From the Stage to the Street:
Theatre Music and the Broadside Ballad in London, 1797-1844

Thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy in Music

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ABSTRACT

The broadside ballad was a type of cheap literature that appeared after the invention of Gutenberg's moveable-type technology (c.1450); it soon proliferated in Europe—particularly in Britain, where it thrived for nearly 400 years. British broadsides were typically printed with strophic verses on a single-sided sheet, which also featured a woodcut illustration and a tune reference (suggesting a common or popular melody to which the verses could be sung). As a form of cheap literature, the broadside was primarily bought on the street by the 'working classes'—wage earners; as such, the broadside tradition is an important source of information on the attitudes and tastes of the working classes in Britain from at least the seventeenth century through to the nineteenth. However, professional and leisure classes also interacted meaningfully with the broadside ballad—not least as contemporaneous collectors, who amassed the vast collections of broadside materials that still exist in libraries across the world, especially in Britain and the United States.

Though tens of thousands of broadsides have been preserved in collections, the broadside tradition has proven a complicated one to study, as it has many components: it is material culture, poetry, visual art, and of course music. The majority of work on the broadside tradition has been undertaken on seventeenth-century ballads (particularly at the *English Broadside Ballad Archive* at the University of California, Santa Barbara). But the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries actually saw the British broadside trade reach its height in terms of production. According to the broadside collector Charles Hindley, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, tens of thousands of broadside

copies of a single song could be printed in London at a time when the population of the city was still less than 2 million. With this considerable market penetration, the broadside was understandably an influential tradition in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, playing an important part in British society—and in British musical history.

Nevertheless, to date, the field of music history has had relatively little to say about these later broadsides, for the simple reason that we have not known to what music they were sung. Come the late-eighteenth century, broadside ballads changed considerably. They were no longer satirical verses that recirculated established tunes: tune references all but disappeared in fact, leaving no trace of the music to which they were sung and raising three questions for music historians that have remained largely unanswered. Firstly, how were the melodies of these songs communicated to contemporaneous broadside sellers and purchasers without tune references? Secondly, what melodies were used for these songs? And thirdly, how can scholars identify and find the music to this prolific musical tradition today?

This project has attempted to answer these questions—at least in part—by exploring the crossover of music from the theatre to the broadside trade during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. My initial hypothesis was that the broadside trade reprinted songs from theatrical productions as a form of unlicensed merchandise—trading on the popularity of songs from the theatre; if (a proportion) of the songs from late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century broadsides came from theatre performances, then contemporaneous sellers and purchasers of broadsides would have been able to access the melodies to these verses through stage performances. And if my hypothesis was

correct, then the melodies of these songs could be found today by identifying the original theatrical works from which these songs came and then locating their scores.

To test this hypothesis and discover the extent of this potential crossover, I built a database that cross-references the songs from 521 staged musical entertainments produced in London (from the English comic opera tradition and related genres) with the Bodleian Library's Broadside Collections (which have been helpfully digitised in the *Ballads Online* database). There are six collections within the Bodleian's broadside holdings that include items from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (containing 11,432 broadside editions from 1797-1844 in total): these are the John Johnson Collection, the Harding Collection, the Firth Collection, the Curzon Collection, the Douce Collection, and the Bodleian's own Rare Books Collection. The specific dates of the project were set as 1797-1844, because this was the period during which the two giants of the early-nineteenth century broadside trade (John Pitts, active 1797-1844, and James Catnach, active 1813-1841) operated their presses in London—in the Seven Dials, to be specific. At its completion, the database has shown that 205 songs from 132 theatrical works were printed in 724 editions (print runs), resulting in 932 individual sheets in the Bodleian's Collections from the period in question (an additional three theatre songs from three theatrical works were found to have been reprinted as broadsides, but outside the dates 1797-1844). In total, 6.3% of the Bodleian's broadside editions from these dates include songs from the theatre.

The information from the database provides firm data regarding the crossover of broadside songs from the theatre to the broadside tradition; but this project focuses not just on *what* theatrical songs crossed over from the stage to the street, but also *why* and *how* they did so. The project closely examines the findings of the database to better

understand this migration, paying particular attention to those theatres whose productions were most closely associated with the broadside trade, and the broadside presses who were most actively engaged in the 'poaching' of songs from the theatres. It particularly focuses on the role of geography in this interchange, examining the physical and sonic contexts of the broadside trade in London, especially that of the Seven Dials and St Giles's parish—an area that was the hub of both theatrical entertainment and broadside printing in the city. The project also examines the texts and music of these theatrical broadsides, considering the effect that theatre music had on the sound of street song, the theatrical contexts from which these songs were taken for the broadside trade, the means by which the songs and melodies may have migrated from the theatres to the broadside tradition, and the performance practices of these theatrical broadsides on the street.

INTRODUCTION

English broadside balladry is a deceptive tradition. The broadside—a catch-all term for street literature in verse—is, firstly, deceptively fragile: it consists of a sheet of thin paper, usually printed on only a single side with rhyming verses and a crude illustration. Contemporaneously, it was cheap and common: a piece of 'ephemera'—a term that implies its pertinency would be of limited duration. Yet the filminess of the broadside's physical form can be misleading: it enjoyed remarkable longevity in English culture. Composed of nothing more substantial than paper sheets, the broadside tradition was a living force and a cultural constant in England for well over three hundred years. Like butterflies, broadsides were only meant to live for a literal or metaphorical day, but the species flourished despite—or perhaps because of—the short 'life cycle' of its individual members, relying on rapid production and sometimes gradual, sometimes sudden evolutionary shifts for survival. The individual sheets also proved hardier than expected: modern and historical generations of the broadside coexisted for much of the tradition's long history, the former being purchased on the streets as literature of fleeting interest, while collectors amassed vast quantities of the old and new varieties in their libraries, carefully pasting them into books and preserving them as relics of cultural history. Thus, the broadside has shown remarkable resiliency not just as a contiguous tradition, but as material culture, the physical sheet outlasting its own contemporaneous relevance and becoming an object of archaeology.

Secondly, the broadside is deceptive in its silence. As a mute sheet of paper without musical notation, the broadside appears completely disconnected from the realm of

sound; contemporaneously, however, it lived in both the material/textual and oral spheres. The broadside was a *musical* tradition, and one that made positive claims about the vivacity of English music during its long tenure. Nicholas Temperley and Peter Holman have led the charge to re-evaluate the history of music in England, which—from the lens of the classical music 'canon'—appears to be quite barren territory, bordered by Henry Purcell on one side and Edward Elgar on the other. These scholars have done much to change this view and inspire a greater understanding and appreciation for the music of Britain and especially England. However, the question should not perhaps be 'what did England contribute to (classical) music?' but rather 'what did music contribute to England?' Looking to the classical or élite sphere does not fully demonstrate the importance of music and music-making in English culture. The broadside was an immensely popular tradition, from its original seventeenth-century, black-letter sheets to the clean, Bodoni fonts and spacious layouts of the nineteenth-century slip ballad. It was also profoundly and consistently—if not completely—musical, consanguineous with musical traditions that predated the printing press (including street crying and what has been termed 'folk' music) and related to contemporaneous musical traditions, notably the theatre. The broadside again proves deceptive because its material manifestation obfuscates its intangible musical nature.

The broadside is also deceptively insignificant: it was a form of 'working-class' entertainment, not originally intended for purchase by national decision-makers, and not making any serious claims about its journalistic accuracy.[1] How could it meaningfully

[1] The social class structure of England is as notorious as it is difficult to define. W.G. Runciman offers some helpful social categories of English society in *A Treatise on Social Theory*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 108: he identifies a small élite, professional workers, wage-earners, and the economically deprived. These categories are themselves generalizations, but they are not without historical support. As David Cannadine has said, 'Class, like sex, may indeed take place in the head: but it has never existed solely in the head or in the eyes or the words of the beholder.' See David

engage—or impact upon—society or politics? What was its significance? As we will find, the broadside ballad did treat politics with nuance, not so much as a propagandistic platform but as a reflection of public sentiments, fears, and feelings; it constituted perhaps the richest print source on Britain's working classes from the establishment of the industry in the sixteenth century through to its decline in the late nineteenth century, and revealed an inordinate amount of information about the life, concerns, and scant recreational activities of England's working classes. And the penetration of the tradition in English culture was considerable: according to contemporaneous collector Charles Hindley, tens of thousands of sheets of a single ballad could be sold by London printers around the turn of the nineteenth century, and this at a time when the city's population was between just 1 and 2 million people.[2] The broadside was not (presumably) the literary fodder of political decision-makers, but this unassuming tradition was far from irrelevant or insignificant to its contemporaneous culture—or our retrospective understanding of it.

Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London: Penguin, 2000), 17. When discussing the 'working classes' or 'non-leisure' classes in this project, I will be referring primarily to the third of Runciman's categories: the wage-earners. These people would have had some (though very little) money to spend on entertainment, and therefore were the most likely target market for cheap entertainment. They could afford broadside sheets and even the occasional ticket to the theatre. However, in reality, the broadside trade engaged with members from all of these social categories: members of the impoverished classes may well have purchased the occasional broadside, and they certainly constituted the majority of broadside sellers: all broadside singers and peddlers would have qualified as impoverished members of society. Also, the areas in which broadside sellers lived and often worked (around the theatres) were inhabited by poor Londoners, as well as visited by wage-earners, professionals, and the élite who came there to attend the theatres. And of course, the 'broadside collectors' with which this project will engage were from the professional or élite classes. As will be discussed throughout this dissertation, the social place of the broadside in England was complex.

[2] The first two decades of the nineteenth century saw an immense surge in London's population, which jumped from approximately 1.1 million in 1801 to more than 1.4 million by 1815 and continued to rise as the century wore on, having over 3 million inhabitants by 1860. See Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock, and Robert Shoemaker, 'London History - A Population History of London', *Old Bailey Proceedings Online,* and Charles Hindley, *Curiosities of Street Literature* (1871; Cambridge: University Press, 2012), 118.

Fourthly and lastly, the broadside is deceptive in its simplicity, for it is much more—but never anything less—than a sheet of paper; much more—but never anything less—than a song. The broadside has a fully tetratomic identity: material, visual, textual, and of course musical—and it intersects with multiple fields of scholarship. Its complex identity makes it difficult to study and therefore very susceptible to oversimplification. Ironically, its identity has become further complicated because different disciplines approach it and understand it in varying ways. Scholars from differing fields will inevitably ask differing questions about the tradition: an English scholar might ask what a broadside said and what it meant; a musicologist might ask how it sounded and how it was performed; an archaeological historian might ask how the sheet was produced and used in culture; an art historian might ask what it depicted and why.

English literature has done the most work on the broadside to date, but that is perhaps because the textual side of the tradition is the easiest to access: the words are printed and still exist in special collections across the world: they may be analysed for content and meaning, rhyme schemes and verse structures. And, thanks to the amazing digitisation projects undertaken by libraries and universities in the UK and US, scholars can study broadsides as images—or even transcripts—in digital databases without ever actually holding one. While there is nothing inherently wrong with this mode of scholarship, how can the materiality of a broadside be understood through a digital image? Or how can a study of transcribed verses communicate the unique visuality of the broadside, and the importance of composition, illustration, and design in its sale and usage? And most troubling of all, how can we properly conceptualise the broadside without understanding the life it enjoyed in its contemporaneous sound-world, even while it existed as material culture on physical sheets—and enduring to the modern day

through them. The broadside is a dizzyingly complex form: if scholarship submits to traditional academic demarcations in studying it, the result will be—at best—a segmented understanding of the subject. As Jonathan Hicks has noted, while there have been a host of small-scale studies and articles on individual ballads from many fields, ballad scholarship lacks integration and conversation with related disciplines.[3]

One of the chief beauties of the broadside tradition is its complexity, and I believe that little headway can be made in understanding it without attempting to integrate our understanding(s) of its many faces. One of the ramifications of the broadside's inherent complexity is that it straddles not just multiple modern academic fields, but also contemporaneous oral and textual cultures: it resides in the no-man's-land between Mark Amodio's 'primary orality' and 'pure literacy'.[4] The broadside was a child of the printing press, but it was also—I would argue—an iteration of oral balladry as well. Purists like Gordon Hall Gerould and Francis James Child believed that the broadside was the nemesis—and eventually the conqueror—of Britain's oral folk traditions.[5] However, subsequent scholarship has indicated that the interchange between oral and broadside balladry was sufficiently active throughout its long history that maintaining these distinctions is nigh impossible—and, as later folk collectors realised,

[3] Jonathan Hicks, 'The Beauty of Paper Flowers', *Music and Letters* 96, no. 2 (2015): 259-66, here 265-6, in which he writes 'But by…arguing simply that we need more micro-level studies of newly digitised source material the editors attempt to draw the sting from long-standing complaints against cheap print and inauthentic song. I, for one, am not convinced this strategy entirely works; such complaints were always deeply implicated in complex issues of class and cultural power. The persistent use of Child-like techniques suggests that scholarship on the nineteenth-century ballad needs a little less data and a little more dialogue with related disciplines.'

[4] Mark Amodio, *Writing the Oral Tradition: Oral Poetics and Literate Culture in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN: University Press, 2004), 4.

[5] See Francis James Child, *English and Scottish Ballads, Selected and Edited by F.J. Child* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1857) and Gordon Hall Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), particularly 244.

unprofitable.[6] In isolating the broadside from 'folk' or 'traditional' forms of British balladry, we must deny this crucial interchange, while also denying the broadside's oral heritage. The broadside had deep and steadfast roots in orality. Though the tradition is in part defined by its printed manifestation and characteristics, the broadside had to be verbalised to be fully realised. Poetically and musically, the ballad was not the ink and paper of its physical form: the ballad became manifest through the act of 'musicking', to use Christopher Small's apt term.[7] John Moulden argues that, in Ireland, printed broadside sheets were only the access-points through which new song materials entered the oral sphere; print was the servant of orality, used as a vehicle through which songs could be coded and then decoded to re-enter the sound-world at a different time and place. [8] The broadside thus maintained a symbiotic relationship between written and spoken word that dated back to the middle ages: according to Ong, in the medieval era, 'writing served largely to recycle knowledge back into the oral world…in the reading of literary and other texts to groups, and in reading aloud even when reading to oneself.'[9] The written word did not exist in isolation, but it had a continuing relationship with speech and orality. We might challenge Moulden for being overly dismissive of the

[6] Though he considered the broadside to be a corrupting influence on English 'folk' music, Child used broadside ballads to compile his 'folk' song collections. See Roy Palmer, *A Ballad History of England from 1588 to the Present Day* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1979) and '"Veritable Dunghills": Professor Child and the Ballad' *Folk Music Journal* 7, no. 2 (1996): 155-166. Other folk song collectors, including Sabine Baring-Gould, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Cecil Sharp, Lucy Broadwood, and Frank Kidson, also had modest collections of broadside ballads and other printed song materials, some of which are now held by the English Folk Dance and Song Society's *Ralph Vaughan Williams Memorial Library* in London. The interaction between street literature and the collection of 'folk song' cannot be fully discussed here for reasons of scope, but for further information, I refer the reader to Steve Roud, *Folk Song in England* (London: Faber & Faber, 2017), and David Atkinson, *The Anglo-Scottish Ballad and Its Imaginary Contexts* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2014).

[7] See Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

[8] John Moulden, 'The Printed Ballad in Ireland: A Guide to the Popular Printing of Songs in Ireland, 1760-1920' (Doctoral Dissertation, National University of Ireland, 2006), 124, 214, and 230.

[9] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 117.

broadside's materiality, but he admirably captures the importance of performance and orality to the tradition. As with theatrical and operatic works, the interpretive skills of performers were crucial to the effectual realization of a broadside ballad song, and therefore creative production was divided between the author(s) and the performer(s), textuality and orality, the pre-determined and the variable.[10]

Another complexity of the broadside was its identity as both an old and a modern tradition. As already noted, during its living history, the broadside coexisted with its predecessors in contemporaneous culture. In his autobiography, Thomas Holcroft (1745-1809) notes the following: 'even the walls of cottages and little alehouses would do something; for many of them had old English ballads, such as Death and the Lady, and Margaret's Ghost, with lamentable tragedies, or King Charles's Golden Rules, occasionally pasted on them.'[11] The broadside, not only as a tradition, but in and through its constituent members, endured in English culture; therefore, the modern broadside tradition and trade of the nineteenth century had to be contextualised by contemporaneous purchasers within a long history because, 1) ballads remained present in the *sonic* world of England ('Death and the Lady', for example, can be found printed in broadsides as early as 1666 and as late as 1866), and 2) they remained present *materially,* as a fading ballad stuck to a wall.[12] This meant that the broadside of the nineteenth century had to engage with its previous iterations in physical space and sound, as well as the expectations of broadside customers, who would have had

[10] In the broadside ballad tradition as a whole, the words were (largely) determined by the printed sheet, but the music was far less so.

[11] Thomas Holcroft and William Hazlitt, *Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft* (1816; London: Humphrey Milford: 1926), 55.

[12] For examples, see Douce Ballads 1(20a) and Douce Ballads 1(130b) by Coles, Vere and Wright of London (printing between 1663-1680), and Harding B 11(827) by Harkness of Preston (printing 1840-1866), all at the Bodleian Library.

preconceptions of the tradition's identity and value based on previous generations of the broadside. The material nature of the broadside made it simultaneously artefactual and vital: modern broadsides were new members of an old race. And the contemporaneous perception of the broadside as a tradition was shaped by its ongoing place in British culture.

The 'traditional' associations of the broadside were not new to Holcroft's nineteenth century: they extended back so deeply into history that the broadside and its assumed 'antiquity' could not be properly separated. This is best summarised by Gerald Egan in the context of the forms of typefaces with which broadsides were printed:

> …a more recent approach put forward by Bland, Zachary Lesser, and others, has made the case that the visual appearance of black letter itself conveys meaning. According to this argument, black letter is an actual vehicle for cultural significance, a formal property of a text that means something…Lesser proposes that as early as the seventeenth century black letter had a specific cultural meaning, that it both constructed and evoked a nostalgia for a traditional, communal English past.[13]

The move from black to white-letter type, which became a key feature of the 'new' broadside of the mid-eighteenth century, will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter 1, but as Egan points out, the broadside throughout its history was a tradition that consciously clung to the past: it wanted to appear old. The 'old-fashioned' associations of the broadside became a fundamental part of its identity and persisted well after printers—eventually—transitioned to white-letter (or Roman) type in the eighteenth-century. According to Berta Joncus, the establishment of balladry as a historic, cultural tradition was continued in the eighteenth century by theatres and collectors:

[13] Gerald Egan, 'Black Letter and the Broadside Ballad', *English Broadside Ballad Archive,* University of California, Santa Barbara.

