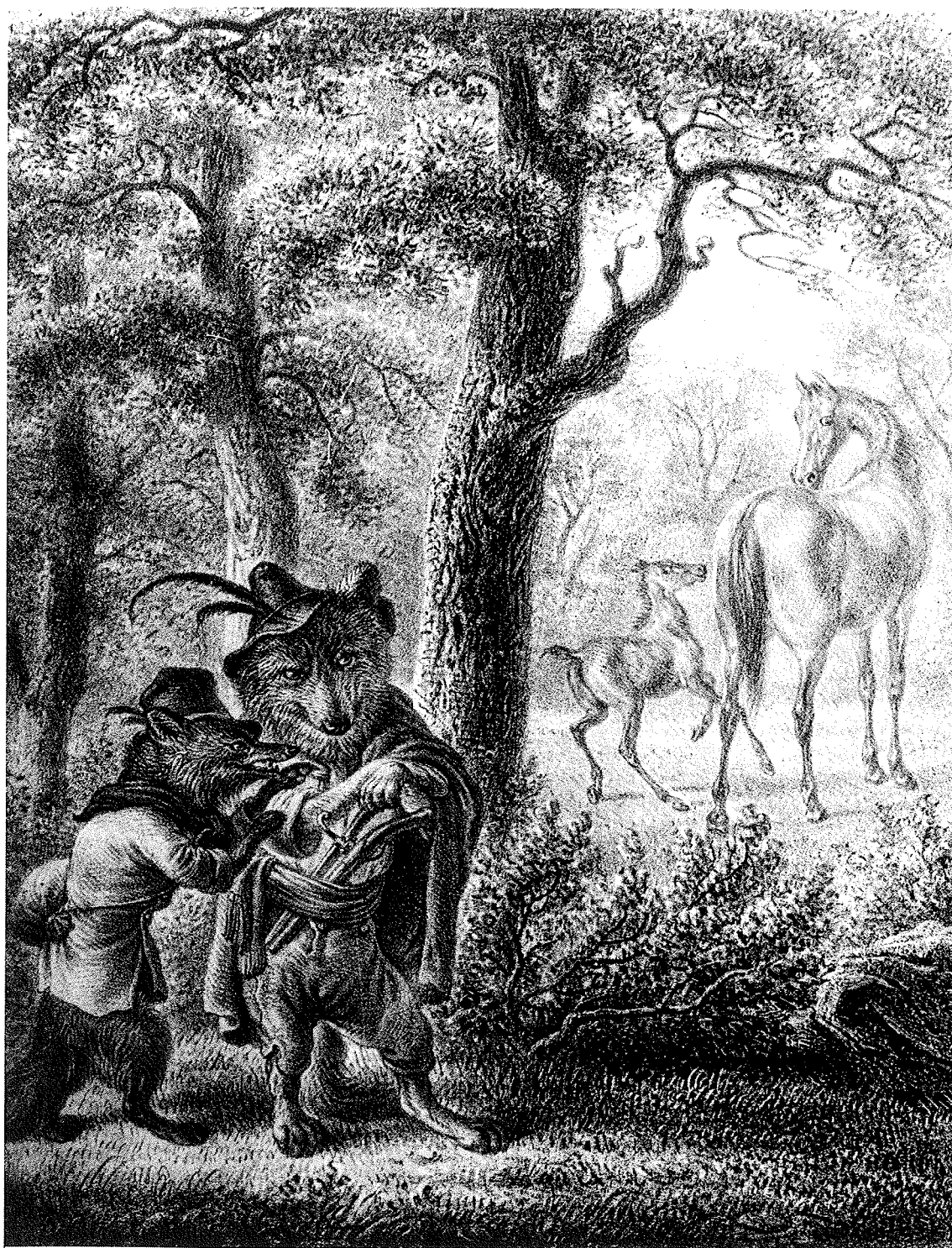
If we can consider that the name Renaud is a version of Reynard, we can begin with a villain of similar type, a seducer of young maidens; in this song 13 maidens have already drowned. One must question the purpose of the drowning as one questions the killing of Mr. Fox's victims. Flesh and blood

1. Genesis, Ch.32.
2. See appendix to this Chapter.

occur here when the victim is instructed to eat her own hand and drink her own blood if she is hungry; perhaps cannibalism is intended. Renaud's sword is used to cut away the branch he is clinging to, as Mr. Fox cut away the hand which clung to his bannister rail; the last link with life. The incident happens in a lonely place; seven leagues from home in this ballad, lonesome mountains high in Reynardine. The villian so punished in both stories.

In both ballads we have elements which appear to be linked with primitive emotions or needs, deeper than the usual ballad subjects of love, war, press gangs and poverty and we may wonder how often singers realise how a song re-kindles interest half understood in the minds of their hearers.

	Reynardine	Mr. Fox	Vampire
1	Abroad at night or in the late evening	To be met on Sat. night. After dark. One moonlight night	Rays of the new noon activate vampire.
2	My pretty fair maid, Your beauty shines so clear	Pretty Polly and all the other young women he 'courted.'	prefers young women.
3	Actual sex not mentioned - 'kiss' could be euphemism for vampire attack to the throat.	No mention of sex act. Girls were wanted for killing. Interest in blood.	No mention of sex act, lust for blood.
4	Taken to castle by enticement, 'when you look for me ... I'll be in my castle' Conviction that she will come.	Taken to 'castle' by force (murdered woman) by enticement (Pretty Polly)	Need to meet victim in secret place - private.
5	Reynardine - faery into fox, acc. to Irish singer. Son of Reynard.	Always 'Mr. Fox' in all versions 'To see the hole the fox did make'	Popular idea of vampire is half human, but with added characteristics of wolf or fox. Vampire bat is foxlike.
6	Generation of fear in the girl, 'she fainted in my arms.'	Whole point of story is generation of fear.	Fear of supernatural.



*Reynard*





19<sup>th</sup> Century prints.



Reynardine, or The Mountains High.

1. The Mountains High. J. Davenport, 6 Georges Court, St. John's Gate, West Smithfield.  
Madden 5.1164.  
(Randal Rine, lonesome plain,  
beauty shines so clear.)
2. The Mountains High. No printer. Madden 8.1130 & 8.543
3. The Mountains High. Catnach. Madden 10.466. (Randal Rine.)
4. The Mountains High. E. Hodges for Pitts. Cambridge Univ. Lib.  
Res. 6.1943 Vol.I (From my  
true love again, lonesome  
plain, Randal Rine. beware  
of lonesome roads.)
5. The Mountains High. Batchelar, printer, 14 Hackney Road.  
Madden 12.501
6. The Mountains High. Pitts, 6, Great St. Andrews St.  
Madden 9.571
7. Mountains High H. Such. T. Crampton Collection. Vol.III  
p.153 & Broadwood Ballad Sheet  
Coll. p.14. Cecil Sharp House  
Library, B.M.11621h11 (7 verses,  
Randal Rhine, Venus plain,  
lonesome history, Lonesome plain.)
8. Mountains High J.Pitts, 6, Great St.Andrews St.  
B.M. 1876e3 & Broadwood Ballad  
Sheet Coll. p.64. Cecil Sharp  
House Library (Randal Rine.)

9. Ranodine (with) Old Maids Last Prayer. L. Deming, at the sign  
of the Barbers Pole, No.61,  
Hanover St., Boston & at  
Middlebury Vt. B.M. 11630f7 p.107  
(Pomroy, comely fair maid,  
Caesar, brought up in Venus town.)
10. Reynardine. Haly, printer, Hanover St. Madden 24.622
11. Reynardine. Newcastle Chapbook Collection No.407.  
Newcastle University Library.
12. Reynardine. Herbert Hughes. Irish County Songs. Vol.I, p.4.
13. The Mountains High. Tune. Petrie. Complete Coll. of  
Ancient Irish Music. p.142 no.559
14. Reynardine. Tune. Ibid p. 161, no.643.
15. Reynard on the Mountains High. Ibid. p.162, no.644.
16. The Mountains High. P.W. Joyce. Ancient Irish Music. p.21, no.20
17. The Mountains of Pomeroy. Rewritten from Reynardine to the  
same tune. Dr. George Sigerson,  
in Graves, Irish Song Book,  
with original Irish Airs. p.104
18. One night upon my Rambles. From Mr. H. Hills, Sussex, Coll.  
by Merrick. J.F.S.S. Vol.I  
1904 p.271 & Broadwood Ms. p.362  
C. Sharp House.
19. Rinordine Randolph Vance. Ozark Folksongs. 1946 Vol.I
20. Reynardine Folk Scene. March/April 1966 no.17 p.3
21. Rinordine. Helen Creighton, Maritime Folksongs, p.112
22. Rinerdine. Carrie Grover. A Heritage of Song, p.14
23. RenaIdine, or The Mountains of Pomeroy, Flanders, New Green  
Mountain Songster. p.64

24. Ryner Dyne. Combs. Folksongs du Midi des Etats-  
Unis. p.168
25. Reynardine. Mackenzie. Ballads & Sea Songs from  
Nova Scotia. p.102
26. Renordine. Belten, Ballads and Songs. pp.286-8

Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides 1957, lists 10  
printings in American Collections.

Reynardine.

Madden 24,622.

Haly, printer, Hanover Street,  
(Good print, Irish, prob. late.)

One evening in my rambles  
Three miles below Pomeroy  
I met a farmer's daughter  
Upon the mountains high,  
I said my pretty fair maid,  
Your beauty shines so clear  
And upon those lonely mountains  
I am glad to meet you here.

She said, young man, be civil,  
And my company forsake;  
For to tell you my opinion  
I think you are a rake;  
And if my parents came to know,  
My life they would destroy,  
For keeping of your company  
Upon the mountains high.

I said, I am no rake  
But brought up in Venus' train  
Seeking for preferment  
All in the Judge's name;  
Your beauty so entices me  
That I could not pass you by  
And with my gun I'll guard you  
Upon the mountains high.

This pretty little fair maid  
She stood all in amaze,  
And with eyes as bright as amber,  
Upon me she did gaze;  
Her cherry cheeks and ruby lips  
They lost their former dye,  
And she fell into my arms,  
Upon the mountains high.

I kissed her once, I kissed her twice  
She then came to again,  
And then she quickly asked me  
Kind sir, pray what is your name?  
If when you chance to come this way  
And to see me your inclined,  
Its down in yonder valley  
My character you'll find.

Said I, my pretty fair maid,  
Don't let your parents know,  
For if you do, they'll be my ruin,  
And prove my overthrow,  
If you chance to look for me  
Perhaps you'll not me find,  
For I'll be in my castle,  
And enquire for Raynardine.

Come all you pretty fair maids,  
A warning take by me,  
Avoid all lonesome walks at night  
And shun bad company,  
For if you don't, you'll surely rue  
Until the day you die  
Beware of meeting Reynardine  
Upon the mountains high.



Printed by J. Pitts, No. 14, Great St. Andrew's Street, Seven Dials.

One night upon my rambles from my true love again  
I met a farmer's daughter all on the lonesome plain  
I said my pretty fair made, your beauty shines so clear  
All in this lonesome place I'm glad to find you here.

She said young man be civil my company forsake,  
For in my own opinion I think you are a rake  
But if my parents they should know, my life they will destroy,  
For keeping of your company all on the mountains high.