> This wordbook [for Addison's 1707 opera *Rosamund*], together with Addison's commentary, began a process by which ballads gradually ceased to belong to a living tradition, rejuvenated through social practices, and became artefacts of a romanticized 'folklore'. This process was effected through the reification of the traditional ballad in print (miscellanies, garlands, drolleries, collections), in particular the watershed three-volume Collection of Old Ballads (1723-5). The editor of this set (who may have been Ambrose Philips) provided the first critical apparatus emphasizing the historical value of preserving ballads.[14]

As we will discover in the course of this project, the broadside tradition underwent revivification in the hands of printers John Pitts and James Catnach in the nineteenth century, halting—if only for a few decades—the creeping ossification that Joncus describes. Nevertheless, the broadside's 'old-fashioned-ness' remained a valued part of its character in Britain's nineteenth-century political climate. During the Napoleonic Wars, the country strove to define itself through popular culture, in the face of invasion threats and the Continent's ongoing geopolitical chaos. At this time, Britain's—and particularly England's—national iconography (notably John Bull and Jack Tar) became very prominent in popular culture such as newspapers, cartoons, and of course broadsides, describing Britain's nationhood and national character by defining what it *was*—royalist, sovereign, honest, courageous—and by comparison, defining what it was *not*—republican, traitorous, heretical, craven. The country sought to define itself as both a present reality and a historic heritage: connection with the past was a crucial part of its self-representation, as political and social continuity was something that the primary enemy—France—had conspicuously eschewed. Similarly, in Metternich-era Europe, the past was upheld as a precedent for the future of European society and politics: though wary of the nationalism that had taken hold in Europe since the time of the

[14] Berta Joncus, 'A Star Is Born: Kitty Clive and Female Representation in Eighteenth-century English Musical Theatre' (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Oxford, 2004), 43-4.

French Revolution, the Conservative Order recognised that 'tradition' was critical to restoring Europe to a pre-Revolutionary monarchical stability.

By the nineteenth century, the broadside was an ingrained part of Britain's popular, working-class life. The educated classes were not the only members of British society that sought to define national identity through culture and representation: broadsides themselves bear witness that the working classes were also keenly interested in defining their nationhood.[15] Later in the century, collectors such as Francis James Child ostensibly attempted to locate Britain's essential cultural identity in the music of the rural 'folk'; one of the problems with this, however, was that by the time educated collectors started down these paths, the 'working folk' of England were no longer on picturesque farms and pastures singing orally composed songs—they were working in cities. As A.L. Lloyd noted in the 1970s, 'the *creation* of folk music and poetry has, within the last hundred years or so, passed almost entirely into the hands and mouths of industrial workers'.[16] In the nineteenth century, popular song was no longer purely oral, nor was it primarily rural: it was printed and urban—in short, it was the broadside ballad, the default heir of England's oral musical past. As the English working classes sought to define themselves during and after the Napoleonic Wars, they looked not to the music of the country folk, but to their *own* song—a tradition that was contemporary and active, yet comfortingly old-fashioned and traditional. What folk collectors in the late 1800s sought in rural ballads, the urban working classes had found at the beginning

[15] For discussions on the engagement of non-leisure class song traditions with politics and nationalism, see David Kennerly, 'Loyalism, Celebrity, and the Politics of Personality: Dibdin in the 1790s' in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*, ed. Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley, and Ian Newman (Oxford: University Press, 2018), 79-93; Oskar Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song, 1797-1822* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Christina Bashford, and Leanne Langley, *Music and British Culture: 1785-1914* (Oxford: University Press, 2000).

[16] See A.L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), 320.

of the century in broadsides: cultural identity that—to the contemporaneous listener—resounded with echoes of the past.

In the quotation above, Joncus suggests that the ballad collector was something of an enemy to the vital broadside tradition, as, in the act of preserving it, collectors turned it from an 'old-fashioned' tradition—which consciously retained vestiges of the past in its subsequent iterations—to just an 'old' tradition: consigned to history. The practice of collecting broadsides did not start in the nineteenth century though, or even in the eighteenth: the broadside had an enduring history of contemporaneous collection and preservation dating nearly to its inception. We have already observed the importance of paste or glue in the history of the broadside via Holcroft's autobiography, in which ballads were stuck on walls of pubs and houses as items of visual interest. But paste was also employed to preserve ballads in a more methodical and rarefied way by broadside collectors. To these collectors, whether they were born in the sixteenth century or the nineteenth, the broadside was as trashy and evanescent, inconsequential and fading as modern-day tabloids: loud, sensational, and ghastly, offering a heady concoction of fact and fiction. Yet ballad collectors were often illustrious figures, and formed an unlikely set when considered collectively; notables in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries include John Selden, a legal scholar and friend of Milton, Samuel Pepys, the famed naval administrator, Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford, and in the twentieth century, Robert Harding, a rag-time pianist from Chicago. What was it about broadside ballads that made these people, and many others, collect and preserve them? The sheets themselves were printed *en masse*, sold *en masse*, and discarded *en masse*. Yet civil servants, lawyers and earls drew them in from the streets to the library, making the transient permanent, and transforming the 'popular' into the 'cultural'.

Some collectors, like John Johnson for example, explicitly desired to preserve the documentation of popular culture as a historical and anthropological exercise. Other collectors, like Samuel Pepys, collected ballads according to their subjects of interest: in his case, the sea and sex.[17] Jonathan Hicks suggests yet another motivation for later ballad collectors, particularly Francis James Child: cultural belonging. In the nineteenth century, owning material from this most English of musical traditions somehow purchased ownership to the cultural club of England—an association that an American like Child was keen to solidify, as his own country's cultural history was bewilderingly diverse.[18]

The broadside's complicated relationship with Britain's social structuring is an important element of its history and collection, and forms a fundamental part of its identity. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the aristocracy serially and selectively dipped into the culture of the lower classes: nostalgia or an interest in national iconography and patriotism could have been motivating factors for them, but so could the thrill of 'slumming' with the working classes.[19] Vauxhall Gardens was enormously popular at this time as a venue for the nobility, despite the fact that the baser classes mingled there too—or even because of it. Contemporaneous collectors may have found excitement in the grittiness that the broadside offered. There is also a possibility that, during a time when street musicians were under attack, the scholarly attention to broadside materials in the nineteenth century, even by amateur collectors, may have signalled a conscious support and acknowledgement of a social class that had

[17] Patricia Fumerton, 'Recollecting Samuel Pepys: His Life, His Library, and His Legacy', *English Broadside Ballad Archive,* University of California, Santa Barbara.

[18] Hicks, 4.

[19] Thomas Burke, *The Streets of London Through the Centuries* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1940), 60.

come to the forefront of the public's imagination during the Napoleonic Wars.[20] Charles Hindley, who had a fascination with the broadside as a popular tradition, even created the Catnach Society in 1841, (somewhat humorously) paying homage to one of the famed printers of this street trash.[21] But as Bertrand Harris Bronson noted: 'Among educated people, interest in the ballads seems always to have begun apologetically.' There remained stigma in interesting oneself in the cultural produce of such a class: we find this sentiment in the introduction to John Thomas Smith's book *Vagabondiana* (1817).[22] Smith's descriptions and depictions of the street dwellers of London are introduced by an explicit and seemingly unprompted justification for why these people were worthy subjects of his attention. Whatever contemporaneous collectors' motivations were for taking interest in the literature of the streets, it was almost always done with some embarrassment or shame.

In examining broadside ballads from surviving collections, this project will necessarily engage with their compilers. The broadside was a primarily 'popular' or working-class tradition, but we view it through the lens of wealthy, upper-class, educated collectors with idiosyncratic tastes. The tradition, as represented by these collections, is necessarily filtered as materials were selected and curated for preservation by individuals. All historical sources—archaeological, textual, or musical—are mediated by their preservers and curators; the broadside ballad is no exception. The collections are then as indicative of the people who collected them—and their classes and backgrounds—as they are of the tradition itself. Any single collection, and even the

[20] Betty T. Bennett, *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793-1815* (New York: Garland, 1976), 66.

[21] Hindley, *Curiosities of Street Literature,* 3.

[22] John Thomas Smith, *Vagabondiana; Or, Anecdotes of Mendicant Wanderers through the Streets of London, with Portraits of the Most Remarkable Drawn from Life* (London: author, 1817).

entire conglomeration of existing broadsides, is only an altered and diminished reflection of the historical whole. Individual collections: 1) were compiled for a specific purpose that will be unique to that collector; 2) consist of materials that the collector saw to be valuable, judged by a paradigm based on the purpose above; 3) become a reflection of their compiler in the process of collection, in content, but also organization, use, and presentation; 4) will be divorced from their performative contexts in archival collections, and may even have been physically altered during the process of preservation; and 5) were bought by collectors that were, by majority, very different from the people who printed, read, and sung them on the streets. These characteristics of preserved collections are important to keep in mind when studying broadsides.

This project will focus on the relationship between music of the stage and the street in England, but particularly London, in the first half of the nineteenth century—from 1787 to 1844, to be specific. These dates were chosen because they were the years in which the printer John Pitts (1765-1844) operated his press in the Seven Dials: he was the first major broadside printer of his generation to establish his press, and interestingly, also the last to retire from it at his death in 1844 (the temporal limitations of the project will be discussed more fully later in the Introduction). This generation of printers was operating at a time when the 'old' broadside that had reigned till the mid-eighteenth century—a print tradition of anonymous new and old verses (often satirical), accompanied by recirculated tunes that were indicated by printed tune references—had been overtaken by a 'new' form of broadside that differed in style, font, and—notably—content to its predecessor. This 'new' broadside ballad has puzzled researchers because the music to which these new ballads were sung has remained a subject of speculation: though contemporaneous accounts would suggest that the broadside remained a sung

tradition (at least in large part), tune references disappeared from printed broadsides almost completely, while occasionally, contemporaneous contextual details were included instead, such as performance locations, individual performers, and even composers or authors (this will be discussed further in Chapter 2).[23] Researchers, including Oskar Cox Jensen, have suggested that many of the songs printed on broadsides during this period were originally written (words and music) for the stage and were subsequently *reprinted* as broadsides; the scant contextual references would support this hypothesis. This project has tested that theory through the construction of a database that cross-references theatrical works and broadsides, and which has found that at least 6% of the broadside editions from this period in the Bodleian's Collections were imported directly from the stage.[24] The project will identify and examine the songs that came to the street from the stage, examining why and how they did so, and considering the ways in which stage music changed the sonic and even visual/physical natures of the broadside in England. In this project, I wish to broaden the narrow scope with which broadside researchers from various disciplines have approached the tradition historically, and so this project will seek to 1) understand the broadside as a combined physical, visual, textual, as well as musical tradition, and 2) situate the broadside in both its physical and sonic contexts. Thus, it will pay close attention to both the material

[23] 'Reading' ballads, often sold by patterers, also played an important part in the street literature tradition, and will be discussed further in Chapter 1. Of course, there is the possibility that even theatrical ballads were read as well as performed. However, the performativity of the tradition from which they came (the theatre) and the ongoing performativity of the broadside tradition in the nineteenth century would suggest that theatre songs remained performative on the street.

[24] This percentage does not account for theatre tunes that were recycled for use with new verses on the street; understandably, the use of theatre tunes in this way is almost impossible to quantify today, because tunes were not recorded on most printed broadsides of the period. Tunes for broadside songs that were *not* taken directly from the theatre—evidence would suggest—were either 1) songs from pleasure gardens or other concert performances, or 2) composed by printers and singers for performance on the street (this will be discussed further in chapters 1 and 3). Concerts played a role in the movement of theatre music from the stage to the street, and will be discussed more later in this Introduction and in Chapter 3.

character of the broadside and the geographical context of the broadside industry. In a project considering the connection between the theatre and the broadside, physical and sonic geographies are not arbitrary lenses through which to view the tradition: they are, as we will see, natural and inseparable factors in this relationship. Much research has been done (and is ongoing) on the subject of the London ballad singer by Oskar Cox Jensen, but this project aims to take a step back and examine the industry as a whole, its relationship to the theatre, and its place in the larger sound world of the city.

However, as a musicologist, my aim is—admittedly—to bring the rich tradition of late broadside balladry firmly into the realm of musicology: Hicks also notes, justifiably, that musicology has been reticent to date in bringing its knowledge to bear on the field. There are reasons for this, of course, as noted above: the music of these ballads is not easy to find. Musical research has been conducted by folk music scholars on the musical aspects of broadsides by Steve Roud and David Atkinson (among others), but as Hicks points out, small-scale studies on individual ballads can only go so far in furthering our understanding of the broadside; they are unable to provide us with answers to big questions about the tradition, and do little to suggest from where the music of the late ballads came.[25] By making firm connections between the stage and street in this project, I hope to deepen our understanding of how broadsides of the nineteenth century were not only textual, visual, and material, but how they were musical and performative as well. And ultimately, I hope this project pulls the field of broadside balladry further into the realm of musicology, giving future music scholars a foundation upon which to study this dynamic, prolific English tradition.

[25] Hicks, 7-8.

Methodology

This project attempts to understand the relationship between the English stage tradition (focusing on London) and the broadside press in the first half of the nineteenth century. This relationship is very complex, affecting and affected by industry, technology, and commerce, as well as politics. While my goal has been to understand something of these complex and nuanced interactions around the turn of the nineteenth century—as far as may be done in retrospect—and contextualise the broadside ballad in its rich social and musical settings, the project is founded on a mass of quantitative data. This pushes the project towards the realm of social science—and not in an altogether comfortable way. Music history, though of course founded on evidence, is at its best when it does not merely present points of data but explains and connects facts in such a way as to reveal something significant about the field as a whole. I hope this project manages to achieve this type of contribution to the topic at hand. However, by necessity, nothing could be said on the subject until a mass of data was collected: because there has been no methodical research on the musical and textual interaction between street music and the theatre over this period (1797-1844), I could not begin to explain the manner of this relationship before assessing—to the best of my ability and within an appropriate scope—the extent of it.

Therefore, while my interest lies primarily in understanding *why* and *how* music from the stage came to the street, my first task for this project was understanding *what* music came to the streets. The only reasonable way to go about this was to construct a database that would allow me to forge the necessary links between individual songs

from the stage and broadside ballads.[26] Designing and building the database was a very significant part of this project and it provided me with the evidence to further my own theory that in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, there was a significant, identifiable influx of stage music into the three-hundred-year-old broadside tradition, coincidentally with a shift in the tradition's appearance and content (though the broadside had been influenced in various ways by theatrical entertainments throughout its history).[27] It also provided me with the material to explore the more interesting questions of why and how this musical interchange happened, and its effects on the broadside tradition.

At its present and final form, the database includes 521 works from the London stage. The geographical restrictions for the theatres to which I limited my search is necessarily narrow, but I hope not unjustified. London was both the theatrical and broadside printing hub of England: as this project is particularly interested in the role geography played in the interchange between these two traditions, I believe limiting the theatrical works included in this project to the physical location of London—which naturally connected to, and influenced, theatre and street song in other parts of the country—was necessary. In terms of the dates of the theatrical works I included in the database, my scope had to be more flexible. I included any theatrical work that was staged in London during the period in question (1797-1844), as well as any other, earlier works that I had

[26] The designers of the *Ballads Online* database did include tags for performers and even playwrights and composers for a small minority of broadsides from this period—in the rare cases when a song from the ballads could be recognised because of its significance in theatre or cultural history ('Rule Britannia' would be a good example). Unless a song advertised its association with a particular theatrical work, however, its theatrical provenance was not included in the entry. The vast majority of the stage songs I have found in the course of this project remain unidentified and unattributed in the *Ballads Online* database and archival research was necessary to connect them to the stage tradition.

[27] See Suzanne Aspden, 'Ballads and Britons: Imagined Community and the Continuity of 'English' Opera', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 1 (1997): 24-51.

reason to suspect influenced social or musical culture to the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. The songs of some theatrical works that had themselves disappeared from the stage remained popular in concerts and on the street for years afterwards.

The generic paradigm for the selection of these works had to be similarly adaptable. Judging from the nature and structure of the broadsides of this period, my assumption at the start of the project was that most came from the English comic opera. This has proved to be a correct assumption: however, the field of English opera and theatre is of course very diverse and generically complex. While some genres, such as pantomimes, are sufficiently distinctive to be identifiable within the sprawling field of English comic musical theatre as a whole, the reality is that the majority of English theatrical genres were not so easily defined. As we will see, there were a host of contemporaneous 'genre' titles appended to theatrical works that were somewhat descriptive but not prescriptive, and rarely helpful in distinguishing the members of one genre from another, or in identifying similarities between like works. I have tried to be as inclusive as I could in terms of genres of theatrical works from the London stage included in the database, but there are two areas of stage music that are not meaningfully represented in the database: concerts and pleasure garden entertainments. This is partly due to the need for restricting the scope of the project, and partly due to practicalities. Both concerts and pleasure garden entertainments played important parts in London's musical and entertainment histories; they were very influential in popularising songs and music in London, and they often featured 'recycled' materials from comic operas, therefore playing a mediating and reinforcing role in the relationship between the theatre and the

street.[28] But as such, concert and pleasure garden repertories are subjects as sizeable as dramatic theatre music, and I have avoided delving into these areas to maintain an appropriate scope for the project. That said, when I have found records of relevant theatre songs appearing in concert repertory, I have noted them in the discussion in Chapter 3, but for the most part, concert and pleasure garden programming was not well documented. Wordbooks were not regularly published in conjunction with pleasure garden performances, outlining the repertory performed, and advertisements for concerts at theatre venues provided headlines rather than complete song listings.

As a practical methodology for constructing the database, I began by logging every English comic opera I could find that was performed in London from the late-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, and then expanded this search through known composers, playwrights, and theatre annals in order to identify those works that did not fall within the typical three-act, full-length comic opera mould, but were closely related in theatrical and musical content. As will be further discussed in Chapter 2, a theatrical 'genre' whose music featured prominently on the street was the 'musical entertainment', a term that denoted a broad collection of theatrical works including those from the Royal Circus or Sadler's Wells, as well as one- or two-act entertainments that were shown at the main theatres after full-length works ('afterpieces'). After cataloguing all the members of these closely-related genres that I could find, I pushed further afield, to those genres that were less similar, and found, as expected, that the link between the

[28] Another possible mediator between theatre songs and street music could be printed materials like scores and song sheets. I find this to be a less likely source of theatre songs for the broadside trade than performance simply because most sellers would not be in a position to afford these more expensive publications for reference (though some printers might), and would likely not be able to read the music in any case (and thereby access the tunes to the songs). This of course presupposes that theatre ballads were in fact sung: see comment above. The dissemination of theatre songs will be discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

stage and the street became more tenuous. These genres included masques, English pastorals and pantomimes. The database has—I am sure—holes, but my method throughout was to include rather than exclude (both in terms of 'genre' and member works) so as to make the database as sound a representation of the theatre's musical infusion into the street as was feasible. I am confident that I have found the majority of broadsides from the Bodleian's Broadside Collections that originated in English music dramas of the period, as far as existing print materials allow us to find. Towards the end of constructing the database, I referenced histories like Roger Fiske's *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (1986) and Robert Tanitch's *London Stage in the Nineteenth Century* (2010), as well as annals like Henry Saxe Wyndham's *The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre from 1732 to 1897* (1906), in order to identify relevant theatrical works that I may have missed in my archival research.[29] However, the database was chiefly built through direct searches for existing theatrical scores, sheet music, and wordbooks. Because at least a wordbook was needed to connect individual theatrical songs with broadsides, records of theatrical works that were produced but left no print materials behind could not be helpfully included in the database; thus, the database was constructed chiefly from searching through archival materials.