It's true I am no rake but brought up in venuss train  
Seeking for concealment all on the lonesome plain,  
Your beauty so entices me I could not pass you by  
With my gun I'll guard you all on the mountains high

With that the pretty fair made, she stood all in amaze,  
With eyes as bright as amber all on me she did gaze,  
With her cherry cheeks and ruby lips, she's the lass that's  
for my own,

She fainted in my arms on the mountains high

I did my best endeavour to bring her to again,  
With that she kindly asked me, pray sir, what's your name,  
Go you to yonder forest my castle there you'll find,  
Wrote in lonesome history call you for Randle Rine.

I said my pretty fair made, don't let you parents know,  
For if you do the'll ruin me, and prove my overthrow,  
For if you'd should come for me, perhaps you'll me find  
Go you to my castle, and call for Randle Rine,

Come all you pretty fair maids, a warning take by me,  
And do your best endeavour, to shun bad company,  
Or else like me you'll farely rue until the day you die,  
Beware of the lonesome roads all on the mountains high.

Pitt, 6, Great St. Andrews Street. Printed with the Spider &  
the Fly.

One night upon my rambles from my true love again,  
I met a farmer's daughter all on the lonesome plain.  
I said my pretty fair maid your beauty shines so clear,  
All in this lonesome plain, I'm glad to see you here.  
  
She said young man be civil my company forsake  
For in my opinion I think you are a rake,  
But if my parents they should know my life at they would try,  
For keeping of you company all on the mountains high.  
  
It is true I'm no rake but brought up in Venus plain  
Seeking for concealment all on the lonesome plain  
Your beauty so entices me I could not pass by,  
With my gun I'll guard you on the mountains high.  
  
With that my pretty fair maid she stood all amaze,  
With eyes as bright as amber all on me she did gaze,  
With her cherry cheeks and tuby lips, she's the lass to whom  
I fly,  
  
She fainted in my arms on the mountains high.  
  
I did my best endeavours to bring her too again,  
With that she kindly asked me pray what is your name,  
Go you to yonder forest my castle there you'll find,  
Wrote in lonesome history called Randal Rine.  
  
I said my pretty fair maid don't let your parents know,  
For if you do they'll ruin you and prove your overthrow,  
For if you should come for me perhaps you'll me find,  
Go to younder castle and call for Randal Rine.

.... cont'd

Com all you pretty fair maids, a warning take by me,  
And do your best endeavours for to shun bad company,  
Or else like me you'll surely rue untill the day you die,  
Beware of the lonesome roads all on the mountains high.

Mountains High. J. Davenport, 6, George's Court, St. John's

Gate West Smithfield. Madden 5.1164

1

One night upon my rambles from my belov'd again,  
I met a farmer's daughter all on the lonesome plain,  
I said, my pretty fair maid your beauty shines so clear,  
All on this lonesome place, I'm glad to find you here,

2

I said, young man be civil, my company forsake,  
And in my own opinion I think you are some rake.  
But if my parents they should know, my life they will destroy  
For keeping of your company all on the mountains high.

3

It is true I am no rake brought up in Venus' train,  
Or seeking for concealment all on the lonesome plain,  
Your beauty so intic'd me I could not pass you by,  
With my gun I will guard you all in the mountains high.

4

With that this pretty fair maid she stood all in amaze,  
With eyes as bright as amber all on me she did gaze,  
With cherry cheeks and ruby lips, she's the lass all for my eye,  
She fainted in my arms, on the mountains high.

## 5

I did my best endeavour to bring her too again,  
 With that she kindly ask'd me I pray sir, what is your name?  
 Go to younder forest, my castle there you'll find,  
 Wrote in some lonesome history, call you for Randal Rine,

## 6

I said, my pretty fair maid, dont let your parents know,  
 For if you do they'll ruin me and prove my overthrow;  
 And if that you should come for me, perhaps you will not find,  
 Go you to my castle and call for Randal Rine.

## 7

Come all you pretty fain maids a warning take by me,  
 And so your best endeavour to shun bad company,  
 Or else, like me, you'll surely rue until the day you die,  
 Be warned of the lonesome roads all on the mountains high.

Note in Later Broadside Ballads, p.184.

'Irish, though printed in London. Rine=Ryan.

# *Reynardine*

Fragment of Ulster Ballad. Donegal Version.



Irish County Songs. Collected and Arranged by Herbert Hughes.

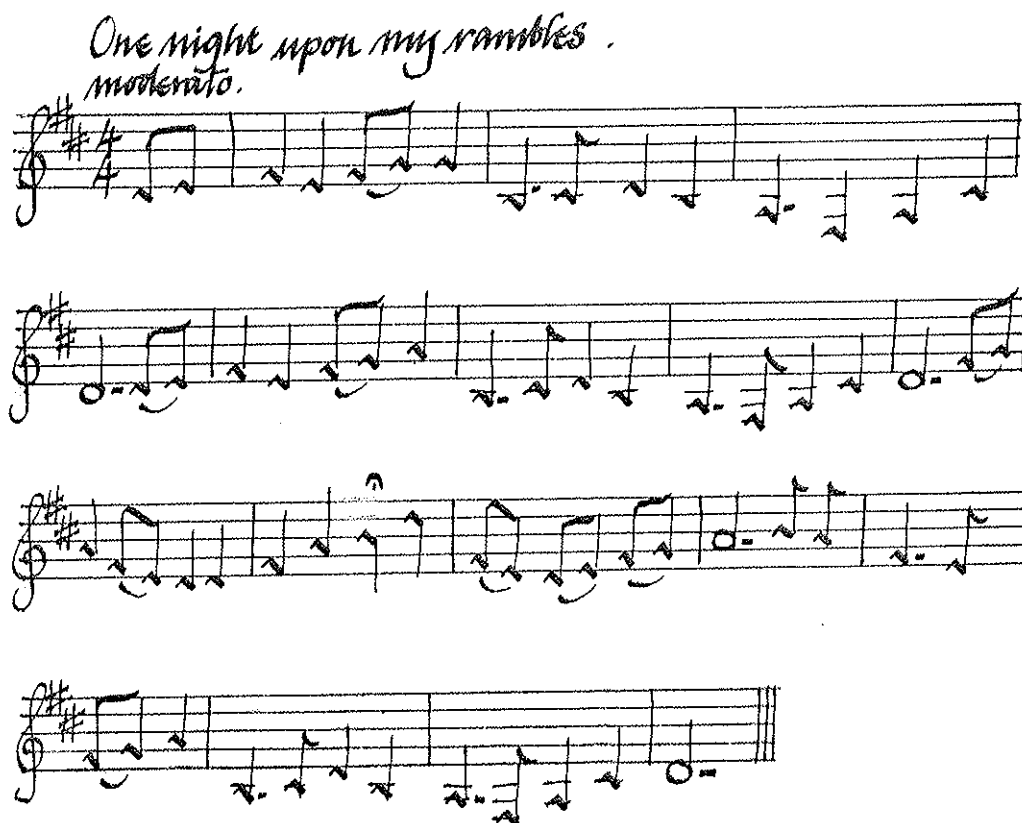
Vol. I, p.4.

'In the locality where I obtained this fragment Reynardine is known as the name of a faery that changes into the shape of a fox. - Ed.'

If by chance you look for me,  
Perhaps you'll not me find,  
For I'll be in my castle,  
Enquire for Reynardine.

Sun and dark I followed him,  
His eyes did brightly shine,  
He took me o'er the mountains,  
Did my sweet Reynardine.

(This is the only version that gives this second verse, and that changes the singer from Reynardine to the girl. Some modern singers using this text change 'eyes' to 'teeth' to emphasize the vampire theme.



From

Folk Song Society Journal Vol. I. 1904 page 271.

Collected from Mr. Henry Hills, Sussex. From the singing of his mother.

'One night upon my rambles An Irish girl I spied;  
Your beauty so entices me, I could not pass you by,  
So its with my gun I'll guard you All on the mountains high.  
So its with my gun I'll guard you All on the mountains high.  
She said, 'Kind sir, be civil, my company forsake,  
For in my own opinion, I think you are some rake,  
And if my parents they should know, My life they would destroy,  
For a keeping of your company, all on the mountains high.'

Footnote compares this song to the broadside by H. Such,  
named 'Randal Rhine.'



*All on the Mountains High* Broadwood Ms. p 381.  
from Mr Hills via. W.P. Merrick.

Verse 2 She said 'Kind Sir, be ci-vil, my company

forsake For in my own o-pi...nion I think

you are some rake. And if my parents came to

know, My life they would destroy, For a-keeping of your

company, All on the mountains high.

One night upon my rambles an Irish girl I spied.

Your beauty so entices me, I could not pass you by,

So it's with my gun I will guard you, all on the mountains high.

Your beauty so enticed me, I could not pass you by,

So it's with my gun I will guard you, all on the mountains high.

2

She said, 'Kind sir be civil, my company forsake.

For in my own opinion I think you are a rake.

And if my parents they should know, my life they would destroy,

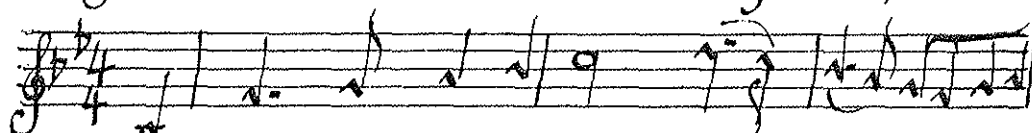
For keeping of your company, all on the mountains high.

3

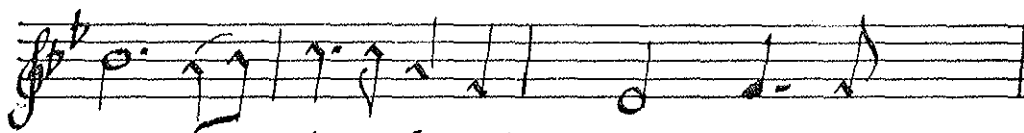
So be wae of theose lonely roads, all on the mountains high.

# Reynardine

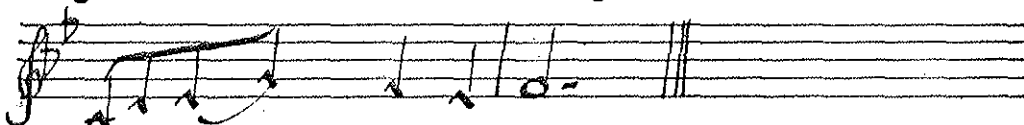
Folk Scene March/1966  
Shirley Collins, no source



One evening as I rambled Among the leaves so



green I overheard a young woman



Converse with Reynardine.

1

One evening as I rambled,  
Among the leaves so green,  
I overheard a young woman,  
Converse with Reynardine.

2

Her hair was black her eyes were blue,  
Her lips were red a wine,  
And he smiled to gaze upon her,  
Did this sly bold Reynardine.

3

He said if perchance you look for me, Sun and dark she followed him,  
Perhaps you'll not me find,  
But I'll be in my castle,  
Enquire for Reynardine.

4

His eyes did brightly shine,  
And he led her over the mountains,  
Did this sly bold Reynardine.

The Mountains High.



From

Ancient Irish Music, by P.W. Joyce, L.L.D., page 21, no.20.

Air from his father in 1901.

Note, "'Below' refers, I believe, not to elevation, but to direction (north or south) in accordance with a custom very general in Ireland."

As I roved out one evening, two miles below Pomeroy,  
I met a farmer's daughter all on the mountains high,  
I said 'My pretty fair maid, your beauty shines so clear,  
Upon these lonely mountains, I'm glad to meet you here.'

## *The Mountains High*



From The complete Petrie Collection of Ancient Irish Music.

Published by Boosey and Hawks. 1902, page 142, no. 559.