Constitutionally of course, there is a great deal of consistency in the theatrical works with songs reprinted for the street. The characteristics of these works cannot be helpfully explored here, but will be covered in Chapter 2. However, the pertinent points for this discussion are that all of the theatrical works: 1) included some sung music; 2)

[29] Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), Robert Tanitch, *London Stage in the Nineteenth Century* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2010), and Henry Saxe Wyndham, *The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre from 1732 to 1897* (London: author, 1906).

were English-language; and 3) except for a very small minority (notably Kane O'Hara's *Midas* of 1764) they consisted primarily of spoken-dialogue with discreet, self-contained songs interspersed throughout. Save for a chorus from Meyerbeer's *Der Freischutz* (1824), little of the Italianate opera tradition or London's Italian opera house (the King's Theatre in the Haymarket) appear in broadsides during this period.[30]

The database was built by aggregating the first lines (incipits) of all the songs from each theatrical work found, along with a host of other information about the work's performance and publication. These incipits were then cross-referenced with the Bodleian's *Ballads Online* database, which has been brilliantly designed and executed by Giles Bergel and Alexandra Franklin, among others. Song titles proved all but irrelevant to this project: though song sheets often included a title given by the publisher for advertising purposes, wordbooks almost never included one. This being the case, titles are of little to no use in tracing songs between the theatre and the broadside trade: incipits are the only plausible means of identifying lyrics—and consequently tunes—that have migrated from the former to the latter. One of the great ingenuities of the Bodleian database is that the first line of each ballad is included in the record for each ballad edition and variants of incipits are aggregated under what is termed the 'ballad work', defined by Steve Roud's ballad indexing system. This allows the first lines from theatrical works to be cross-referenced through the database with remarkable accuracy—manually, of course. As incipits often included archaic spellings or even spelling mistakes, human input was required to adjust search queries to find relevant

[30] See the twelve editions of the 'Chorus of Huntsmen in Der Freischutz', Roud Number: V7486, Ballads Online, Bodleian Library. This does not include those cases in which composers of ballad operas 'borrowed' tunes from their continental counterparts for inclusion in new, English-language works.

matches in the Bodleian's database. Thus, I would often run three or more potential variants of an incipit before finding its broadside match(es).

Needless to say, this project has been nearly wholly reliant on the work of Bergel and Franklin, and owes nearly everything to their seminal work on this collectio . This type of project would have been made immeasurably harder if these researchers had not so thoroughly and intelligently constructed their database for the use of scholars like myself. And consequently, my database, though not derivative in content, is intended to be used in conjunction with the Bodleian's *Ballads Online* database.

The broadsides included in this project come from five special collections that have been acquired by the Bodleian Library, as well as the library's own Rare Books Collection: these include the John Johnson Collection, the Harding Collection, the Firth Collection, the Curzon Collection, and the Douce Collection. John de Monins Johnson (1882-1956) was an Oxford-based Egyptologist, excavator, papyrologist and redoubtable printer at the Oxford University Press who was appointed a Commander of the British Empire in 1928 for his work on the Oxford English Dictionary. He met by happenstance Constance Meade (n.d.) while at Oxford, who was the great-granddaughter of Thomas Percy (1729-1811) of *Percy's Reliques* (1765) and who had inherited part of his important collection. After meeting Johnson, Meade gave him broadsides from Percy's collection, which he subsequently entitled the 'Constance Meade Collection of Ephemeral Printing'. The collection included approximately 1.5 million items when it was transferred from the OUP to the Bodleian in 1968, and also includes important ephemeral materials from the collection of Willian Dunn Macray (1826–1916), a clergyman who was a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford and a librarian at the Bodleian. Johnson's collection of ephemera, largely consisting of 18th,

19th and 20th century items, also benefitted from the addition of materials from the Bodleian itself when it purged some ephemeral items from its collections. Johnson, with his background in papyrology, saw paper and printing as critical records of the past and did much to establish the importance of collecting ephemeral materials—he is credited with standardising the term 'ephemera' within scholarly circles.[31] As it currently and finally stands, Johnson's collection includes 4,456 items of street literature.

Walter Newton Henry Harding (1883-1973) was another tireless collector of ephemeral material, particularly focused on English comic theatre traditions—especially the ballad opera—but interested in other forms of poetry and song. He was born in London and remained a British citizen throughout his life, but he spent most of his time in Chicago as a music-hall, theatre, and ragtime pianist. On his death, he sent his collection back to England by bequeathing it to the Bodleian Library. It consists of approximately 100,000 items that include poetry, wordbooks, periodicals, auction catalogues, valentines' cards, English and French poetry, song sheets from France, Germany, Italy, England and America, and of course a substantial collection of street literature. Harding's own assiduous collecting work was assisted by the addition of song materials by other collectors, notably that of Sir John Stainer (1840-1901), which Harding bought in its entirety, as well as those of the following: Oxford academic, W. W. Robinson (n.d.); Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth (n.d.), the editor of the Stuart-era collection of *Bagford Ballads* (1876); ballad collector, W. A. Barrett (n.d.), the author of *English Folk Songs* (1891); and lastly, literary scholar George Thorn-Drury (1860-1931). Harding's

[31] See M.L. Turner, 'John Johnson and His Collection of Printed Ephemera', in *The John Johnson Collection: Catalogue of an Exhibition* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1971), 5–18.

amalgamated collection of street literature includes 14,211 items, and consists mostly of materials from the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[32]

Sir Charles Harding Firth (1857–1936) was a historian and fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He is perhaps best known for his championing of the use of primary source materials in teaching history and for his controversial attempts to revolutionise the history programme at Oxford along these lines. His own academic contributions to the field of history were many, and the Bodleian holds a part of his personal collection, including nearly thirty volumes of ephemeral materials, containing 5,839 individual ballads.

Frances Douce (1757-1834) worked as a Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Library. His decision to leave his valuable collection to the Bodleian rather than the British Library is notable then, and may ostensibly be attributed to the Bodleian's habit of retaining the donor names of bequeathed collections. Douce collected ephemeral materials contemporaneously, but also wanted to collect materials that demonstrated society and culture throughout history. His collection includes 944 items of street literature.

The last private collection noted above was donated to the Bodleian by George, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859-1925), politician, traveller, and Viceroy of India. Curzon studied Greats at Balliol College, Oxford, before extensive travel in Asia. He entered the field of politics as a Tory and eventually became Viceroy of India. His academic interests endured throughout his life, and in 1916 he purchased the Napoleonic library of Alexander Mayrick Broadley (1847-1916), a barrister who was

[32] 'Harding, Walter Newton Henry' in *Rare Books Named Collection Descriptions,* Bodleian Library.

famous in England for his homosexual indiscretions and for his fraught relationship with Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, which at one point precipitated his effective exile from the country. Upon his return, Broadley devoted himself to collecting materials on law as well as on Napoleon. His collection, as it was gifted to the Bodleian by Lord Curzon, consists of a range of visual and textual materials on Napoleon, including 111 examples of British street literature from this period.

The remaining 4,508 items of street literature that were reviewed in the course of this project are from the Rare Books Collection of the Bodleian Library, an unnamed collection of materials amassed by the library itself. In total, these six collections provide 24,230 ballads with which to cross-reference the theatrical works logged in my database (11,432 of which are from the dates in question). Because I believe that collection practices are an important feature of the Bodleian's broadside collections, the Bodleian shelf mark—which identifies the collection from which each item comes—has been included in referencing individual sheets, and a complete listing of shelf marks for the broadsides in question may be found in Appendix C. Regarding how I will reference theatrical songs in this dissertation, I will use the word 'song' to denote the original words and melody that originated from the stage and were subsequently printed on the street, often in multiple print editions that still exist today as multiple ballad sheets; 'songs' are most often identified in the text, footnotes and appendices by their discreet Roud numbers. The word 'edition' is a helpful classification implemented by the *Ballads Online* database for indicating a particular print run of a broadside: this allows individual sheets to be identified as from the same print run (through a comparison of sizes, content, and layouts). Edition numbers are used in the *Ballads Online* database to indicate these connections between individual printed broadsides. The term 'print' or

'broadside' will commonly refer to the physical printed broadside copies themselves on which a song may be printed: there may be multiple prints of a single 'edition' of a song. 'Prints' are identified by their Bodleian shelf mark in the footnotes and appendices, indicating both their collection and reference number.[33]

At this point, it is perhaps worth making some remarks on the definitions of 'street literature' in this project. By 'street literature', I mean printed materials that were intended for trade on the streets. These items may take many forms, including long song sheets and garlands (with ballad after ballad packed tightly onto large paper sheets), slip ballads (broadsides that are printed with two ballads side-by-side in portrait orientation, and then sliced down the middle and sold separately), chapbooks (an unfolded sheet or a pre-folded sewn booklet containing between 20-40 ballads, with some form of cover page, usually with a contents listing). Of course, the broadside proper—a single sheet of paper printed on only one side—is the most common form of street literature historically, but the tradition thrived in many variations. The composition of these formats and their differences will be discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 1, but for the project as a whole, I will not differentiate between the different printing formats for exclusionary ends. I am interested in all ballad materials that were printed for the street trade and street buyers (whosoever their actual buyers or collectors came to be).[34] In the project, I will use the term 'street literature' and 'broadside' somewhat interchangeably, not because they are absolutely synonymous, but because the

[33] As a note for researchers, many of the broadsides in the Bodleian's Collections are not listed on SOLO (the library's online search engine), so they must be accessed by contacting the Rare Books Room staff. The *Ballads Online* website is the best way to find these items if they do not need to be seen in person.

[34] There is a breed of broadside that I term a 'lookalike' ballad, because it boasts all the usual constituent parts of a broadside, but the quality of its printing and composition suggest that it probably was not intended for (or affordable to) the street market.

broadside format as well as its variants constitute a single literary and musical tradition, of which the broadside, as a printing specification, is the most prominent form. That being said, this project is concerned entirely with *sung* broadsides: the broadside sheet (as a print format) was used for all sorts of cheap literature, including advertisements, spoken ballads, and even newspaper-style propaganda sheets. I am interested only in those broadsides—the majority of such sheets—that were written in verse form (though they may or may not have been actually performed, as noted in the footnote above).

The temporal limitations of the project are clearly defined as 1797-1844, roughly encompassing the first half of the nineteenth century. As already noted, these dates formed natural borders within which to situate the project because, at the turn of the nineteenth century, the broadside trade was dominated by two large, rival printing houses, the one owned by John Pitts (1765-1844, active in the broadside trade from 1797-1844), and his younger rival, James Catnach (1792-1841, active in the broadside trade from 1813-1841). Pitts, as the elder of the two printers, started his press as the well-established Evans and Dicey presses—pillars of the trade in the last half of the eighteenth century—were in decline. This allowed Pitts to develop and mould the nineteenth-century broadside, with new formats, fonts, subjects, and music, as we will see in chapters to come. Catnach, while younger than Pitts, was a worthy rival for him and the two were fierce professional competitors. These two printers—Pitts especially, existing collections would indicate—were immensely prolific, outproducing all their London-based counterparts. Significantly, both printers were based in the heart of ballad printing in London—the Seven Dials, within several minutes' walk of the city's patent theatres. They ceased overseeing their respective presses within five years of each other, and their successors ushered in a new, distinctive age of the broadside that was again

different in format and content from that of the previous generation. As this project examines the relationship between the theatre and street song during this last, particularly prolific era of the broadside, the dates of Pitts' career provide its natural temporal bookends, as they parenthesise the development and production of the distinctive Seven Dials broadside of the early nineteenth-century.

The dating of individual items of street literature is not straightforward, however. Print dates were not typically included on broadside sheets, and therefore an individual broadside can only be dated by looking at the printer's mark and deducing a timeframe in which it must have been printed according to information we have about the printer's tenure at a given address. Thus, the dating of individual ballads can usually only be narrowed down to a decade, or even two or three, depending on the printer. Because of this, I cannot be certain that the broadsides of some of the minor printers that straddled Pitts' dates were in fact printed within the defined window of 1797-1844. In such cases, I have again erred toward inclusivity rather than exclusivity; I trust though that the flexibility of my approach to broadside dating will not materially affect the outcome or detract from the main aims of the project.

Through the database, I have been able to cross-reference the songs in over 521 operas with 11,432 broadsides from the dates in question in the six collections discussed above at the Bodleian. However, I make no claim that this project has included all the extant broadsides from the period. The Madden Collection of Cambridge includes around 30,000 broadsides, many of which also date from the period in question; as it is the only collection of broadsides of comparable size to the Bodleian's Collection (which also stands at around 30,000 in total), I did initially plan to include the contents of both the Bodleian and Madden collections in this study. However, after examining the Madden

Collection and researching something of its history, I decided not to include it in this database for two reasons. The first relates to collection practices. Sir Frederick Madden (1801-1873) was a single collector who amassed a very significant body of broadsides during his own lifetime. One of the ways in which he did this was visiting broadside printers and buying old stock off of them—we know he did as much with Pitts but may have done so with other printers as well. But if ballads were sitting around a stockroom, they probably had not sold well on the street; therefore, his collection provides us with a potentially skewed idea of what was popular. Additionally, and as already noted, all collectors have their biases: some prefer reading versus sung ballads (in Madden's case, his collection has a noticeably greater proportion of reading ballads than the combined collections in the Bodleian do); other collectors had preferences about the topics of the ballads they collected, their visual styles, and of course their printers. On reflection, it seemed unwise to include in the database such a proportionally large collection from a single collector—with unusual collection practices—that could effectively swamp the more varied constituent parts of the Bodleian Broadside Collection. The composite nature of the Bodleian collection is one of its strengths, as the diversity of its provenance limits the effects of the individuals' collecting biases and methodologies on our interpretation of the tradition. I believe that examining the Bodleian's representatives alone will in fact provide a more balanced understanding of the broadside industry on the street than if the Madden Collection was included in the project. The second reason I decided to exclude the Madden Collection is that it is nearly unworkable for such a project as this. I looked through all the ballads of the relevant period at Cambridge (in microfilm form) and have photographic records of them. However, as noted above, this project is dependent on a workable, systematised

ballad database. Unfortunately, Cambridge has not been in a position to rationalise and systematise its collection in a way that makes it accessible for researchers; to meaningfully include this collection alongside the Bodleian's six collections would have required me to reproduce the efforts of Giles Bergel and Alexandra Franklin on a comparably-sized collection of ballads. Thus, the project would have been of much too large a scope for a doctoral thesis if this collection had been added: as it is, the project required the evaluation of 11,432 broadside ballads of the era in question from the Bodleian's six relevant collections. Doubling the number of broadsides would have made the project too large and the data too plentiful to meaningfully interpret and examine effectively in the time given. This task was well outside of the remit of this project, and would not necessarily, as I have argued, improved the validity or accuracy of its conclusions.

As this is the case, the database cannot—and does not—claim to be comprehensive or absolutely authoritative on the relationship between the theatre and street song. Even if every existing broadside had been examined in the course of the project, far too many ballads have been lost, let alone wordbooks and scores, to fully measure this relationship. The database is intended, within the context of this project, to provide as many proven connections between the two traditions as it can; as such, I hope I am justified in being more concerned with the connections it proves than in those it has regrettably failed to find. The value of the database is that it provides a platform on which a discussion of how and why this music migrated to the street may be built.

With over thirty fields per record (of theatrical work), the database provides a great deal of information on the interaction between the stage and the street. Important trends that appeared through the database regarding printers, composers, playwrights and

performing houses are discussed in Chapter 2, accompanied by tables embedded in the text and appendices at the back that present relevant material from the database in an accessible format. Appendix A lists the generic descriptors of the theatrical works whose songs appear on broadside editions, with numbers of works in each genre. Appendix B lists by name the 135 theatrical works I have found to be associated with the broadside trade, indicating the number of songs that were reprinted from each in broadside form. This list includes three theatrical works from the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with songs printed as broadsides, but outside the strict dates of 1797-1844; these are included in the list of 135 theatrical works, but they are clearly differentiated in the listing (the songs from 132 theatrical works may be found on broadsides from within those dates). Appendix C lists the theatrical songs that I have found reprinted as broadsides in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections, along with their associated Roud Numbers, theatrical works, dates (when known), playwrights and authors (when known), numbers of print editions, and numbers of individual broadside prints from these print runs. In total, the appendix shows that 205 songs from the theatre were associated with the street trade from 1797-1844 (excluding the three songs from the theatrical works mentioned above), and these 205 songs appeared on 724 editions (print runs) and on 932 individual broadside prints in the Bodleian's Collections. In total, 6.3% of the Bodleian's editions from 1797-1844 include songs from the theatre. I have attempted to limit discussions of raw data to one chapter, allowing more space in the other chapters to address the context of these songs and to examine the music of the broadsides—which this project set out to find.

Literature Review

There is a small but growing body of literature on nineteenth-century broadside balladry and here I will detail those sources that proved foundational to this project. Some of the most intriguing and informative of these were written contemporaneously by Charles Hindley (1821-1893), Henry Mayhew (1812-1887), and John Thomas Smith (1766-1833), who recorded and described the living, active ballad tradition as it existed in London in the nineteenth century. These authors had remarkably ethnographic approaches to their subjects, recording their informants' mispronunciations and grammatical idiosyncrasies as carefully as folk collectors recorded tune variants. Our current understanding of ballad singing and printing relies heavily on the books by these contemporaneous scholars, informing the work of modern researchers including Oskar Cox Jensen, Leslie Shepard, James Hepburn, and Hugh Anderson.

Hindley was a London printer and an avid student of popular song, who amassed a significant collection of sheets, chapbooks, garlands, and woodcut blocks during his lifetime. In 1873, he published a work on the Roxburghe Collection of broadsides (which dates from 1567-1790), including transcriptions of the ballads and a selection of woodcut illustrations.[35] However, the real treasure of Hindley's research is to be found in his books on the contemporaneous broadside ballad tradition. He published two books on James Catnach (1792-1841) that outline the printer's life and career, drawing on interviews and accounts from people with whom Catnach had worked.[36] *Curiosities of Street Literature* (1871) is the most substantial contemporaneous reference work on

[35] Charles Hindley, *The Roxburghe Ballads* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1873).

[36] Hindley, *Life and Times of James Catnatch, Late of Seven Dials, Ballad Monger* (1878; Cambridge: University Press, 2011), and *The History of the Catnach Press, at Berwick-Upon-Tweed, Alnwick and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, in Northumberland, and Seven Dials, London* (1886; Cambridge: University Press, 2009).

nineteenth-century broadside balladry, in which Hindley explains the workings of the broadside trade, describing its key characters and providing information on the place and role of music within the tradition. [37] His book also demonstrates that the nineteenth-century broadside was both a historical and contemporary form, engaging with the tradition as a modern industry and an historical phenomenon. Hindley is curiously placed in relation to his subject as an enthusiast, printer, historian and contemporary: his books reveal a deep attraction to street literature, but also express embarrassment at the crudity of its poetry, printing, and illustrations. This dichotomy is somewhat thematic of contemporaneous broadside collection: a mixture of fascination and revulsion. One of the remarkable features of Hindley's book is the large selection of his own ballad collection reproduced within it, which, interestingly, bear some notable differences to those that are preserved in the Bodleian's collection: Hindley includes a much higher proportion of news-based ballads and broadsides in prose or dialogue form than may be found in the amalgamated Bodleian collections, which consist mostly of cut slip ballads in verse form. This difference is evidence of the influence collectors and collecting practices had in defining the broadside tradition for future generations.