Note, a tune of Bonds Glen, Parish of Camber.

# *Reynardine*



From

The Complete Petrie Collection of Ancient Irish Music.

1902. p.161, no.643.

Note, from a ballad singer at Rathmines Nov. 1852.

Petrie comments that this tune appears to be a variant of  
no.642.

# Reynard on the Mountains High.



From

The Complete Collection of Ancient Irish Music,

by Petrie. Published by Boosey and Hawks. 1902

Page no. 644.

note, Co. Tyrone, from Lord Dunraven, Jan. 1860.

*Mountains of Pomeroy.*



Air, 'The Mountains of Pomeroy', Words George Sigerson.

From, Maureen Jolliffe, 3rd Book of Irish Ballads, p.24.

The Mountains of Pomeroy.

By Dr. George Sigerson, printed in Grave's Irish Song Book  
with Original Irish Airs, p.104. 1894.

The morn was breaking bright and fair, the lark sang in the sky,  
When the maid she bound her golden hair, with a blithe grace  
in her eye;

For who, beyond the gay green wood, was waiting her with joy?  
Oh, who but her gallant Renardine, on the mountains of Pomeroy.

Chorus

An outlawed man in the land forlorn, he scorned to turn and fly;  
But kept the cause of freedom safe, upon the mountains high.  
Full often in the dawning hour, full often in the twilight brown,  
He met the maid in the woodland bower, where the stream comes  
foaming down;

For they were faithful in a love no wars could e'er destroy;  
No tyrant's law touched Renardine on the mountains of Pomeroy.

Chorus

Dear love, she said, I'm sore afraid for the foeman's force and you!  
They've tracked you in the lowland plain, and all the valley through.  
My kinsmen frown when you are named; your life they would destroy;  
Beware, they say, of Renardine, on the mountains of Pomeroy.

Chorus

Fear not, fear not, sweetheart, he cried, fear not the foe for me!  
No chain shall fall, whate'er betide, on the arm that shall be free;  
Oh, leave your cruel kin and come, when the lark is in the sky,  
And it's with my gun I'll guard you on the mountains of Pomeroy.

Chorus



The morn has come, she rose and fled, from her cruel kin and home,  
And searched the woods and rosy red and the tumbling torrent's foam,  
But the rain came down and the tempest roared, and all around

destrot;

And a pale drowned bride met Renardine on the mountains of Pomeroy.

Chorus.

## *Rinoroline*



From the singing of Mr. Freeman Young, East Petpeswick, August 1952  
Hellen Creighton, Maritime Folk Songs, The Ryerson Press,  
Canada 1961

As I rode out one May morning two miles below Primroy,  
I met a farmer's daughter all on the mountains high.  
I says 'my pretty damsel, your beauty shines most clear,  
And on this lonely mountain I'm glad to meet you here.

2

She says 'Young man be civil, my company forsake,  
For through my real opinion I think you are a rake,  
And if my parents they would know my life they would destroy,  
For keeping of your company all on the mountain high.

## 3

'O no my dear, I am no rake brought up in Venus' train,  
 A-looking for concealment all in the judges name,  
 Since beauty has enslaved me I cannot pass you by,  
 And with my gun I'll guard you all on the mountain high.'

## 4

This pretty little thing then she fell into a maze,  
 With eyes as bright as amber upon me she did gaze,  
 With her ruby lips and her cherry cheeks at last her form did die,  
 And then she fell into my arms all on the mountain high.

## 5

I hadn't kissed her once or twice till she came to again,  
 She modestly then asked me, 'Pray tell me what's your name?'  
 'Go down in younder forest, my castle there you'll find,  
 It's wrote down in ancient history, my name is Rincordine.'

## 6

Now come all you pretty fair maids a warning take by me,  
 And see you leave night walking and shun bad company,  
 For if you don't you'll surely rue until the day you die,  
 Beware of meeting Reynardine all on the mountain high.

Mr. Berton Young sang the same as above except for another  
 verse after verse 5.

## 5a

I said, 'My pretty fair one don't let your parents know  
 For if you do they'll ruin me and prove my overthrow,  
 If you should chance to look for me perhaps you'll not me find,  
 I shall be in my castle, you call for Rinordine.'

*Renardine or The Mountains of Pomeroy.*



From

The New Green Mountain Songster, page 64.

Sung by Mrs. E.M. Sullivan, Springfield, Vermont, July 7, 1933.

Air recorded on the dictaphone by H.H.F. Transcribed by E.F.B.

The melody given here is a set of "Fainne Gael au Lae"

(The Bright Dawn of Day, or The Dawning of the Day).

The morn has come, she rose and fled,

From her cruel kin and home,

And searched the wood, all rosy red,

And the tumbling torrents foam,

But the rain came down,

And the tempest roared,

And all around destroyed;

And a pale drowned bride met Renardine,

On the mountains of Pomeroy.

(He was an outlaw.) (Sigerson's last verse)

"Oh love," she said, "I'm sore afraid  
For the foeman's force and you,  
For they'll track you in the lowland plain  
And all the valley through.

"My kinsman frowned when you are named.  
Oh, your life they would destroy.  
'O beware,' they say, 'of Gurdeline  
On the mountains of Pomeroy!'"

"Fear not, fear not, my love," he cries,  
"For the foemans force and me,  
For no change shall fall what'er betide  
On the arm that should be free."

"Come leave your cruel kith and kin  
And with your soldier flee.  
It's with my gun I will guard you  
On the mountains of Pomeroy."

The morn had come; she rose and fled  
From her cruel kin and home  
And sought the woods all rosy red  
And the tumbling torrent's foam.

But the storm arose and the rain came down  
And the wild wynde all destroyed  
And a pale drowned bride met Gurdeline  
On the mountains of Pomeroy.

*Rinordine.*



From

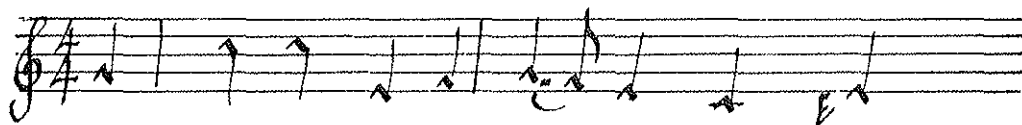
Vance Randolph. Ozark Folksongs.

State Historical Soc. of Missouri. 1946, Vol.I.

Collected from Dr. George E. Hastings, Fayetteville. Ark.

Jan. 6th 1942. Dr. Hastings learned this tune from a student  
at the University of Arkansas.

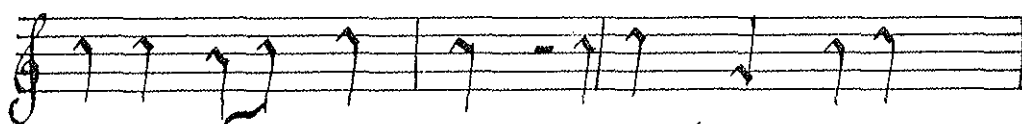
'One evening as I rambled two miles of rum and rye,  
I met a farmers daughter all on the mountains high,  
Says I my pretty little maid, my beauty shines so clear,  
Upon this lonesome mountain, I'm glad to meet you here.'



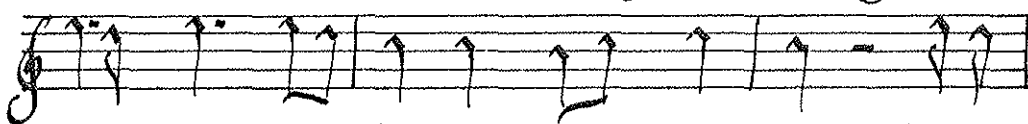
One evening as I wandered three miles



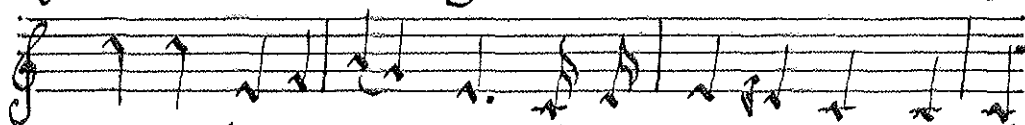
above Pomroy, I met a farmer's daughter all



on the mountains high. I says, 'My pretty



fair maid, your beauty shines most clear, And up



on the lofty mountains I am glad to meet you here

One evening as I wandered three miles above Pomroy,

I met a farmer's daughter all on the mountains high.

I say's 'My pretty fair maid, your beauty shines most clear,

And upon the lofty mountains I am glad to meet you here.

2

She says, 'Young man, be civil, my company forsake,

For in my great opinion I fear you are a rake.

And if my parents came to know, my life they would destroy,

For keeping of your company all on the mountains high.'

3

I said, 'I am no rake, love, but brought up in Venus' train

And looking for concealment all on the judge's name.

Your beauty has ensnared me, I cannot pass you by

And with my gun I'll guard you all on the mountains high.

4

This pretty little maiden she fell into a maze,  
With eyes as bright as diamonds upon me she did gaze.  
Her cherry cheeks and ruby lips they lost their former dye,  
And then she fell into my arms all on the mountains high.

5

I had not kissed her once or twice when she awoke again,  
She modestly then asked me, 'Pray, sir, what is your name?'  
'If you go to yonder forest, my castle you will find,  
Engraved in ancient history, my name is Rinerdine.'

6

I said, 'My pretty fair maid, don't let your parents know  
Or they will prove my ruin and fatal overthrow,  
And when you come to look for me, perhaps me you'll not find,  
Then so unto my castle and inquire for Rinerdine.'

7

Com, all you pretty fair maids, a warning take by me  
And leave off all night walking, shun all bad company,  
For if you don't you surely rue until the day you die,  
And beware of meeting Rinerdine all on the mountains high.'

Note: 'This is an old song that was sung in my grandfather's  
family. I have heard my mother sing it and also one of  
my cousins, who learned it from his father.'



Renaud the woman killer, (Renaud, tueur des femmes.) Quoted in  
The meaning of Folk Music. A.L.Lloyd,  
Folk Music in Schools. p.14.

Renaud has such great charm that he has enchanted the king's daughter. He's carried her off some seven leagues without saying more than a word or two.// When they have gone halfway, 'My God, Renaud, but I'm hungry!' 'Eat your hand, my handsome, for you'll not eat bread again.' // When they came to the edge of the wood, 'My God, Renaud, but I'm thirsty!' 'Drink your blood, my handsome, for you'll not drink white wine again.// There is a pond down there where thirteen ladies are drowned in it; the fourteenth you shall be.'// When they come near the pond he tells her to undress. 'It's no business of knights to see ladies undressing.// Put your sword beneath your feet and your cloak before your nose.' He puts his sword beneath his feet and his cloak before his nose.// The fair one has taken him, embraced him. Into the pond she's cast him. 'Come, eels, come, fish, eat this scoundrel's flesh.' // Renaud tries to take hold of a branch of laurel tree. The fair one takes his sword, cuts the branch of the laurel tree. 'My handsome, lend me your hand. I'll marry you tomorrow!' 'Away, Renaud, down to the bottom. Marry the ladies who are there!' // 'Who will take you back, my handsome, if you leave me in this place?' 'It'll be your dapple horse, that follows the postillion well.' // 'My handsome, what will your parents say, when they see you without your lover?' 'I'll tell them that I've done with you what you wanted to do to me.' // 'My handsome, give me your white hand, I'll marry you on Sunday.' 'Marry, Renaud, marry, you fish, the thirteen ladies down at the bottom.'