Hindley's most remarkable book—arguably—was not directly about the broadside. *A History of the Cries of London: Ancient and Modern* (1881) is a ground-breaking study of the musical sound world of London, undertaken long before such research was being considered by the academic community. [38] Hindley discusses in great detail the innate musicality of all manner of sellers and street vendors, paying particular attention to the effects of industrialization on the cries of London. The book provides a remarkably

[37] Hindley, *Curiosities of Street Literature*.

[38] Hindley, *A History of the Cries of London: Ancient and Modern* (1881; Cambridge: University Press, 2011).

modern analysis and definition of popular song that foreshadows more recent works on Britain's sound world, including Bruce R. Smith's *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (1999).[39] Hindley's work will be a very important resource to this project because it describes a society that is fundamentally, enduringly, and unselfconsciously musical.

Henry Mayhew, perhaps best known as the co-founder of the magazine *Punch* in 1841, was a journalist, reformer, and social researcher. His colossal work, *London and the London Poor*—published in three volumes in 1851, with another volume added in 1861—was a provocative and even revolutionary work.[40] Mayhew took his journalistic skills to the streets of London, interviewing scores of workers and beggars, writing their stories (supposedly) *verbatim* and compiling them for publication. Mayhew recorded people's stories and left readers to make of them what they would. His ethnographic approach contrasted sharply with most of the contemporary discourse on poverty and the working classes, which almost inevitably veered into moralism, paternalism, or sentimentalism. Though it was written as a social exposé, Mayhew's book has proven very helpful to broadside historians, as he interviewed many people working in and around the ballad trade. John Thomas Smith's book *Vagabondiana* (1817) is also an invaluable source on street dwellers of the period.[41] Smith was an engraver and painter, who produced several sketches and paintings of his contemporary J.M.W. Turner, but who was also fascinated by beggars and other street-dwellers in London. His beautiful engravings of street dwellers are accompanied by descriptions of each individual (with a

[39] Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O Factor* (Chicago: University Press, 1999).

[40] Henry Mayhew, *London and the London Poor* (1861; London: Chatto & Windus, 1966).

[41] Smith, *Vagabondiana.*

pithy preface defending Smith's choice of subject, and a grim history of beggary by Francis Douce as an Introduction). Smith's other valuable books on street life in London include *Cries of London* (1839), including plates of street criers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and *Antiquarian Ramble in the Streets of London: With Anecdotes of Their More Celebrated Residents* (1846).[42] Hindley, Mayhew, and Smith took considerable pains to record facets of English society that were not considered to be beautiful or valuable by their contemporaneous culture, though—like collectors—they did so with differing motivations, interests, and ends.

Modern scholars of nineteenth-century broadside ballads have built upon the work of Hindley and Mayhew. One notable researcher was the late Lesley Shepard (1917-2004), a student and collector of broadside ballads, who wrote three important books on the subject. *The Broadside Ballad* (1962) provides an introduction to the tradition and trade, focusing particularly on the later ballads of the nineteenth century.[43] Though not especially detailed, the work is important because it is the only substantial modern introduction to the broadside in the nineteenth century, providing a brief but comprehensive overview of performance practices, singers, sellers, printers, and buyers. The music of the ballads, though described as an integral part of the nineteenth-century broadside tradition, is not discussed in any detail. Shepard's second book, *John Pitts* (1969), was seemingly intended as a response to Hindley's much earlier publications on Pitts' rival James Catnach.[44] With far fewer sources than Hindley had at his disposal,

[42] John Thomas Smith, *The Cries of London: Exhibiting Several of the Itinerant Traders of Antient* [*sic*] *and Modern Times* (London: 1839), and *Antiquarian Ramble in the Streets of London: With Anecdotes of Their More Celebrated Residents* (London: Bentley, 1846).

[43] Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London, Herbert Jenkins, 1962).

[44] Shepard, *John Pitts: Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London 1765-1844* (London: Private Libraries Association, 1969).

Shepard endeavoured to outline Pitts' life, career, and impact on the broadside trade in the nineteenth century. Lastly, Shepard's book *The History of Street Literature* (1972) focuses on the printing and distribution of pamphlets, litanies, and chapbooks from the sixteenth through to the twentieth centuries.[45]

The other significant twentieth-century work on the broadside was a thesis completed at Cambridge in 1974 by Robert Stark Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and Its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs', which I am sad to say has never been published.[46] Thomson's work focuses on the Madden Collection, though it also references ballad materials held at the Bodleian and in other collections. Thomson's work is staggering for its breadth and depth, as he gives remarkable detail on the major printing houses in England from the beginning of broadside balladry through to the nineteenth century, describing the trade in great detail. This is a crucial work for understanding the industry in which Pitts, Catnach, and their contemporaries operated, as well as contributing greatly to our understanding of the materials themselves. However, it has little to say on the music of the ballads.

There have been several more recent additions to the field that have proven significant to advancing our understanding of the broadside tradition. An important thesis on the late ballads was written by Oskar Cox Jensen, subsequently adapted for publication as *Napoleon and British Song: 1797-1822* (2015).[47] This work includes a very thought-provoking chapter on the tradition of the broadside during the Napoleonic Wars.

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[45] Shepard, *The History of Street Literature: The Story of Broadside Ballads, Chapbooks, Proclamations, News-sheets, Election Bills, Tracts, Pamphlets, Cocks, Catchpennies, and Other Ephemera* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973).

[46] Robert Stark Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and Its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs' (Doctoral Dissertation, Cambridge University, 1974).

[47] Jensen, *Napoleon and British Popular Song, 1797-1822* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Oxford, 2014) and republished as *Napoleon and British Song, 1797-1822*.

Notably, the author explored the interaction between politics and the broadside during this period—quite a complicated and nuanced topic. He examined attempts made by the government to influence public opinion through popular song, but ultimately concluded that the broadside remained an independent, autonomous form that no outside body could successfully master. This project will engage with Jensen's work, exploring ways in which the broadside ballad was a vehicle for working-class self-expression and identity construction, paying particular attention to how this was affected by the infusion of songs from the theatre. Jensen's subsequent edited collection, *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture* (2018), with contributions by Michael Burden among others, has provided very valuable information on the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' compositional darling of the stage and the street, as well as the social, political, and musical culture in which he lived.[48]

A third valuable thesis on the broadside was written by John Moulden, entitled 'The Printed Ballad in Ireland: A Guide to the Popular Printing of Songs in Ireland, 1760-1920' (2006).[49] Though this thesis does not focus on the broadside in England, it does discuss the interaction between the two countries' traditions, their mutual influences and intersections. Moulden also explores the printing and production of broadsides in some depth, examining printing techniques, paper sizes, selection, and the effects of paper shortages. He includes an important discussion on the broadside industry's rejection of early nineteenth-century printing innovations, notably the Stanhope Press, highlighting the fact that—though ephemeral—the broadside was also an established and conventionalised tradition. Though his thesis focuses on song in printed form, Moulden

[48] Jensen, Kennerley, and Newman, eds., *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*.
[49] Moulden, 'The Printed Ballad in Ireland'.

nevertheless insists that the broadside ballad was a performed tradition. He posits that popular songs were almost always performed from memory, and therefore broadside sheets were essentially stepping stones through which new songs entered a fundamentally oral tradition. This is a remarkable conclusion to reach about a form that has been—in the twentieth century at least—primarily considered a literary tradition. It also decidedly contradicts the rigid tripartite definition of balladry propounded by Francis James Child and early collectors (dividing ballads into oral, manuscript, and print cultures). Moulden eliminates the walls that Child erroneously constructed between print and oral song traditions, but while doing so he neglects to acknowledge the multiform and multivalent nature of the broadside. Moulden sees the broadside as a tool that allowed popular song to join its 'folk' or 'traditional' cousin in the oral sphere, and to an extent, it was. But it was also a form of popular poetry and visual art. Broadsides were multifunctional: some buyers may have considered the sheet redundant after memorising the ballad, but other buyers would have sewn it into a chapbook, pasted it on a pub wall, or preserved it carefully in a book. All of the broadside's social functions must be considered in order to understand the whole. This project will seek to engage with the many competing conceptions of broadside balladry, and, with further research, offer an integrated approach that acknowledges the full complexity of the form.

Hugh Anderson's book *Farewell to Judges and Juries: The Broadside Ballad and Convict Transportation to Australia, 1788-1868* (2000) is a compendious work that uses ballad transcriptions as points of departure for exploring the history of Australia's penal

colony.[50] From an historical perspective, Anderson's book has great appeal, but it does not offer substantive original research on the broadside itself. By way of an introduction to the broadside form, the author provides an excerpt from Mayhew. A collection edited by John Holloway and Joan Black, *Later English Broadside Ballads* (1975), also includes nineteenth-century items, but the book primarily functions as a compilation of ballad lyric transcriptions, offering only a short overview of the ballad tradition and its history.[51]

The edited collections by David Atkinson and Steve Roud, *Street Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century: Producers, Sellers, Consumers* (2017) and *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and North America: The Interface between Print and Oral Traditions* (2017) are important works, presenting a breadth of information on street literature in Britain and beyond, and focusing on the tradition during the period in question.[52] There are three important articles about British popular song that should be noted here too. Firstly, Berta Joncus's chapter 'Ballad Opera: Commercial Song in Enlightenment Garb' provides a rich history of the interaction of ballad songs and the theatre in ballad opera during the first half of the eighteenth century.[53] Secondly, Suzanne Aspden's article 'Ballads and Britons: Imagined Community and the Continuity of 'English' Opera' (1997) discusses intersections between ballads and English opera in the eighteenth century, providing an excellent foundation for further

[50] Hugh Anderson, *Farewell to Judges and Juries: The Broadside Ballad and Convict Transportation to Australia, 1788-1868* (Melbourne: Hotham Hill, 2000).

[51] John Holloway and Joan Black, *Later English Broadside Ballads* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

[52] David Atkinson and Stephen Roud, eds., *Street Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century: Producers, Sellers, Consumers* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Routledge, 2017), and *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-century Britain, Ireland, and North America: The Interface between Print and Oral Traditions* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

[53] Berta Joncus, 'Ballad Opera: Commercial Song in Enlightenment Garb', in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Musical,* ed. Robert Gordon and Olaf Jubin (Oxford: University Press, 2017).

studies on the interaction of broadsides and British stage traditions.[54] Thirdly, 'Music and Politics: 1793-1815' (2016) in *Resisting Napoleon,* is an insightful interdisciplinary chapter on British popular song by Mark Philp, Roz Southey, Caroline Jackson-Houlston and Susan Wollenberg.[55]

Significant research has been done on the early broadside in the field of literature and English. This research, though oftentimes narrow in scope, is crucial to our understanding of the development, convention and history of the nineteenth-century broadside. I will note only two works here, the first being the collection, *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* (2010), edited by Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini and Kris McAbee.[56] This collection of essays is valuable to all broadside researchers, as it carefully balances breadth with depth, providing insight into the early broadsides and the development of the tradition. The second is Claude Simpson's book, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (1966), which discusses the texts and melodies of 540 ballads from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.[57] Seminal works such as Simpson's are critical reading for researchers of nineteenth-century ballads who wish to engage with the tradition from a historically informed perspective. Of particular interest to this project is a book written by John William Robinson for the Society for Theatre Research entitled *Theatrical Street Ballads: Some Nineteenth-Century Street Ballads about the Theatre*. This book is concerned not with ballads that came from the stage, but

[54] Suzanne Aspden, 'Ballads and Britons: Imagined Community and the Continuity of 'English' Opera', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 1 (1997): 24-51.

[55] Mark Philp, Roz Southey, Caroline Jackson-Houlston, and Susan Wollenberg, 'Music and Politics: 1793-1815', in *Resisting Napoleon,* Mark Philp, editor (Oxford: Routledge, 2016).

[56] Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris. McAbee, *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[57] Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1966).

rather with ballad poetry about the stage; nevertheless, it provides an intriguing insight into the relationship between ballad and theatre.[58]

Much of this project will be concerned with situating the nineteenth-century broadside ballad within the Seven Dials' musical, artistic and social environments. There are several helpful contemporary accounts that describe the Seven Dials as a community and a place of business, ranging from the phlegmatic to the sensational. Factual information about the state of the Seven Dials can be found in official documents, including the 'Second Report of the Commissioners Appointed on the Education of the Poor' from the House of Lords' *Sessional Papers 1801-1833* (1819), and *The Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor* (1802).[59] Additionally, there are valuable accounts by charity workers who were involved in St Giles and the Seven Dials. David Hayes' annotated book entitled *Victorian Seven Dials: A Portrait Based on Contemporary Accounts* (2001) is a unique publication that is constructed around an anonymous lecture given by a long-time Christian social worker in 1865.[60] The speaker introduces his audience to the Seven Dials community through a described walking tour of the area, interspersed with anecdotes about the people living there. Sentimentality aside, this lecture provides an incredible sense of space and place, while Hayes' historical commentary on the lecture gives a wealth of information on the history of the area. The colour and seediness of the Seven Dials attracted not only charity workers and social reformers, but also authors who produced semi-fictionalised—in some cases bromidic—stories on the despair of

[58] John William Robinson, *Theatrical Street Ballads: Some Nineteenth-Century Street Ballads about the Theatre* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1971).

[59] 'Second Report of the Commissioners Appointed on the Education of the Poor', *Sessional Papers 1801-1833*, House of Lords (1819), and *The Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor,* vol. III (London: W. Bulmer, 1802).

[60] David A. Hayes, *Victorian Seven Dials* (Camden: Camden History Society, 2001).

the area's residents. In this last category, Dickens' *Sketches by Boz* (1836) would be the most notable, but others exist, including M. J. Nicholson's later *The Sunbeam of Seven Dials; and Other Stories of London Poor* (1874).[61] There is also a modern scholarly work that explores the poverty of London through the broadside ballad, *A Book of Scattered Leaves: Poetry of Poverty in Broadside Ballads of Nineteenth Century England* (2000).[62] This book is not dissimilar to *Farewell to Judges and Juries*, as the ballads are used as departure points from which to discuss the historical realities of poverty. Author James Hepburn provides an impressive discussion on the Seven Dials, describing its institution and development, prominent figures, and of course, its poverty. However, he does not attempt to address the musical culture of the area.

To properly understand the broadside as a musical form, it must be considered in relation to its adjacent musical traditions, particularly what has been historically termed 'folk' balladry, and of course theatre music. Early ballad historians, particularly Francis James Child, had very demeaning views of the broadside; in his writings, Child depicted it as a distinct and opposing force that defiled Britain's true 'folk' music. Though modern broadside scholars have rejected Child's purist conception of 'folk' music, they still find themselves engaging with the shadow of Child, struggling to situate the broadside in relation to oral songs. Modern sources on Britain's oral song tradition have been immensely helpful in reshaping and redefining this field. Steve Roud's comprehensive book *Folk Song in England* (2017), with contributions by Julia Bishop, is the most up-to-date and complete source on England's oral tradition.[63] David

[61] Charles Dickens, *Sketches by Boz* (1836; London: John Macrone, 1837), and M.J. Nicholson, *The Sunbeam of Seven Dials; And Other Stories of London Poor* (London: S.W. Partridge and Co., 1874).

[62] James Hepburn, *A Book of Scattered Leaves: Poetry of Poverty in Broadside Ballads of the Nineteenth Century England* (London: Bucknell University Press, 2000).

[63] Steve Roud, *Folk Song in England* (London: Faber & Faber, 2017).

Atkinson's monograph, *The Anglo-Scottish Ballad and Its Imaginary Context* (2014), is another wonderful source that crosses the boundaries between oral and print traditions in its exploration of the Anglo-Scottish ballad's context.[64] The British folklorist A.A. Lloyd, who was deeply involved in the mid-twentieth-century folk music revival, wrote the book *Folk Songs in England* (2008), which examines the ballad tradition within the cultural weave of British musical and social history.[65] He considers issues of authorship, the effect of individualism on traditional song forms moving into the nineteenth century, and the continuation of oral traditions in the industrial world. Reginald Nettel's *Seven Centuries of Popular Song a Social History of Urban Ditties* (1956) is another thought-provoking book for all ballad historians as it provides a detailed discussion of the traditional ballad, particularly focusing on its defining features, poetic conventions, and evolving performance.[66] This project will engage with definitions of the 'ballad of tradition', exploring how the broadside conforms to these prescriptive moulds, and how it breaks them.

E.D. Mackerness's book, *A Social History of English Music* (1964) provides an elegant, integrated overview of England's musical history.[67] Of particular note is his discussion on the importance of pleasure gardens in the dissemination, creation, interaction, and performance of music in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain. This project will build upon Mackerness's work on nineteenth-century musical and artistic intersections. Furthermore, *The Careers of British Musicians: 1750-1850* (2001) by

[64] David Atkinson, *The Anglo-Scottish Ballad and Its Imaginary Contexts* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2014).

[65] Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*.

[66] Reginald Nettel, *Seven Centuries of Popular Song: A Social History of Urban Ditties* (1956; Charleston: BiblioBazaar, 2016).

[67] Eric David Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).

Deborah Rohr explores the location, lives, and backgrounds of British musicians in the nineteenth century, demonstrating how instrumental musicians connected the worlds of the theatre, the opera, the concert hall, the pleasure garden, and even street music.[68] Rohr examines the perceived femininity and foreignness of music in Britain, and how this perception defined the social acceptability of professional musicianship. As music was not generally considered a suitable vocation for those of the upper and upper-middle classes, its performance and creation were left in the custody of the lower classes—and in close proximity to the theatre. This project will engage with Rohr's research and theories on the perception of music in Britain, examining how society's views on music affected the broadside tradition, particularly its music and performance. In a similar vein, *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914* (2000), a collection edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, discusses how British national identity was sought in both 'folk' music and classical music during an era of industrialization and musical imports.[69] This project will consider the importance of the broadside within Britain's search for a native musical tradition.

As the project will pay particular attention to the interaction of the broadside tradition and the theatre, it will rely heavily on research into the history of the English stage in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Of particular interest is *The Performing Century: Nineteenth-Century Theatre's History* (2007) edited by Tracy C. Davis ad Peter Holland, which looks at theatre and poetry as both related and competing artistic traditions.[70] The broadside was intimately connected to music, poetry, and

[68] Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians: 1750-1850* (Cambridge: University Press, 2001).

[69] Bashford and Langley, *Music and British Culture: 1785-1914*.

[70] Tracy C. Davis, and Peter Holland, editors, *The Performing Century: Nineteenth Century Theatre's History* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007).

drama, so this project will seek to situate the printed ballad within this artistic triangle. Notably, the authors examine the power that the theatre had in the nineteenth century to 'represent' Britain and its people; this project will engage with their work on the hegemony of the theatre in British culture, and examine how the broadside tradition mirrored, reflected, reinforced, and even undermined this power.

The most notorious intersection of the stage tradition and the broadside ballad was *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) by John Gay and Johann Christoph Pepusch. Though the phenomenon of ballad opera did not last past the mid-eighteenth century, it will be carefully considered in the course of this project as it deeply affected Britain's musical landscape, impacting the theatre, opera, and the popular ballad. A critical source for the ballad opera is Berta Joncus and Michael Burden's *Ballad Operas Online,* which catalogues both the operas and their tunes: this is a wonderful resource for ballad and theatre historians alike.[71] Madeline Smith Atkins' book, *The Beggar's 'Children': How John Gay Changed the Course of England's Musical Theatre* (2006), is another pertinent source on this topic, outlining the background to Gay's work, its influence, its effect on the theatre, and its progeny.[72] The author includes a thought-provoking discussion on the interaction between artistic traditions in the development of ballad opera, referencing the Scriblerus Club and the influence of 'high' poetry on Gay's work through his associations with Swift and Pope. Atkins also provides a very important discussion of the comic opera tradition of Dibdin and Arne that followed the short reign of the ballad opera, and which flourished in the nineteenth century. A wide variety of

[71] Berta Joncus, Michael Burden, Vanessa L Rogers, and Thaddeus Lipinski, *Ballad Operas Online,* Bodleian Libraries, Oxford University.

[72] Madeline Smith Atkins, *The Beggar's 'Children': How John Gay Changed the Course of England's Musical Theatre* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006).

other sources on the theatre have formed the background to this project, including Allardyce Nicoll's *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900* (1970), Robert Tanitch's *London Stage in the Nineteenth Century* (2010), and *'Politics, Performance and Popular Culture': Theatre and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2016), edited by Peter Yeandle, Katherine Newey, and Jeffrey Richards.[73]

Chapter Outline

The first chapter, 'Rags and Lampblack, Songs and Street Cries', will discuss the broadside's complex identity in English culture as a material, textual, visual, and musical tradition, exploring the broadside multilaterally rather than unilaterally—as has been done historically. The chapter will begin by locating the broadside within England's material culture, describing its physical evolution and manufacture from its beginnings in the fifteenth century through to the nineteenth century. The chapter will then consider how the broadside's material nature integrated with its other natures, evaluating its value in multiple cultural spheres in England as—variously—a musical, poetic, social, political, and economic tool. What was the value of a ballad to printers, consumers, theatres, and collectors? How was it valued differently by these different constituents? How did the broadside's tetratomic identity as material, textual, visual, and musical culture affect its value and purpose in English society during this period?

[73] Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900,* vols. III and IV (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), Robert Tanitch, *London Stage in the Nineteenth Century* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2010), and Peter Yeandle, Katherine Newey, and Jeffrey Richards, *Politics, Performance and Popular Culture: Theatre and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: University Press, 2016).

Chapter 1 will also consider the role of broadside ballads in London's sound world, discussing the importance of geography in the development of the broadside in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The chapter will particularly focus on the location of the London theatres in relation to the Seven Dials—the *de facto* centre of broadside printing of the period in London and, consequently, in England as a whole. How did the geographical proximity of broadside printers to the theatres affect the broadside industry? This discussion will locate the broadside in geographical relation to venues of public performance (theatres, pleasure gardens, etc.) but also to known broadside printers, broadside sellers/performers, and music printers. Contemporaneous accounts of the streets of London will be considered closely to gain a holistic understanding of the city's sound world—particularly that of the Seven Dials. What was the sonic context of the broadside trade? How did broadside sellers compare to other street sellers and criers who used sound and melody to ply material wares? What competition was there for broadside sellers regarding sonic 'space' in London? This chapter will also discuss movement in and around London, considering the roles of both transience and locality in the ongoing development of the broadside and its dissemination to English country printers.

Chapter 2, 'The Crossover: Theatre Music on the Street', will consider the overarching trends evident in the database regarding the infusion of music from the stage to the street. During the Late Georgian Era, the patent and minor theatres of London were all very active, yet the 'poaching' of music from theatrical works by the broadside trade was relatively selective. How were theatrical songs selected or filtered for reprinting on the street? What were the identifiable—even predictable—trends? This chapter will look at information from the database concerning performers, composers, playwrights,

genres, and producing theatres of works whose songs were reprinted as broadsides, referencing tables in the text as well as appendices in order to better understand the migration of theatrical songs to the street. The discussion will also consider what the database reveals about the relative affinities of contemporaneous broadside printers to theatre songs.

While Chapter 2 discussed broad trends concerning the migration of theatre songs to the street, Chapter 3—' The New Strains of the Street'—looks more closely at the intersections themselves. It will begin by considering the comic operas and other staged entertainments whose songs proved especially popular on the street, examining the role of a theatrical work's stage popularity in establishing its songs in the street trade, and paying particular attention to the crucial overlap between theatrical audiences and broadside customers during the Late Georgian Era. The chapter will then turn to the texts of the theatrical ballads themselves, considering them within their new social and musical context—the street. It will consider the subjects, themes, structures and forms of these songs, their social and political underpinnings, and the characters that populate them. It will explore their literary characteristics and discuss their effectiveness as stand-alone songs (outside of their original theatrical narratives).

Lastly but very significantly, this chapter will consider the ballad music which has been located through the database. Drawing on existing theatrical scores, the chapter will examine the tunes of broadside ballads from theatrical origins. What were the forms of these songs? Were broadside 'ballads' in the Late Georgian Era actually ballads at all, in a musical sense? What were their melodic characteristics and formal structures, and how did they differ from previous generations of English broadside balladry? What

were the similarities and what were the differences? And how did this new strain of broadside balladry change the sound of the streets of London?

The Conclusion of the thesis will pull together the findings and discussions of the preceding chapters, reflecting on what this project has uncovered concerning English street song and the broadside trade. It will also consider the broadside ballad *as* theatre, coming full-circle by returning to a discussion of the broadside's tetratomic identity—as manifested in performance. How was broadside performance itself theatrical? And how did the adoption of theatre songs into the tradition fuel the innate theatricality of broadside performance in the nineteenth century?

CHAPTER 1

Rags and Lampblack, Songs and Street Cries

The intrepid journalist and social researcher Henry Mayhew began describing the kaleidoscopic street life of London in the 1840s, writing a series of articles that later became the compendious, four-volume book entitled *London and the London Poor* (1861).[74] In his mission to record London's street life, he interviewed chimney sweeps and coal porters, rat catchers and Punch's showmen. As an anthropological source, Mayhew's book was unprecedented, and it remains a unique source on the life of London in the mid-nineteenth century. The history of the broadside ballad is inextricably entwined with that of the streets of London; in Mayhew's book, we find a host of characters involved in the broadside ballad trade, including street performers, chapmen, and hawkers. But the story of the nineteenth-century broadside does not begin with ballad singers or even broadside printers: it begins with an obscure group of street dwellers called the rag and bone men.[75] Mayhew estimated that there were 800-1,000 collectors of discarded waste materials in London, street dwellers who endured 'perhaps the greatest poverty existing, they being the very lowest class of all street people.' The humble rag-gatherers scoured the streets of London for up to nine hours a day, covering as many as thirty miles along their route; they accumulated 25-50 pounds of waste material that was sold in large part to papermakers, to be sold on and turned into books,

[74] Henry Mayhew, *London and the London Poor,* vols. I-IV (1861; London: Chatto & Windus, 1966).

[75] Mayhew, vol. II, 154-155.

bank notes, and broadsides.[76] From production to performance, the British broadside was a tradition of the street—musically, poetically, commercially, and materially.

This study of the nineteenth-century broadside ballad is one of rags (cloth) and paper, lampblack and ink. Although this thesis is not primarily concerned with the technical details of material production, I will approach the broadside tradition archeologically—as a collection of physical artefacts. Historically, the broadside has been approached as a literary or poetic tradition; and while the field of literature has produced a great deal of fine research on the subject (particularly on the seventeenth-century broadside), its unidirectional approach cannot do justice to the complexity and oddity of the form. The broadside does not conform to imposed typological definitions from the fields of either literature or music, and it resists simplification and abstraction: it is a complex, integrated tradition that is poetic, musical, performative, and visual in equal measure. And it is paper that holds these disparate artistic strands together, knitting them into a single, multi-faceted whole: though complex, the broadside is unapologetically tangible. Broadsides were inky, earthy, and messy—rife with spelling mistakes, smudges, curious illustrations, and rough-cut paper. The verbal, musical, and performative elements of the broadside tradition—with which this study will be primarily concerned—cannot be understood in abstract isolation. Therefore, this project will begin by defining the broadside ballad as a tangible form, locating it within the physical sphere of nineteenth-century London, before considering its place in London's soundscape. For the broadside is much more, but nothing less, than the paper on which it is printed.

[76] Ibid.

Rags and Paper

Before the advent of paper in Western Europe, parchment had been the chief vehicle for scribal culture. Made of stretched and cured animal skins, parchment was very durable and had effectively preserved a thousand years of Western Europe's religious and cultural histories; however, a complete copy of a vellum (parchment) Bible required the skin of 170 calves, and this made writing a very expensive activity.[77] Walter J. Ong would argue that writing—which transforms intangible sound into tangible notation—is the most impactful invention in world history, but it is nonetheless limited by mundane practicalities: to write, one needs access to suitable writing materials.[78] The invention of paper did not revolutionise Western Europe by ushering in the age of mass literacy—far from it: mass literacy would be the eventual achievement of Gutenberg's printing press. However, the adoption of paper as an affordable alternative to parchment did significantly expand scribal culture, and consequently, Europe began to *think* differently. As research by A.R. Luria and other sociologists has demonstrated, reading and writing affect the fundamental structure of individuals' thought patterns, changing situational thinking into categorical thinking, and concrete thinking into abstract thinking. Additionally, literacy profoundly alters an individual's perspective on self, as

[77] See 'Gutenberg Bible: Vellum,' in *Treasures in Full,* British Library.

[78] See Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 2002), 80. Historians believe that writing was first invented by the Sumerians in 3500 BC. However, Marshall McLuhan makes the distinction between logographic writing systems and alphabetic systems in his seminal book on the subject. According to the author, 'our alphabet…disassociates or abstracts, not only sight and sound, but separates all meaning from the sound of the letters, save so far as the meaningless letters relate to the meaningless sounds. So long as any other meaning is vested in sight or sound, the divorce between the visual and the other senses remains incomplete, as is the case in all forms or writing save the alphabet system.' See Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of the Typographic Man* (Toronto: University Press, 2011), 54. Eric A. Havelock makes a similar distinction: 'We recall the three theoretic requirements for a true alphabet to be met concurrently in the same system. First, coverage of all the phonemes in the language is to be exhaustive, second, the letter shapes are to be restricted to between twenty and thirty, and third, individual shapes are not asked to perform double or triple duty.' See Havelock, *Origins of Western Literacy* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1976), 39 and also 15-16.

the written word is situated—literally and metaphorically—*outside* of the self.[79] As Ong has said, 'Writing . . . serves to separate and distance the knower and the known and thus to establish objectivity.'[80] Paper, as an alternative to parchment, played an important part in the intellectual flourishing of the Renaissance, as it allowed thinkers outside of the church and court to engage in scientific observation, mathematics, and philosophical enquiry: observations could be recorded, equations could be notated, theories could be developed, and treatises could be shared in physical form. Similarly, paper revolutionised European poetry and music: though both fields had long thrived with limited notation, the processes of verbal and musical composition were irreversibly changed by the introduction of notation—and then of paper, as Parry, Lord, and Havelock have shown.[81] And while the invention of paper altered creative and thought processes, it also revolutionised understandings of intellectual product and property. The post-nineteenth century concepts of individual 'authorship' and the 'work' are related to paper-based, teleological creative processes: a composition is solitarily and silently constructed, notated, and subsequently edited until a 'final' or 'ultimate' version is reached, which may then be duplicated and widely circulated as physical manifestations of the creative 'work'.[82] While paper changed Europe's relationship with knowledge and the learned disciplines, it also revolutionised its communication. After

[79] Luria was a soviet researcher who studied literate, partially literate, and illiterate people in Uzbekistan in 1931-1932. He compared the effect of literacy on thought patterns by studying his subjects' perceptions, abstractions, deductive abilities, reasoning, imagination, and self-awareness. For more, see A. R. Luria, *Cognitive Development: Its Cultural and Social Foundations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).

[80] Ong, 11.

[81] See Milman Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry,* ed. Adam Parry (Oxford: University Press, 1987), Albert Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (New York: Atheneum, 1978), Eric Alfred Havelock, *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences* (Princeton: University Press, 1982), and *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

[82] See Ong, 129.

the adoption of rag paper, Europe saw the rise of new communication networks, built along the lines of the Roman Courier system of the ancient world: first by HRE Maximillian I in 1493-1519, and then by the Catholic Church, universities, and merchants.[83] The humble rag profoundly affected the history of European thought, information dissemination, and art.

Paper was a Chinese invention and had a thousand-year journey to Europe; after a battle at Samarkand, Chinese paper makers were allegedly taken captive by the Arabs, who adopted the invention and improved upon it, eventually developing their own form of starch-coated paper.[84] Circa 1056, the first paper mill was established on European soil by the Moors in Xativa, a town in Al-Andalus, or Muslim-ruled Spain.[85] The Italians were the next to adopt the invention; by the 13th century, important mills were established in Fabriano and Amalfi. The Fabriano mills further improved the paper-making process: they implemented a drop-hammer for beating the rag pulp, introduced an additive called 'sizing' to control ink absorption, and used their advanced metal-working techniques to improve paper moulds. With these advancements—and easy access to running water—Italy soon eclipsed Spain as Europe's leading producer of paper. It is estimated that a single-vat mill in Fabriano could produce as many as 4,500

[83] Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 18 and 32. See also Alexander Monro, *The Paper Trail: An Unexpected History of a Revolutionary Invention* (London: Penguin, 2015). Monro also shows how paper was crucial to the spread of Buddhism in China and Islam in the Middle East.

[84] The invention of paper is dated to c. 105 AD, during the reigns of Emperors Zhang and He of China's Han dynasty. Ts'ai Lun—who was, notably, a court official in charge of manufacturing *weapons*—began experimenting with hemp, fishing nets, and deconstructed rags to create an improved writing material (before this, the Chinese had written on silk or bamboo). With imperial support, his invention was quickly adopted throughout the kingdom. By 610 AD, Ts'ai Lun's paper had reached Korea, and from there Japan, where fibres from the mulberry tree were used to make a fine paper that is still manufactured today. Moving west, the invention made its way to Central Asia and then onto Arabia. See 'History of Papermaking in the United Kingdom', *British Association of Paper Historians.*

[85] Ibid.

sheets per day, with four men working the vat.[86] In Italian papermills, rags were put in a vat with some form of ammonia (usually urine), beaten to a pulp, and then sieved off in fine layers by wire-mesh mouldings. After being laid on felt and pressed, the paper was dipped in sizing (usually animal-derived) and then hung and loft-dried.

By the time Gutenberg invented his printing press, papermaking had spread throughout Europe. Germany boasted 190 paper mills in the sixteenth century (almost all of which were single-vat mills), but Holland became Europe's leading paper manufacturer in the 1670s with the invention of the Hollander, a pulverization tool that increased the efficiency of paper mills by a factor of eight. The first English paper mill had been established in Hertford in 1496 by John Tate the younger, who was then mayor of London, but it wasn't until 1675 that Eustace Burneby received the first royal patent to make white paper. Nevertheless, fine writing paper remained—for the most part—a continental import during the seventeenth century, as the output of English mills was modest (due to crude milling techniques and rag shortages).[87] By 1800 however, the English papermaking industry was firmly established: there were 430 paper mills throughout the country, and manufacturers had begun making their own improvements to the papermaking process. At the behest of eminent printer John Baskerville, papermaker James Whatman the Elder devised an alternative paper mould in 1757 that was made of fine woven mesh rather than laid wire (which left parallel lines on the finished product). This finer, smoother paper became known as 'wove paper'. [88]

[86] See 'History of Paper: Timeline' at *Paper Online*.

[87] William Page, ed., 'Industries: Paper,' in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 2, General; Ashford, East Bedfont with Hatton, Feltham, Hampton with Hampton Wick, Hanworth, Laleham, Littleton*, (London: Victoria County History, 1911), 195-197. See also 'Industries: Paper', *British History Online*.

[88] 'History of Papermaking in the United Kingdom', *British Association of Paper Historians.*

Until 1843, when Friedrich Gottlob Keller invented wood-pulp paper, all paper products were made of rags, collected by the poor souls Mayhew described. This was a fortunate stroke for broadside historians: cloth paper is more durable than wood paper thanks to its fibrous rag pulp (made mostly of cotton, linen, or wool), and it is virtually acid-free, making it far less susceptible to yellowing. Rag men would sort their daily findings into piles according to material, colour, and use: clothing that could be re-used was sold to second-hand merchants (interestingly, the Seven Dials was famous for second-hand clothes dealers as well as broadsides), and the rest was sold as 'shoddy' to papermakers. In 1800, records show that 24 million pounds of rag cloth were used to make paper in Britain, but rag pickers were unable to produce all of this from Britain's streets: to satisfy the country's voracious appetite for paper, papermakers also had to source shoddy from the Continent. This practice did not last however, as Britain's Continental neighbours were soon suffering rag shortages as well; Portugal, France, Belgium, Spain, and Holland instituted embargoes on rag exports that lasted into the 1840s. To counteract the effects of rag shortages, innovators of the late eighteenth century began experimenting with bleaching rags, so that a wider variety of raw materials could be used for papermaking. White cotton shoddy was highly coveted by papermakers for making fine paper and bank notes; some coloured rags could be left untreated (like red cottons, which were used to make blotting paper), but most coloured rags would have to be bleached before they could be turned into paper.[89] Initially, chlorine bleach was used, but the chemical was found to negatively impact paper quality. Then in 1785, the French chemist Claude-Louis Bertholett invented a viable method of chemically bleaching pulp and shortly after in 1795, John Bigg of England also patented a method

[89] Hermann Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade* (London: Maclaren, 1956), 36.

of effectively bleaching rags with sea salt and manganese. The broadside trade used a great variety of paper from 1797 to 1844. Some broadsides were printed on brownish paper stocks that were not tinted but had either not been bleached or had not been very effectively bleached; a few were printed on paper tinted either blue or green; others (more common as the nineteenth century wore on) were printed on white, well-bleached paper. A comparative example showing bleached and unbleached paper may be found in Figure 1.1 below; both slip broadsides were printed by Jennings of London.[90]

[90] See 'The Bee Proffers Honey' on Harding B 16(19a) and 'The Doctrine of an Israelite' on Harding B 25(534), and also on 2806 c.18(90), and Firth b.25(463) (London: Jennings, 1790-1840).

Figure 1.1:

Broadsides printed on bleached and unbleached papers by Jennings: ‘The Bee Proffers Honey’ on Harding B 16(19a) and ‘The Doctrine of an Israelite’ on Harding B 25(534).

[The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. The image was sourced at the Bodleian Library, Harding B 16(19)a and Harding B 25(534).]