(French version from Henri Davenson. *Le livre des chanson*  
(Neuchâtel. 1946) pp.192-5

Notes And Queries. 10th series, IX Jan. 4 1908 p.12

Rinordine, Irish Song, Reply from John S. Crone.

'Frequently heard in the rural districts of Ulster, this popular ballad, the local of which is co. Tyrone, sung to the air given in Graves's 'Irish Song Book', as late as the seventies, and no doubt it was carried to America by emigrants. It is known as 'The Mountains High,' and the hero's name was spelt Reynardine. Dr. Sigerson of Dublin, the author of the modern version, admitted he founded it on the fragment of a folk ballad, but was unable to obtain any information relating to the hero or his time.

In my opinion, it refers, like so many other Ulster ballads, poems and stories, to an attachment formed by a member of an English or Scottish 'planter's' family for one of the offspring of the original Celtic owners in the early 17th C.. These latter being original Tories, and frequently outlawed, would require 'concealment' from the edict of the judges, and probably the castle in the forest was as figurative as Allen-a-Dale's Hall - 'the blue vault of heaven with its crescent so pale.' '

Notes & Queries 10th Series IX Jan 11 1908 p.33

Herbert Hughes.

Reynardine, collected in 1890 on holiday in Donegal from an old lady of 80 at Kilmacrenen - melody variant of Mr. Graves'. She said that Reynardine is the name of a faery in Ireland that turns into the shape of a fox. The tune is certainly very 'spirituelle'.

The history of Reynard thefox / first printed by Caxton /  
bound with / The Shifts of / Reynardine / The son of / Reynard  
the fox / or a pleasant / History / of his Life and Death.

Full of Variety &c. And may fitly be applied / to the Late  
Times. Now Published for the Reformation of Mens Manners./  
London. Printed by T.J. for Edward Brewster at the / Crane in  
St. Pauls-Church-Yard, and /Thomas Passenger at the Three Bibles  
on London Bridge. 1684.

Extracts.

'After Reynard the Fox his Treason, when he fled early in the  
morning to his castle of Malepardus, he no sooner there entred,  
but called to him his two sons Volpus and Reynardine, to whom  
he thus spoke: Sons, I am now by proper Experience too sensible  
of the mutability of Mundane Affars; Fortune, which so lately  
was and for a long time has been my greatest Friend, is now  
become my mortal foe; suddenly changing her love into hatred:  
and when I trusted her most, the most deceived me....'

He tells the brothers to take his 'store of Wealth' into 'Long  
wood' and hid it in a case and wait there with it until they  
hear if he is living or dead.

page 3. gives spelling as "Raynardine".

Brother killed by robbers. Then follows long and varied  
adventures of Reynardine, non creditable, in which he poisons,  
lies, meets various people in the guise and character of  
animals and out-wits them. He takes holy orders and then is  
dismissed for misconduct - travels in the clothes of a priest or  
monk and behaves as one thereby gaining advantages.

Becomes a doctor 'Pendanto' and poisons one of his father's enemies by opium but escapes without suspicion by going into forest. He shows hypocrisy etc. After snaring killing and poisoning more people he is finally captured after living in a palace which he gained by fraud.

Page 140. 'What is thy name', said the square. 'My name is Reynardine'. He is finally captured, and brought before the king - hanged and quartered. 'The King set forth a very severe Proclamation prohibiting any of the fox's Linage to enter the forest by Day or Night, but this Proclamation was ineffectual; for no laws, how severe soever, can debar that family, from insinuating themselves into all societies as experience daily manifests.'

Finis.

It may be of significance that this was printed a year before King Charles the second died, but it might just have been after the event, as Charles died in February 1685, and with the old calendar, the new year began on April 1st, therefore, if this is an anti-Royalist pamphlet giving the name of Reynard to Charles I and Volput to Charles II then Reynardine is James II and disliked and feared by the Protestants.

Whether or not this is a political document, the story contains a surprising number of motifs found in the cant-fable under consideration.

American Folk Tales and Songs.

Compiled by Richard Chase.

The New American Library. 1956. Page 37.

From the telling of R.M. Ward of Beech Creek, North Carolina.

And Polly Johnson of Norton, Virginia.

'One time there was a young woman named Polly. They called her Pretty Polly. She was'nt married and she lived by herself. All her folks were dead. And one day a stranger came into thet settlement. Said his name was Fox. Slick-looking fellow, and he went courtin' Pretty Polly right off. He'd come to see her of a Saturday night, and they'd talk. Then one day he asked her would she meet him the next Saturday night under a big pine out on a ridge there. So she told him she would. But when he left, she got to studyin' about him askin' her to meet him way off like that and she decided she didn't like it much.

Well that Saturday night came and she didn't feel like goin', but she fixed up and went on anyhow. Hit was cold and the wind was blowin' something awful when she got out on that ridge. She got to the pine tree but he wasn't there. She thought first she'd wait, then she thought she'd run back; and before she could make up her mind she heard him comin' up the holler. Then she thought she'd hide but there wasn't any place to hide. She happened to look up in that tree, and it had a few low branches to it, so she caught hold on them and cloomb right on up till she was in the thickest part of that big pine.

She could see down through the branches a little, see what was right under the tree. And directly here came Mr. Fox

carryin' a lantern. She saw him put the lantern on a big rock and sit down to wait. He waited and waited. Then, after a right long time, he reached over behind a rock and she saw him lift out a mattick and shovel. He started digging and Polly saw the place he dug was about six-foot long and three-foot wide. She kept watching and then she knew it was a grave, and that he was diggin' it for her.

Mr. Fox got the grave started and then he sat down again. He 'uld look and listen, then turn his head up this way and that. Then he acted restless like: jump in that grave and just dig and dig. He kept on diggin' and waitin' and diggin' and waitin' till way up in the night.