Catnach preferred using whiter papers to print his broadsides, but he was a resourceful businessman: during rag shortages, he was known to buy-out the stocks of old broadside printers at low prices to meet demand (some of this paper could have been a hundred

years old by the time he bought it and was unlikely to have been bleached during manufacturing).[91] Other broadside printers like John Evans, who was active in the trade from 1780 to 1812, conventionally used brownish, unbleached paper, examples of which can be found in existing collections; John Pitts, who was apprenticed to Evans, followed in his master's footsteps in typically using unbleached (or poorly bleached) paper for his broadsides—as well as occasionally using tinted stock.[92] It is not known whether Pitts used brownish paper chiefly because it was cheaper, because he liked the aesthetic of unbleached paper, or because he, like Catnach, bought old stocks from other printers. Interestingly, Evans also printed some broadsides on laid-wire paper, which had been superseded by wove paper in the mid-eighteenth century.[93] This would indicate that broadside printers of earlier generations also bought up old stock during paper shortages.

Broadside paper of the nineteenth century looks and feels considerably different from wood pulp paper: it is smooth and even, but cloth fibres remain visible to the naked eye. When a broadside has been well-handled, the edges of the paper exhibit a fascinating

[91] See Victor Neuberg, 'The Literature of the Streets' in *The Victorian City,* ed. H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 200.

[92] Catnach's paper tended to be whiter than Pitts, but that does not mean that Pitts typically used paper tinted bright blue or green: his were typically un-tinted but less crisply white than Catnach's. One example of a Pitts broadside with blue-tinted paper would be Harding B 11(677) (this broadside does not include any theatrical songs); however, Batchelar, a contemporary of Pitts and Catnach, issued a version of 'Young Henry was as brave a youth' from *The English Fleet, in 1342* (premiered 1803) on blue paper: see Johnson Ballads 3070. Evans used tint occasionally as well: good examples would be his blue-tinted versions of 'The Golden Bull', upon which *The Cabinet* (premiered 1802) is based; see Johnson Ballads 361, Johnson Ballads 362, and Johnson Ballads 363. Catnach rarely used tinted paper for his conventional broadsides, and I have found only one example of a tinted Catnach broadside in the Bodleian's collections—Harding B 11(1640)—though he did use coloured paper in other forms of street literature: one such example would be the miniature, green-covered chapbook 'Sea Songs', Harding A 471. Printers in other parts of the country used tinted paper as well. A visually-striking example of this can be found on the broadside featuring the song 'Far, Far Upon the Sea' (Roud Number V15195), Firth b.25(217) at the Bodleian Library (Pocklington, Yorkshire: Forth, n.d.). See also Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London, Herbert Jenkins, 1962), 69, and *John Pitts* (London: Private Libraries Association, 1969), 43.

[93] 'History of Papermaking in the United Kingdom', *British Association of Paper Historians*.

pattern of wear that is closer to fraying (like a worn rug) than tearing, which is a factor of its long, fibrous pulp. Broadside paper was of relatively low quality and therefore tends to be very thin; given this thinness, it is remarkable that so many broadsides have survived to the present day, but we have cloth-rag paper and contemporary collectors to thank for that.[94]

There was never an absolute standard of paper size for broadside ballads—nor would we expect one in such a variable tradition. The term 'broadside' has been used since the sixteenth century to denote a broadsheet that was printed on only one side: the Stationer's Company maintained this definition by differentiating between printers who were licensed to print on one side of a broadsheet, and those who could print on both (the paper quality needed for the latter was likely higher).[95] The printing term *broadsheet* denoted a large piece of unfolded paper, but as a technical term, it evolved with time.[96] In the seventeenth century, a broadside tended to be approximately 40 x 22 centimetres, printed in landscape format with two ballads side-by-side (or sometimes just one long ballad), each with two columns of text and a woodcut. By the nineteenth

[94] Most broadsides that endure in library collections have now been backed with mulberry paper to compensate for their thinness and to allow them to be pasted and organised into volumes. Please see the Introduction for a discussion on the collectors of broadside ballads.

[95] Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962), 23-26. The role of the Stationer's Company in the broadside trade is not entirely clear. Governmental and/or guild restrictions did affect the broadside trade during the course of its long history, but it seems that broadside printers played little to no role in the guild itself. Requirements laid down by the guild seemed to carry weight with *some* broadside printers: Birt for example, went to the trouble of including his imprint under both ballad titles (for slip ballads), presumably to abide by the Guild's requirement that all printed material had to include the printer's name and address to be sold. On the other hand, some London printers like Pitts flouted the guild's authority entirely, and did not even register their presses. See also Shepard, *John Pitts*, 35-45. According to Thomson, the Stationer's Company did not bother itself with the broadside industry after 1595. See Robert Stark Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and Its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs' (Doctoral Dissertation, Cambridge University, 1974), 31.

[96] The term 'broadsheet' is still in use today, but its definition bears little relation to the nineteenth-century broadside sheet. Currently, the standard newspaper broadsheet is 60 x 75 cm in the UK. See Christopher H. Sterling, ed., *Encyclopedia of Journalism* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), 223-5 and 'International Paper Sizes and Formats', *Paper Sizes*.

century, broadside sheets were about half that size, measuring approximately 19 x 24 centimetres.[97] The page layout of broadsides had changed considerably by this time too: rather than printing broadsides in landscape orientation, printers of the eighteenth century began to use portrait orientation with two long columns of text. Oftentimes, they printed two single-column ballads on a sheet, which could then be sold together as a full broadside, or separately (with the paper cut in half lengthwise) as 'slip ballads'. The slip ballad was a characteristic format for the 'new', nineteenth-century broadside, but several other forms persisted as well; these included 'long-songs' (long sheets that were 'sold by the yard'), 'chapbooks' (sheets that were folded and sewn into little books by the customer), and 'garlands' (large sheets printed with over a dozen ballads). Seven Dials printers like Catnach and Pitts produced street literature in many forms—variations of a single tradition of print, image, word, and song.

Movable Type and Lampblack

The broadside ballad was a child of Johannes Gutenberg's printing press, developed in Mainz, Germany, circa 1450. For the nineteenth-century broadside, the printing process was little different from that used by Gutenberg to produce his 42-line Mazarine Bible four hundred years earlier.[98] Printing had existed in Europe before Gutenberg, but it entailed carving an entire page of script into wood; this created a large stamp which could then be inked and pressed onto paper or parchment. The brilliance of Gutenberg's

[97] Most late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century broadsides were between 6.5-8.25 inches (16.5-21 cm) wide and 9-10.25 inches (23-26 cm) long.

[98] Movable type was not, in fact, first invented by Gutenberg. In 1041, Pi Sheng of China used clay to make movable type, an invention that was improved in 1314 by Wang Cheng, who used wood. Nevertheless, Gutenberg's metal type is considered to be a discreet invention, or re-invention, that was not influenced by these earlier designs. See Steve Wood, *The History of Printing Ink* (Bristol: British Printing Society, 1994), 2. The term for broadsides printed before 1501 is 'incunables'.

innovation was movable type, which allowed metal stamps with only a single letter on them to be arranged—and re-arranged—individually, thereby vastly improving the versatility and efficiency of the printing process. Gutenberg chose to use metal type for his press, which was far more durable than wood, but required a great deal of work to strike. Each letter was painstakingly carved into hard metal punches, from which a copper mould was formed; a lead-based alloy was then poured into the mould, removed, and hand-finished.[99]

In a printing shop, the completed metal typeface would be organised into two cases for assembly. Conventionally, the upper case had 49 pigeonholes of equal size for majuscule (now eponymously named 'upper-case') type, arranged alphabetically. The lower case was not evenly divided and it was not alphabetical; it contained miniscule ('lower case') type ordered according to usage, along with common punctuation, spacers (for in between words), and quadrats (blocks for justifying lines to a border). The type was assembled for printing by a 'compositor', who could navigate the boxes at great speed, ordering the type onto a 'composing stick', which was pre-set to the desired line-width of the page. After several lines were assembled on the composing stick, the compositor shifted its contents onto an 'imposing stone'. After woodcut illustrations and large spacer blocks called 'furniture' or 'quoins' were added, the whole was enclosed in a sort of bracket mould called a 'chase' to make the 'forme'. The press was generally operated by two workers at a time—either two pressmen who alternated duties to increase efficiency, or a pressman and an apprentice (known as a 'printer's devil').[100] The apprentice or one of the pressmen inked the forme with two handled inking balls,

[99] A.F. Johnson, *Type Designs: Their History and Development* (London: Grafton, 1966), 3.
[100] Thomas C. Hansard, *Typographia* (1825; London: Gregg, 1966), 406-483, and Wood, 4.

made of leather-covered horsehair: ink was applied to a stone, and worked between the balls until they were evenly covered. The ink was then dabbed thoroughly over the forme, the aim being to cover all the letters evenly without smearing the ink on the sides of the type. This done, the paper was lined up with the forme. In some printing press models, this was done with a hinged frame called a 'tympan' and 'frisket'; the tympan was essentially a frame on which the paper was laid, and the frisket was a hinged stencil that only left the printing area exposed. The forme and paper were then inserted under the 'platen'—the stamp press that was operated manually by a large screw. By pulling on a lever, the pressman turned the screw and imprinted the type onto the paper. It took a lot of strength to operate the lever with sufficient force, and therefore the platen was kept quite small, usually 12 x 18 inches, or 30 x 45 centimetres. Larger sheets, such as newspapers, were double this size, and so each print required two pulls. The force required to make a clear impression left considerable indentation on the paper: even today, the lettering on broadside ballads can be perceived as easily by touch as sight. These labour-intensive presses were old-fashioned by the first half of the nineteenth century: the revolutionary steam-powered Stanhope Press had been developed in 1800, but I have found no evidence that it was adopted by the broadside printers who operated before the 1840s. The broadside was a tradition that adopted modernity quite slowly.

The ink used to print broadsides in the nineteenth century had not changed significantly since Gutenberg's day, either. It was Gutenberg himself who decided to use paint-like inks that were oil- rather than water-based; he realised that water-based inks would not coat metal evenly, and therefore were not suitable for the metal type on his press. Adapting paint formulas used by artists (notably Van Eyck), Gutenberg heated nut oils and then left them in the sun to fade in colour. He combined the oil with lampblack,

rosin from amber, mastic, or sandarac, and metal salts (the rosin improved the binding properties of the ink, and the metal salts helped it dry quickly).[101] William Caxton opened England's first ink manufactory in 1470-1476, but much of the ink used in Britain during the fifteenth century came from the more refined and established ink-makers on the Continent. In the seventeenth century, Joseph Moxton improved English ink-making by studying continental methods; notably, he set the nut oil alight to give the ink increased thickness or viscosity. The thickness reduced 'haloing' on printed materials—an undesirable effect that left light, oily rims around each letter. Historically, lampblack had been the chief dye for printing ink: this was essentially soot that was made by burning resin and collecting the resulting fine carbon ash. [102] Though the carbon provided a dark colour, its tone was fundamentally brown—this can be seen by closely inspecting some printed materials up through the nineteenth century, including broadsides. However, after the invention of Prussian Blue circa 1706, this synthetic pigment was added to quality printing ink as a toner, offsetting the naturally brown hue of nut oils and lampblack.[103] The colour and quality of ink in the late broadsides can vary by edition, but each press had its own conventions. The Birt press produced broadsides that frequently exhibited smudged lettering and notable haloing of the ink around letters, indicating that the quality of the ink was low. Catnach's enormous broadside output shows a fair amount of variation in ink qualities (hardly surprising,

[101] Steve Wood, 2.

[102] Alois Senefelder, the pioneer of lithography, realised that haloing could be reduced by re-burning the lampblack to get rid of residual oils, washing it, then pressing it into bricks. Mineral oils were also used around this time for printing inks, but they were not as effective as nut oils because they did not oxidize, and therefore dried improperly. See Steve Wood, 4-6.

[103] Prussian Blue, properly called ferric hexacyanoferrate(II) or $Fe4[Fe(CN)6]3 \cdot xH2O$, was invented in 1706, probably by Johan Jacob Diesbach, though historical accounts conflict about the circumstances of its invention. It is used as a medical treatment for heavy-metal poisoning, as well as a pigment. In art, it may also be called Berlin Blue or Parisian Blue. See Alexander Kraft, 'On the Discovery and History of Prussian Blue', *Bulletin for the History of Chemistry* 33, no. 2 (2008): 64.

given that he was known to buy out other printers' stocks); but on the whole, Catnach valued visual quality and modernity. He used new, whiter papers, spacious layouts, and often used higher-quality inks that exhibited a distinctive dark, Prussian Blue hue.[104]

When Gutenberg first designed the type for his printing press, he went to a great deal of trouble to ensure that it resembled handwritten lettering of the day. In the fifteenth century, there were three main categories of 'black letter' or 'gothic' type, in descending order of intricacy: liturgical or religious, scholastic, and vernacular.[105] These fonts descended from Carolingian Miniscule, a calligraphic form developed under Charlemagne in the eighth and ninth centuries. One of the darker, angular, and more condensed forms of liturgical calligraphy, known as *textus quadratus* or *textura quadrata,* became a conventional form of script throughout Western Europe, and appropriately, it was the style that Gutenberg reproduced for his Mazarine Bibles. Subsequently, this style became the standard typeface for all printed materials, including secular materials like broadsides (see Figure 1.2). 'White letter' type (or 'roman' type, as it is commonly known) also descended from Carolingian Miniscule, but it imitates the simplicity of ancient Roman text and became increasingly favoured over black letter fonts. It was developed in France initially: the roman text cut by

[104] Birt's ballads were often printed a bit haphazardly: good examples would be Harding B 17(40b) which features Roud Number V466 ('Dear sir, this brown jug' from *Poor Soldier,* premiered 1783) and shows uneven lines of type; Harding B 25(278) features Roud Number V12029 ('Gentle Zitella' from *The Brigand,* wordbook printed 1829), and shows haloing and smudged lettering; Harding B 11(229) and Harding B 20(10), both from the same print run and again featuring 'Gentle Zitella', have letters missing from the verses; and Johnson Ballads 35—which features Roud Numbers V396, 13870, V18879, from *The Milesian* (wordbook printed 1777), *Poor Soldier* (premiered 1783), and *Blue-Stocking* (wordbook printed 1811), respectively—includes the incongruous use of superscripted pearl type (presumably because the printer had ran out of normally-sized type for this print run) and misspellings. A good example of Catnach's printing style would be Harding B 11(195) which includes the theatrical song 'Loud roar'd the dreadful thunder' (Roud Number 24928, though V174 is also associated with this song) from *The Parish Priest* (score printed 1806): it demonstrates the spacious layout, whiter paper, modern fonts and detailed woodcuts that were typical of Catnach's slip broadsides.

[105] Johnson, 6.

Claude Garamond in the early 16th century became the standard font for printed roman type across Europe. In Britain, roman type first appeared in 1509: the printer Petrus Gryphus used it to publish an oration by Richard Pynson.[106] Roman typefaces were sourced from the Continent until William Caslon cut the first English type in 1764. Soon after, Caslon's contemporary John Baskerville began developing his own roman type, increasing the contrast between thick and thin strokes, and refining the serifs. Typographically, Baskerville's type is now considered 'transitional', providing a link between the 'old' typefaces (including Garamond's and Caslon's) and what are now considered 'modern' typefaces (these include the French Didot and Italian Bodoni types, which were introduced around the turn of the nineteenth century). 'Modern' typefaces can be identified by un-bracketed and flattened serifs, with extreme contrast between thick and thin strokes (see Figure 1.3).[107] White letter broadsides of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries used Caslon type primarily, but Baskerville and modern typefaces were introduced as the century progressed.

[106] Ibid., 42.

[107] A 'bracketed' serif has an internal curve that connects it fluidly with the main stroke of the letter, preventing an angular join.

Figure 1.2:

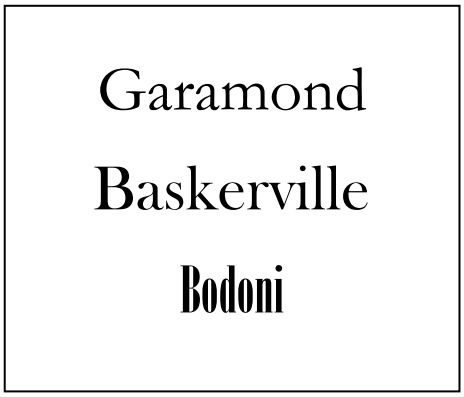
Example of a seventeenth-century (predominantly) black-letter broadside: ‘A Description of Wanton Women’: Wood E 25(17) at the Bodleian’s Broadside Collections (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and I Clarke, 1674-9).

[The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. The image was sourced at the Bodleian Library, Wood E 25(17).]

In the seventeenth century, gothic and roman lettering coexisted in printed materials—as can be seen in the figure above—with the latter gradually overtaking the former. Broadside presses used gothic typefaces longer than most printers, however, and the transition to roman type was not complete in the broadside tradition until the eighteenth century. The switch to roman type made an enormous difference to the appearance of the broadside. Consequently, typography is conventionally used to divide the broadside tradition into two distinct historical periods: the eras of 'black letter' and 'white letter' balladry, respectively. The transition between the two was gradual, but the eighteenth century saw a great rise in the use of white letter type: from 1700-1750, approximately one-third of broadsides were still printed with some gothic typeface, but by the latter half of the century, most broadsides were exclusively white letter.[108] Interestingly, many of the ballads of the late eighteenth century actually continued to feature a combination of gothic and roman types: some had roman type for headings and gothic type for text, others used gothic type for headings and roman type for text, and yet still others used gothic and roman fonts in the text to differentiate between the verses and choruses of the ballad.[109]

Figure 1.3:

Old, transitional, and modern typefaces



Why did the broadside industry take so long to adapt to modern roman fonts? Charles Mish suggests that black-letter typeface was used to

[108] This percentage was determined by examining the broadside ballads that date between 1700-1750 in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections. I found that 160 of 475 included black-letter or gothic typefaces.

[109] As a side note, long Ss continued to be used in broadside ballads throughout the eighteenth century in roman types, but they were very rare in the nineteenth.

distinguish literature of the lower classes (in which he includes all the working or non-leisure classes) from that of the upper classes: by the eighteenth century, leisure-class literature used roman type almost exclusively, while working-class literature retained vestiges of black letter type.[110] Historian Keith Thomas explains this discrepancy as a corollary of lower-class literacy, suggesting that the working classes may have been able to decode gothic type but not roman; he argues that it was not until the eighteenth century that the working classes had become sufficiently acquainted with roman type to justify its use by broadside printers and other publishers of working-class literature.[111] But as we have already noted, ballads from as early as the seventeenth century used some white lettering as well as their conventional black letter type, so the legibility of white letter types by working-class broadside buyers seems unlikely to be a factor. But then why keep black-letter type? Zachary Lesser argues that gothic type had gained certain cultural significance in Britain by the eighteenth century—but he suggests it denoted not class but tradition.[112] The broadside industry had a long history in British culture, and as a 'traditional' form, its 'old-fashioned' look was a part of its identity and general appeal going into the eighteenth century (we will return to this idea later). The ongoing use of old types may have been a way of reinforcing the broadside's traditional value in the minds of buyers in the eighteenth century, though black-letter type was eventually eschewed in the 'new' style broadsides of the nineteenth century.

[110] Charles C. Mish, 'Black Letter as a Social Discriminant in the Seventeenth Century', *PMLA* 68 (1953): 627-30, here 630.

[111] Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England,' in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. Gerd. Baumann (Oxford: University Press, 1986), 97-31, here 99.

[112] Zachary Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Playreading, Popularity and the Meanings of Black Letter', *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*. ed. Marta Straznicky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 107.

But as far as typefaces are concerned, I would suggest that there could have been more practical considerations than nostalgia at play. Broadside printers were the least and the poorest of the printing industry; needless to say, their goal was to make money and stay alive. Type was time-consuming to make, and until William Caslon opened his type-foundry in the mid-eighteenth century, it all had to be imported from the Continent (usually from Holland, France, or Germany). For a humble broadside printer with one press, it would have been a challenge to purchase complete typefaces to replace older gothic types. Therefore, adapting to roman type would naturally be a slow process, initially met with resistance, and then adopted in stages. And this is exactly what we find in the eighteenth century: printers published mixed-type broadsides with the same formes, gradually including more roman typeface until complete sets were assembled by the end of the century.

Paper type, ink recipes, fonts, printing techniques, and layouts were technical aspects of the printing trade; however printers combined and used these visual elements in creative ways, guided by personal tastes and aesthetics. After all, the technical process of printing ballads was only one part of the broadside printer's job: he also had to choose verses, design woodcut illustrations, and even select the tunes to which the ballads would be sung.[113] To achieve commercial success, printers had to understand what consumers found poetically, musically, and visually attractive. Catnach, as one of the most successful printers of the late broadside ballads, was a clever businessman, but he was also a creative craftsman, actively engaging with all the aesthetic features of the ballads he printed. He was a connoisseur of woodcuts who bought, commissioned and

[113] Charles Hindley, *The History of the Catnatch Press, at Berwick-Upon-Tweed, Alnwick and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, in Northumberland, and Seven Dials, London (*Cambridge: University Press, 2009), 259.

even carved the illustrations for his broadsides; and his decisions about paper type, ink, font, and page layout were as important as illustration to the visual appeal of his products. Nineteenth-century printers—like all broadside printers before them—were manufacturing products for commercial sale, and they used their individual aesthetic tastes and creative faculties in the printing process (more about this in Chapter 2 and the Conclusion).

The visual composition of the broadside was an important part of its evolutionary history: from old-fashioned, black-letter type and elaborate woodcuts to slim-line, white-letter slip ballads with clean, sparse illustrations. Its visual elements reflected evolving aesthetics, the lyrics printed, the music that accompanied it, and the changing identity of the broadside. They also underlined its tangibility: the broadside was an identifiable—if sprawling—tradition that was defined as much by its materiality as its musicality. Broadside balladry is not in fact a 'genre' of song: defining the broadside musically would be an impossible task, as so many types of music were continuously woven into it, anonymous and accredited, comic and tragic, narrative and sentimental, old and new. Though consanguineous with oral song culture, the broadside maintained its identity since its introduction to England through its material quality—the paper on which it was printed—as well as its performance practices.

The musicality of the broadside was tethered to materiality but was not subordinate to it: the two were in fact co-dependent, as on the streets of London the selling of material goods relied upon sound *and* song—not just for ballad sheets, but for all manner of merchandise. Grasping the relationship between materiality and musicality in the broadside trade in the early-nineteenth century will require an exploration of the

geography, sound, and space of the streets of London—specifically of St Giles's parish and the Seven Dials, the principal areas of broadside production and distribution.

Location

With the establishment of Pitts's and Catnach's broadside presses in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the headquarters of broadside balladry became the Seven Dials, St Giles's. The parish of St Giles's had always been a haven for the sick and poor, associated with the criminal classes, hanging victims, and traitors. The original church of St Giles's was established in 1101 by Queen Matilda as a leper colony, as at that time, the parish was far enough from the city of London to prevent the spread of disease. Because of the old church's dilapidation, a second church was built in 1631, funded largely by Robert Dudley's daughter-in-law Alice. This church was to receive the first victims of the 1664 London Plague, who died within the parish, on Drury Lane. The rebuilding of St Giles's after the Great Fire of London enabled the population of the area to expand, and it received an influx of immigrants who needed cheap housing: Greeks and Armenians in the seventeenth century, French Huguenot refugees in the early eighteenth century, and Irish in the 1720s to 1740s—with another wave arriving in the nineteenth century during the Irish Potato Famine.[114]

As may be seen from the maps below, the Seven Dials was an odd knot of streets, situated within a short distance of both the church of St Giles's-in-the-Fields and the Covent Garden Market and Theatre. The area was designed in the last decade of the

[114] 'History of St-Giles-in-the-Fields', *St Giles Online,* 'Seven Dials – Its History' from *Seven Dials Trust* (online), and David Hayes, *Victorian Seven Dials: A Portrait Based on Contemporary Accounts,* ed. F. Peter Woodford (London: Camden History Society, 2001), 11.

seventeenth century by Thomas Neale, who employed this unusual street design because the many-spoked wheel pattern allowed for greater street frontage for buildings—and therefore increased the number of houses that could be built there. In 1692, plans for the development were submitted to Sir Christopher Wren showing 311 houses and an associated church (see Figure 1.4).[115] The Seven Dials was intended to attract well-off lessees: Neale initially laid down requirements that certain classes of tradesmen were not allowed to rent the properties in the development. But while lawyers and the professional classes initially moved into Neale's development, they soon gave way to poorer tradesmen.[116] According to John Martin Robinson:

> The social respectability of Seven Dials was short-lived, as fashion marched steadily westwards and the star-shaped layout came to be seen as confused and cramped rather than novel. The houses were progressively divided into lodgings and the area became increasingly commercialized from the 1730s and the 1740s.[117]

At least three of the Seven Dials's buildings had become public houses by that date, and by the early-nineteenth century, the area was famous for its gin shops and pubs. The notorious Rose and Crown pub, located near the intersection of the modern Oxford Road and Bainbridge Street, was locally known as 'The Beggar's Opera' after John Gay's ballad opera of the same name. The Beggar's Opera was a central meeting-place for the St Giles's 'Blackbirds' (beggars), including the most famous of them all, Black Billy Waters who worked the Adelphi and the Strand. Black Londoners were social outsiders who frequently had to resort to begging as a means of support and inhabited the most impoverished neighbourhoods of the city—including St Giles's parish; as such, begging—and the neighbourhoods beggars frequented, like the Seven Dials—acquired

[115] 'Seven Dials – Its History'.
[116] John Martin Robinson, 'Seven Dials: History of the Area' from *The Seven Dials Renaissance Study, 1990: Supplementary Volume* (online), 4.
[117] Robinson, 5.

racialised identities in contemporaneous society (though of course not all London beggars were black). In the words of Peter Fryer, ‘there is said to have been a concentration of destitute black people in the St Giles or Seven Dials district....According to one late eighteenth-century source, black mendicants, conspicuous among London beggars, were dubbed 'St Giles black birds'.[118] Some of the London ballad singers about whom we know the most, like Joseph Johnson, were also black, and were a part of the vague ‘grey economy’ of the streets of London, which included beggars and broadside sellers, and those who engaged in both activities (more on this later).

The Beggar’s Opera was also an important centre of the broadside ballad trade, allegedly providing a wholesale marketplace where the in-house salesmen of broadside printers (namely Bat Corcoran of Catnach’s printing house) allegedly sold stock to street sellers.[119] The Beggar’s Opera and another landmark pub called The Robin Hood were important constituents in what was known as the 'Black Slums of the Seven Dials', both of which were demolished in the 1840s to make way for the new Oxford Road.[120] The Beggar’s Opera was also located very near 'the rookery', the infamous lodging houses of St Giles’s that reportedly had open sewage running through them and often

[118] See Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto, 1984), 75 and Fryer’s references to: Carl Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization*, II (London: Darton and Harvey, 1794), 228, and M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the XVIIIth Century* (London: Kegan Paul, 1925), 137. See also James Hepburn, *A Book of Scattered Leaves* (London: Bucknell University Press, 2000), 33, and Hayes, 13.

[119] *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, part I (London: Colburn, 1825), 564-5.

[120] This pub served 2-300 beggars a day according to the Mendicity Committee. Hepburn, 30, 33, and 200.

hosted more than a dozen lodgers in a single bed.[121] Several of these houses were located on nearby Dyott Street, including an infamous example named 'Rat's Castle'.[122]

Figure 1.4:

The early street plan of Thomas Neale's development with only six streets, as submitted to Christopher Wren in 1692. Note that White Lyon Street became West Street, Church Street became Queen Street, and Little Monmouth Street was extended to become Great and Little White Lion Streets (see Figure 1.5 below for a diagram of the area as it was actually built and stood in the nineteenth century, noting that Neale's map was effectively drawn upside down, facing south rather than north). Reprinted with the permission of the London Borough of Camden.

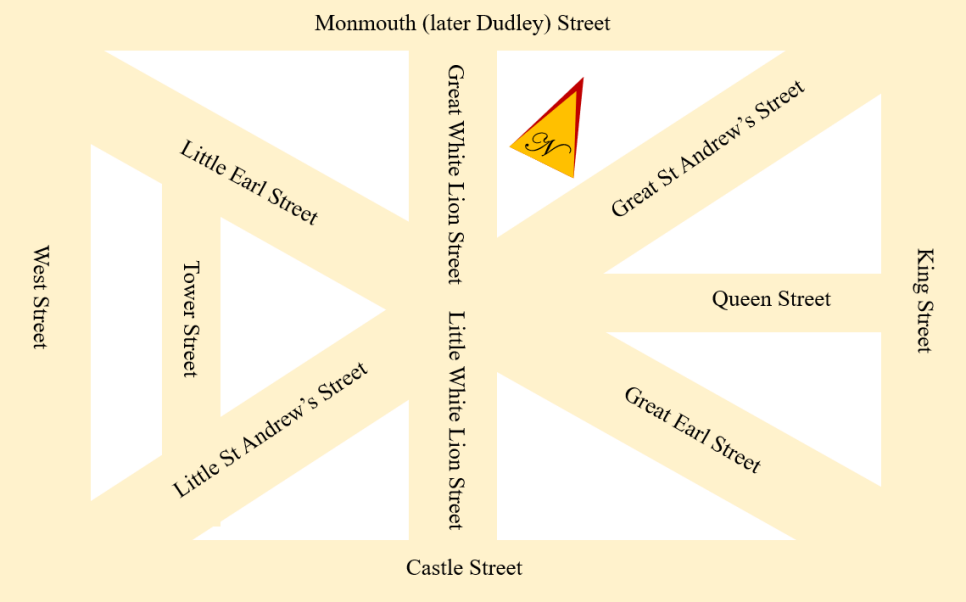
[The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. The image was sourced at the London Borough of Camden Archive.]

[121] Hepburn, 33.

[122] Hepburn, 33-4. Because of its poverty and historic seediness, the Seven Dials has retained a romantic allure that has appealed to novelists from Charles Dickens to Agatha Christie. See Charles Dickens, *Sketches by Boz: Illustrative of Every-Day Life and Every-Day People* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1903), and Agatha Christie, *The Seven Dials Mystery* (London: Collins, 1929). Lesser-known writers were also fascinated by the poverty and morals of the Seven Dials; see M.J. Nicholson, *The Sunbeam of the Seven Dials* (London: author, 1874).

Figure 1.5:

Diagram of the Seven Dials as it stood in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.



When Neale actually constructed the Seven Dials development, it included the eponymous seven streets—rather than six. The streets that met at the intersection were Great and Little St Andrew's Streets, Great and Little White Lion Streets, Great and Little Earl Streets, and Queen Street, which carried on (beyond the edge of the map shown below) as Shorts Gardens to intersect Drury Lane at a T-junction. The spokes of the Seven Dials were bordered by Monmouth Street (later Dudley Street) and Castle Street, King Street and West Street, with an internal street called Tower Street intersecting Little St Andrew's Street and Little Earl Street, parallel to West Street. Of all the streets of the Seven Dials, only West Street and Tower Street retain their names today—but to add confusion, Great and Little St Andrew's Streets are now called Monmouth Street.

Neale commissioned a pillar to stand at the intersection of the seven streets—the eponymous dial of the Seven Dials. The pillar was designed by a stonemason who had worked for Christopher Wren called Edward Pierce. The dial itself had six faces, one pointing down each road save Queen Street—the street without a counterpart across the intersection—represented by the dial's gnomon (the column of the sundial that was intended to cast a shadow). However, the Dial of the Seven Dials did not see the nineteenth century: it was purportedly pulled down in 1773 by a mob who was convinced that treasure was buried beneath it. However, the Seven Dials Trust has recently discovered that it was in fact pulled down by the Paving Commissioners because it was deemed to be an unhelpful meeting place for mendicants and thieves in the area. The removed pillar was eventually resurrected in honour of Duchess Frederica Ulrica at Weybridge Green in Surrey, but a replica was completed in 1989 to stand in place of the original in London.[123]

St Giles's parish, the Seven Dials, and Covent Garden were dynamic areas of trade and commerce by the nineteenth century—of more or less salubrious kinds. St Giles's was renowned for its gin shops, as already noted, and prostitution (historically endemic east of the theatre—Drury Lane had been a haven of prostitution since Commonwealth-era London).[124] Fittingly, the Seven Dials was the headquarters of both London's broadside printing and second-hand clothing dealers by the start of the nineteenth century. And of course, at Covent Garden Market, almost anything could be purchased.[125] It was an important area for performance, too: Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres were in

[123] 'Seven Dials – Its History'.

[124] Thomas Burke, *The Streets of London through the Centuries* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1949), 34.

[125] Hayes, 18.

the immediate vicinity, and thus, as Deborah Rohr has found, many professional musicians lived in the area between 1750-1850—mostly between Lincoln's Inns Fields and Regent Street, Oxford Street and the Strand (this area is marked on the map in Figure 1.8).[126] Most London musicians needed work from both the theatres and the pleasure gardens to make a living, so St Giles's was a convenient area because it was close to the theatres while being fairly central to the major pleasure gardens too (Vauxhall and Ranelagh at the time, as Marylebone closed in 1778), which were located some considerable distance from each other.[127] The musical culture of the area was long-lived: it was Thomas Burke who wrote in 1949 that 'since the popular-song publishers of the Charing Cross Road of to-day are within one minute's walk of the

[126] In the immediate neighbourhood of Covent Garden, the first-chair oboist at that theatre W.T. Parker (1761-1847) resided, as did the composer John Wall Callcott (1766-1821), who studied with Haydn. See Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians,* (Cambridge: University Press, 2001), 35-6. St Giles's was also important in London's art scene: many visual artists also lived around Covent Garden in the early nineteenth century. See Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *The Life of J.M.W. Turner, R.A.* (London: Seeley, 1895), 20.

[127] Rohr, 120. The pleasure gardens were important places for the development and transmission of song. As Frank Kidson has said, they were the 'nurseries of English song'. See Penelope Corfield, *Vauxhall: Sex and Entertainment* (London: History & Social Action Publication, 2012), 10. And according to Rachel Cowgill: 'The songs written for and performed at Vauxhall…had been simple strophic ballads with continuo accompaniment such as those found in *A Collection of Favorite Songs by James Hook*. This was published in 1794 but continued the earlier style, with the sort of patriotic texts that proved just as popular with garden audiences as sentimental and amatory songs, pseudo-Scottish songs, sea songs, military songs, comic songs, political songs, hunting and drinking songs, and songs celebrating local topographical themes. With the influence of the Italian and Mannheim schools, however, accompaniments became more intricate and vocal lines more challenging, as in Hook's song "The Lass of Richmond Hill" from 1789. Catches, glees, and other forms of unaccompanied part-song were included in the concerts from 1775, and were a highly popular addition.' See Rachel Cowgill, 'Performance Alfresco: Music-Making in London's Pleasure Gardens', in *The Pleasure Garden, from Vauxhall to Coney Island*, ed. Jonathan Conlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2012), 100-126, here 114. This will be discussed further in Chapters 2 and 3, but we can see from this description of song types that what proved popular on the streets at the time was a reflection of music that existed 'indoors'. It is curious to think that many musicians of London's musical and theatrical pinnacles—the patent theatres and the pleasure gardens—were based in the most famous of all London slums, but then as Deborah Rohr has canvassed in some detail, music practitioners remained at a low social level during this period because of English society's distrust of music as a profession—it was considered 'effeminate', 'continental' and inappropriate as a vocation for those who could afford training from the masters. Therefore, music was a 'trade' or 'craft' that remained allied to the theatre—which was simultaneously desirable for entertainment but repulsive as a profession. For more, see Rohr, 22.

Seven Dials, the methods they use, with dance-bands and singers, for making their songs known, must have been left in the air, or in the soil, by Jimmy Catnach.'[128]

Neale's plans to make the Seven Dials an affluent neighbourhood were optimistic (given its proximity to the impoverished St. Giles's parish) but they were not quixotic. The Seven Dials and St Giles's were also within a stone's throw of a very desirable London neighbourhood: St James's. The proximity of these neighbourhoods was uncomfortable to residents of both and their relationship was the topic of ongoing comment and observation during the nineteenth century. A mid-nineteenth-century broadside offers eight verses and a chorus comparing St James and St Giles: it was printed in three editions, two by Ryle and Paul (Catnach's sister and brother-in-law who ran his business after his retirement, from 1838-1859) and one by Hodges (who ran Pitts' business after his death, from 1846-1854).

Figure 1.6:
'St. James Turning St. Giles out of His Parks' (public domain).



> To the tourist of London, who's curious in fact,
> I'll point out some things to the principal tracts,
> two places there are where the poor and the rich
> Live so like each other, there's no telling which.
> One parish St James's, par excellent call'd,
> the West end of town and the fashionable world;
> the other St Giles's, if true rumour speaks,
> Is inhabited solely by Emigrant Greeks
>
> So don't be astonished at what I shall say,
> St James's and St Giles's I've seen in my day,

[128] Burke, 103.

In the former they live on the National Debt,
In the latter they live on what they can get.[129]

The sardonic comparisons drawn in this ballad do neither neighbourhood much credit: they exhibit John Gay-esque satire, in which the parishes are described as being essentially as bad as each other—in what Robert D. Hume might call a 'frivolously nihilistic' form of satire.[130] Interestingly, Punch Magazine's 1850 depiction of the relationship between St Giles and St James (Figure 1.6) is no more flattering than that given by the broadside press—but it is much more antagonistic.[131] St James is old, humourless, aloof, and depicted in livery, suggesting that his identity is found in the authority he exercises as a gatekeeper (acting, we may assume, on behalf of absent masters who reside in the hallowed halls of the house behind the gate he guards). St Giles is unhappy, shoeless, intensely grubby, and—notably—depicted as a child, which denotes his ignorance and a lack of agency. The boy's hoop suggests he is 'idling' rather than engaged in productive work (more on this later), and his body language is resentful, while St James's is aggressive. Residents of St Giles may not have been allowed on St James's 'turf', but the reverse was not true: residents of the wealthier neighbourhoods of London regularly flocked to St Giles and the West End, seeking entertainment at the patent theatres.