Pretty Polly nearly froze up there. The wind kept blowin' the top of the tree over to one side, and the branches 'uld creak and rattle, but she kept holdin' on. And finally She heard a rooster crow right way off in the settlement, so she knew it must be close to midnight. Well, pretty soon after that she saw Mr. Fox pick up his tools and throw them across his shoulder, and he picked up his lantern and left. Polly waited till he was good and gone, and then she got down from there in a hurry and struck out for home by all the near cuts she could figger.

Well Mr. Fox he quit comin' to see her after that.

Then hit wasn't long till Pretty Polly heard folks talkin' about how three young women had disappeared from around the settlement. Some said Mr. Fox had been courtin' all three o' them. He'd not come to any of their houses: met 'em out somewhere. But nobody had any eivdence on him, so they couldn'd do anything about it. They'd tried to find out where he lived but nobody had

any notion where his house was at.

Then one day he came to Pretty Polly's house again. She didn't let on like she knowed a thing, and they got talking and directly he asked her would she come with him to his house. She told him "Well I might sometime".

"Come on and go with me now. Hit's not far."

"No," she says. "I can't go today."

"Can you come next Saturday?"

"Idon't know wh ere you live at."

"I'll come after you."

"No," she says to him. "If I come, I'll come on my own."

Mr. Fox he studied about that a minute, says, "If you'll give me a poke of flour I'll lay you a trail."

Polly went and got him a little sack of flour and he took it and went on off. He 'uld sift out a little of the flour every few steps.

Well -- Polly she didn't go that next Saturday. It was the one after that she decided that she 'uld do. She was brave. It hadn't rained or been very windy that two weeks, so she found the trail all right. She followed it on and on till fin'lly she came to an old rickety house awa-a-ay out in the woods. She hid and watched. Then she saw Mr. Fox come out of the house and go off. And when he was out of sight she went to the house and went on in.

Now there was a parrot in there and hit talked to her. Polly looked around, and when she went up the stairs and started to open a door, the parrot hollered at her, says,

Don't go in pretty lady!

You'll lose your hearts blood!

But she opened the door anyhow, and looked in. It was like a slaughter room in there: women hung up all round the walls with their heads cut off. Polly shut the door right quick, and started runnin' down the stair steps. Then she heard a racket sounded like a woman screaming. Slipped to the window and peeked out, and there came Mr. Fox a-draggin' a woman by the arm. "Law me! What's I to do.

Hide! Pretty lady!

Hide! Hide!

"Dont't tell him I'm here!"

No, pretty lady!

No! No!

Polly ran and hid under the old rickety stair-steps.

Mr. Fox came on in the house jerkin' the girl along and dragged her on up the stairs. She reached out and caught the stair-rail a-trying to hold back. Mr. Fox took out his sword and hacked her hand off and it fell through the cracks of the stair-steps, landed right at Pretty Polly's feet.

Mr. Fox stopped, and asked the bird, "Has anybody been here?"

No, sir!

No! Oh no!

So he pushed the girl in the slaughter room and went on in after her and shut the door. Pretty Polly she reached and grabbed up the girl's hand, and slipped out the door and ran for her life.



Well, in about a week or two after that there was a play-party in the settlement. Everybody went, and when Pretty Polly got there she saw Mr. Fox in the crowd. So all of them were having a good time dancin' and playin' kissin' games and first one thing and then another, and 'way up late in the night they all sat down close to the fireplace where the old folks were at, and they got to telling tales and telling dreams, and singin' and askin' riddles.

Pretty Polly slipped out and got thay hand: brought it back wropped up in a piece of cloth. She sat down again and unwropped that hand under her apron where nobody could see. Sat right on listening to what somebody was tellin', didn't say a thing. Then directly she says, "I've got a riddle."

"What is it? Tell us!"

So she told them, says,

Riddle to my riddle to my right!

Where was I that Saturday night?

All that time in a lonesome pine.

I was high and he was low.

The cock did crow, the wind did blow.

The tree did shake and my heart did ache

to see the hole the fox did make.

They all tried to guess. Mr. Fox sat right still.

"What's the answer?" they all asked her. "Tell us the answer."

"Not now," she told 'em. "I'll tell you directly." Says, "I dreamed me a quare dream the other night. You might like to hear that."

"Ain't nothing in dreams," says Mr. Fox.

They all begged her to tell her dream. Polly folded her hands under her apron and she told them, says, "I dreamed that I went to Mr. Fox's house. He wasn't at home, but I went in to wait for him. There was a bird there and when I went to look in one of the rooms hit told me, says,

Don't go in, pretty lady!

You'll lose your heart's blood.

But I cracked the door just a little anyhow, and I saw a lot of dead women in there - hanging on the walls."

"Not so! Not so!" says Mr. Fox. And the young men there all looked at him. Pretty Polly kept right on. "Then I dreamed I heard a woman screamin' and cryin', and I looked out and there came Mr. Fox a-draggin' a woman after him."

"Not so! Not so!" says Mr. Fox. "It couldn't have been me!"

And a couple of the men there moved back against the wall.

"That bird told me to hide and I ran and hid under the stair-steps. Then I dreamed that girl grabbed hold on the rail and Mr. Fox took out his sword and hacked her hand off, and it fell through the stairs and landed right where I was at."

Old Mr. Fox jumped up, says,

But it was not so,

and it is not so,

and God forbid it ever should be so!

And several young men moved over between Mr. Fox and the door. Polly paid Mr. Fox no mind.

"Then I dreamed he shoved the girl into the murder room and went on in and shut the door. And I grabbed that hand and ran

away from there right fast.

Old Mr. Fox hollered out again,

But it was not so!

And it is not so!

And God forbid it ever should be so!

Then Pretty Polly answered him back again, says

But it was so!

And it is so!

For there's the very hand to show!

And she took that hand out from under her apron and held it right in Mr. Fox's face. Then all the men there they took hold on Mr. Fox and they sure did handle him.