[129] See 'St James's and St Giles's', Roud Number: V15580, Bodleian Broadside Collections. All existing editions were published between the 1830s and 1860s.

[130] Robert D. Hume, 'The Beggar's Opera', in *Grove Music Online.*

[131] 'St James Turning St Giles out of His Parks', in *Punch Magazin*e (London), 1850, vol. 19, 167.

Because it had been an impoverished parish since its foundation, St Giles's was the recipient of a great deal of charity work: a soup house—noted for offering the luxuries of meat and rice to its 14,000 beneficiaries—was established on West Street in 1800 to feed the poor children of the neighbourhood.[132] There were also schools established there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the Charity School of St Clement Danes for boys and girls on West Street, and another on King Street.[133] The Seven Dials was a particular object of church mission throughout the nineteenth century for both charitable relief work and evangelism, as 'many had not even heard of Jesus', according to a church worker based in the Seven Dials in 1865.[134] The extreme poverty of the area

Figure 1.7:
Modern-day Seven Dials, looking down Monmouth Street (previously Great and Little St Andrew's Streets).



[132] *The Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, vol. III (London: Printed for the Society, 1802), 157.
[133] *Second Report of the Commissioners on the Education of the Poor* (London: Commissioners,1819), 167. 67 and 89.
[134] Hayes, 30.

lessened somewhat in the first decades of the nineteenth century, according to government sources, but it remained a socio-economically depressed area even into the twentieth century.[135]

At the turn of the century, London was the busiest and most populous city in Europe, a hub of traffic as well as commerce, and the streets were clogged with traffic: on a single day in 1811, it is estimated that London Bridge saw over 750 horse-riders, 5,500 carriages and carts, and an astonishing 90,000 pedestrians.[136] What sort of traffic was seen in the Seven Dials? During the early nineteenth century, the roads of London were being gradually macadamised—that is, they were receiving a new road finish developed by the Scottish engineer John McAdam (1756–1836) that consisted of a layer of small, crushed stones that were then compacted in relatively thin layers above native soil. Macadamised road proved an important innovation and soon spread to North America and the Continent because it was relatively cheap to lay over long distances, requiring no skilled stone-masonry. However, it was extremely messy when wet. How much, if any, of St Giles's and the Seven Dials was macadamised by mid-century is unclear: Oxford Road, one of the biggest thoroughfares in the area, was a mixture of macadamised, granite, and wood surfacing by this time.[137] The roads in the Seven Dials, we may then assume, would likely have remained stone or wood well into the nineteenth century. This would have meant that the streets were free from the mess of

[135] John Thomas Smith, *Vagabondiana: Anecdotes of Mendicant Wanderers through the Streets of London, with Portraits of the Most Remarkable Drawn from Life,* with an introduction by Francis Douce (London: author, 1817), 51. St Giles's has had ongoing ties to the monarchy as an object of charity: one of its rectors, Roger Mainwaring, was also chaplain to Charles I, and Centrepoint Charity, which runs a homeless and emergency night shelter called Centrepoint Bruce House Foyer in St Giles's today, became the first charity that Prince William officially patronised in 2005. See 'Prince William becomes Patron of the Tusk Trust', on *Royal* (London), December 19, 2005.

[136] Matthew Beaumont, *Nightwalking: A Nocturnal History of London, Chaucer to Dickens* (London: Verso, 2016), 326.

[137] Mayhew, vol. II, 230.

macadamised rubble, but they would have been filthy nonetheless, as by all accounts, the area had open sewage. All parishes were charged with hiring street sweepers to maintain roads (and likely candidates would have been abundant in the Seven Dials), but it is probable that the parish could not in fact afford to hire street-sweepers.[138] The wood or stone surfacing of the road—combined with the area's poor hygiene and abundant effluence—would have made the streets difficult to traverse by vehicular transport; and the Seven Dials, with its warren-like layout and insalubrious reputation, nestled between other major thoroughfares (Oxford Street, Drury Lane, and the Strand), would be an unlikely route for those traversing the city. The streets immediately surrounding the Seven Dials, Drury Lane and Covent Garden were immensely busy, but the area was a destination rather than a waypoint: one came for cheap housing, to purchase wares or particular services, or to find entertainment at the theatres.

An important factor shaping the cultural geography of the city was light. In his comprehensive book on the history of noctambulant and noctivagating residents of London, Matthew Beaumont describes the night as a time of mystery, danger, risk, and pleasure that was (rightly) feared by residents of the city for most of its history.[139] Those who ventured out into it were assumed to have nefarious desires and to have sought the obscurity of night to shroud their actions. If female, noctambulant residents were assumed to be prostitutes (which was very often the case), and if male, they were assumed to be thieves, arsonists, or in search of prostitutes (also very often the case). Until the institution of the Metropolitan Police under the Peelite administration in 1829,

[138] M.G. Lay, *A History of the World's Roads and of the Vehicles that Used Them* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1992), 205. A parliamentary act of 1662 required parishes to provide street sweepers to maintain their streets. See also Mayhew, vol. III, 180.

[139] Beaumont, *Nightwalking.*

the policing of the streets (along with their maintenance) was in the hands of the parish; therefore, safety varied significantly by neighbourhood. The main deterrents of unlawful behaviour were the night watchmen, who, working in pairs, patrolled the streets from 9pm to 7am or 10pm to 5am, depending on the season, and were charged with alerting residents of fires and questioning any noctambulant residents of the city—though contemporaneously, night watchman were consistently described as inept or corrupt.[140] In an attempt to sweep away the darkness that sheltered criminal activities, the streets of London had been lit by order since 1417, and with the adoption of gas lighting in the city starting from 1807, the power of street lamps were said to have increased 20-fold; by 1823, 40,000 gas lights lit the streets of London.[141]

Street lighting was intended to artificially break the darkness and thereby loosen the grasp of the night on the streets of London. But how did street lighting affect the nocturnal culture of St Giles's and the Seven Dials? I have found no evidence regarding night watchmen in the area (if, indeed, there were any actively on patrol) or the type or effectiveness of street lighting there in the early nineteenth century. Again, the parish's impoverishment would suggest that it would not be first to gain the advantages of modernised lighting. But rather than theorising about how the area was equipped with watchmen and lights, it may be more profitable to question whether night watchmen or improved lighting would have made any difference to the area. The nocturnal culture of London that Matthew Beaumont describes is one of the forbidden, the nefarious, and the perverse: a side of London that—usually—only dared to creep out under the cover of

[140] Beaumont, 63-72 and 336-8.

[141] Beaumont, 339-40 and Julie Buckler, 'Moscow', in *Cities of Light: Two Centuries of Urban Illumination*, ed. Sandy Isenstadt, Margaret Maile Petty, Dietrich Neumann (New York: Routledge, 2015), 123-129, here 123. Candle lanterns had been replaced by oil lanterns in London starting around the 1690s. See Beaumont, 118.

darkness. Matthew Beaumont presents the night street as a counter-societal space: it approved of that which the day could not. In most areas of the city, prostitutes only gathered outside during the night because they could not be seen there by day. But St Giles's and the Seven Dials were themselves havens for just such counter-societal behaviours: the realm of beggars, thieves, prostitutes, and the impoverished. It was, in terms of the norms of social propriety, a land of *perennial* night. And it was in this space that the contemporaneous broadside trade was rooted.

In Figure 1.8, the reader will find a map of London published by Mogg in 1806, onto which I have marked places of importance to the broadside trade. The locations of major broadside printers of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries have been marked, along with the theatres associated with the broadside trade. Also plotted are the locations of the major pleasure gardens, places known to be associated with street performers or beggars, and important landmarks in the Seven Dials and St Giles's parish. This map is intended to elucidate some of the discussions in this chapter, but also to be used as a reference for Chapter 2, when the geographical relationship between the theatres and broadside printers will be explored further. In terms of the geography of ballad singing in London, Oscar Cox Jensen has plotted a map of London that is much more complete than this one attempts to be: however, he found that the instances of ballad singing in London during this period were extremely varied and spread—in terms of both geography and times of day. Therefore, he has concluded that, as the map reveals no definable trends, broadside singing could take place pretty much anywhere in London, and at any time.[142] This map, however, focuses not so much on performance as production, and the geographical relationships between performance venues and printers

[142] Jensen, *London Ballad Singer* (Cambridge: University Press, forthcoming).

not only remained fairly constant over the period, but also had a significant—and identifiable—impact on the music of the street, as will be discussed in later chapters.

Figure 1.8:

Mogg Pocket or Case Map of London (1806) marked with important geographical locations, with accompanying legend (public domain map).

Map Legend

Broadside Printers

1. Pitts, John (active 1797-1844)
2. Catnach, James (active 1813-1841) and later, Ryle and Paul (active 1838-1859)
3. Evans, John, Thomas, and C. (active 1789-1828)
4. Jennings, G. (active 1792-1809)
5. Birt, Thomas (active 1828-1851)
6. Batchelor [Batchelar], Thomas and Ann (active 1828-1842)
7. Paul, J and C. (active 1841-1847)
8. Neesom, C. (active c. 1800-1855)
9. Taylor, Henry and W. (active c. 1810-1836)
10. Laurie and Whittle (active 1800-1825)
11. Fores, W., G.W. and S.W. (active 1790s till 1830s)
12. Hodgson, Oliver (active c. 1840s)
13. Bowley, M. (active c. 1790)
14. Hill, J. (active 1836-7; overprints of Taylor)
15. Hillat and Martin (first half of 19th c.)
16. Marshall (active 1790s)
17. Sheppard, C (active 1785; also overprinted by Pitts)

Entertainment Venues

18. Covent Garden Theatre
19. Drury Lane Theatre
20. Little Theatre Haymarket
21. Sadler's Wells
22. Lyceum / English Opera House (1816-1830)
23. Royal Circus / Surrey Theatre (after 1816)
24. Lincoln's Inns Fields
25. Sans Souci
26. Adelphi
27. His Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket
28. Vauxhall (c. 1660-1859, after closures in 1840-1842)
29. Marylebone (c.1738-1778)
30. Ranelagh Gardens (1742-1803)
31. (2) Longman & Broderip Music Printers' locations (until 1795)

Important St Giles's Landmarks

32. Covent Garden Market
33. 'The Beggar's Opera' (The Rose and Crown pub, till demolished in 1840s)
34. The 'Rookery' (notorious lodging houses for patterers)

Known Locations of Street Performance and Begging

35. Black Billy Waters peddling location (he also worked the Adelphi)
36. Blackfriars' Road, a magnet for musicians and peddlers, who were paid to go away
37. Location of unnamed ballad seller, recorded by John Thomas Smith


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Broadside Ballad Singers

When he was writing in the 1840s, Mayhew estimated that there were over 1000 street performers in London, about 250 of which were ballad singers—more numerous than any other type of street performer.[143] Mayhew's estimate is uncorroborated but even if the true figure deviated by as much as 50%, we may safely assume that the number of ballad singers in the city during Mayhew's day was in the hundreds. Each of those ballad singers was an outlet for material wares as well as a contributor to the sound-world of London. We do not have numerical estimates for the population of street performers earlier in the century, but it is likely that they were higher than even this, as by Mayhew's day, city residents were becoming increasingly hostile towards itinerant traders and street performers (this will be discussed more later in the chapter). Most of these singers sold ballads to make a living, though there were some that sang for charity instead (hence the term 'blackbirds' for beggars in St Giles's, portion of whom were black Londoners): Mayhew identified six specific cases at the time he was writing, but the distinction between those who sang to *sell* and those who sung to *beg* is difficult to make.[144] Many entered the broadside trade because they did not have any other way of making money: the capital needed was relatively small and supplies were readily available in the city. Women and children as well as men took to the trade, though we do not know in what proportion: as Jensen has found, the relative proportion of male to female ballad singers varied according to the media in which they were recorded (written accounts, literary texts, or images).[145] In any case though, an appearance of

[143] Mayhew, vol. III, 159-160. The number of ballad singers in the 1840s indicates that the broadside ballad trade was still profitable and active by mid-century.

[144] Mayhew, vol. III, 206.

[145] Jensen, *London Ballad Singer.*

poverty, injury, or destitution proved helpful to sellers by stirring pity in passers-by, even if sellers were peddling sheets rather than asking for charity.

According to his own accounts, Mayhew interviewed numerous ballad sellers in the course of his research and he describes several categories within the profession. These categories are overly-neat and were almost certainly less defined in reality than Mayhew presents them; nevertheless, they provide some helpful descriptions of ballad sellers' movements and habits in London. The most common 'type' of ballad seller was the running ballad seller, who routinely moved 'from point to point of town', in the words of Thomas Burke.[146] This marketing technique was used by street sellers of all sorts, as it allowed peddlers to cover large territories and find customers rather than waiting for customers to come to them.[147] But not all sellers sold on the move: some broadside sellers sung from one place, either by choice or perhaps because they were blind or disabled, and could not easily move. Selling from one place had its advantages, according to Penelope Corfield, who suggests that 'stationary' mendicants, with their own regular pitch, tended to be relatively more accepted than the 'moveables', who followed the crowd.'[148] If singers stood still, they invited audiences to stop, but did not aggressively follow, which was far more intrusive to the passerby. John Thomas Smith described and depicted one such blind ballad seller (name unknown) who worked Bethnal Green exclusively; Joseph Johnson—a crippled, black ballad seller, formerly of the merchant navy, who was known for wearing a model ship on his head—probably

[146] Burke, 103.

[147] Around 1815, a baker in Smithfield called the 'Flying Pieman' became famous in London for selling his baked goods from a tray all over the city, cleverly stocking pubs around town on his rounds so that he could replenish stocks even in the farther reaches of his tour. Burke, 103. A similar strategy may have been employed by ballad sellers.

[148] Patricia J. Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets: "The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England"', *Journal of Urban History* 16, no. 2 (1990), 132-174, here 154.

also performed standing still.[149] But, as Jensen has found, there is very little information linking particular singers to permanent locations, and it is likely that even standing singers changed their location each day, or even throughout the day.[150]

There were several types of standing ballad sellers: long-song sellers used visual effects to attract their audiences by pasting together three ballads in a line and fixing them to the end of a pole that they held above the crowd in the summer months, when the weather was clement.[151] Others used colourfully-decorated boards, painted in watercolour and coated in gum resin to resist the rain. The boards were especially designed to be impactful in candlelight (no yellow was used, for instance), as Saturday night at Covent Garden was one of the busiest and most profitable times for sellers and peddlers of all sorts, as it was a time when customers came to a designated place with the intention of buying.[152] The use of visual effects in selling broadsides was not limited to boards or poles, either: ballad sellers were noted, on occasion, for assuming costumes to attract the attention of potential customers.[153] Joseph Johnson is a prime example; another seller was known for wearing a clerical cap on his head as he sold his

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[149] Smith, *Vagabondiana,* 14, 29, and 33. According to Smith, Johnson started his career in Tower-hill but then became a regular street singer who moved about the city. Smith's illustration of him places him at Chandos Street, near Covent Garden. See also Oskar Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song, 1797-1822* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 115, and 'Joseph Johnson's Hat, or, The Storm on Tower Hill', paper presented at the Music Faculty Research Colloquium, Oxford University, November 27th, 2018.

[150] Jensen, *London Ballad Singer.*

[151] Mayhew*,* vol. I, 221.

[152] Mayhew*,* vol. I, 246 and 232. Hindley notes that board painting cost 2-3s 6d. This was not a small investment for a street peddler who sold ballads at one penny or a halfpenny a piece. But without the theatricality of movement, visual theatricality provided a natural substitute, complementing vocal advertisement by attracting buyers' interest. See Hindley, *Curiosities of Street Literature* (1871, reprinted Cambridge: University Press, 2012), vii and 11. Interestingly, Oskar Cox Jensen notes that it was after Joseph Johnson that the use of painted boards became popular among broadside sellers, and it is possible that Johnson's theatricality provided inspiration for it. See Jensen, 'Joseph Johnson's Hat'. The theatricality of the broadside will be discussed further in the Conclusion.

[153] Most depictions of ballad singers of the early-nineteenth century, however, had them attired in aprons and red shawls (for women) or falling-apart top-hats (for men). Oskar Cox Jensen, 'Joseph Johnson's Hat, or, The Storm on Tower Hill'.

broadsides—political litanies of some sort.[154] The connections between the theatre and the street went deep: but more on this later.

One of Mayhew's interviewees—himself a street poet and singer of St Giles's—noted that most ballad singers worked in pairs, with 'one repeating the two first lines of the verse, and the other the last two'.[155] The exceptions to this rule were singers who sung 'sentimental' ballads exclusively, a song type that worked well as a solo (Mayhew's interviewees identified four primary types of sung ballads: comic, sentimental, character, and cocks or murder ballads, which could be sung or spoken).[156] Whether these solo performers were primarily running or standing singers is not clear, but it is interesting to consider how antiphonal versus monophonic delivery would affect the performance of each type of song: how they would operate in movement versus stasis. My instinct would be that solo sentimental performers were more likely to be standing than running, as stillness would allow them to stir-up pathos in their listeners as the sentimental subject required, just as the urgency and excitement of movement would suit murder ballads or comic songs. However, this is supposition. Ballad singers were probably adaptable more than anything, and ultimately opportunistic—one interviewee notes that ballad singers kept a particular eye out for parties and other gatherings of people while on their rounds, as these gave them ready audiences.[157] According to Hindley, cocks and dying ballads were not as popular in his day (1840s) as 'ballads on a subject' because they were only relevant for a day. His reasoning seems logical, but as a collector and historian, Hindley was mostly interested in sung ballads himself anyway,

[154] Mayhew vol. I, 224.
[155] Mayhew, vol. II, 195-196.
[156] Mayhew, vol. III, 195.
[157] Mayhew, vol. II, 195.

and so his perception of the situation may have been biased accordingly.[158] For example, we know from Mayhew's interviewees that a murder ballad could still be incredibly lucrative in the 1840s, selling 30-50,000 sheets—even if it was only relevant for a day.[159] Ballads that were favoured by certain collectors may not have been representative of those most popular on the street.

But if most broadside sellers were perpetually moving about the city, how truly 'local' were they to St Giles's and the Dials? What were their connections to the area? According to Mayhew, many street sellers and performers took lodgings in the notorious boarding houses of St Giles's—though some preferred those located in Whitechapel and Westminster, and yet others resided in the 'padding-kens' (boarding houses) of the country to avoid the vile lodgings of the city.[160] Yet it would seem that most in the ballad trade chose to stay in St Giles's, a decision that was no doubt related to strategy as much as cost: to stay competitive on the streets, a seller needed a steady supply of popular ballad material, and the Seven Dials was where these materials were available—at the Rose and Crown on Church-lane, perhaps, where the inhabitants of the Dials and St Giles's retired from their begging, peddling and performing to enjoy a glass of gin and to replenish ballad stocks. Some peddlers kept their own family rooms in the area, but the trade's reliance on lodging houses underlines that street balladry was largely an itinerant trade.[161] Mayhew records the creation of a fascinating but short-lived *Benefit Society of Patterers* in the 1850s—just a few years beyond the era under

[158] Hindley, *Curiosities of Street Literature,* ii.
[159] Hindley, *Curiosities of Street Literature,* 118.
[160] Mayhew, vol. I, 243, 246, and 251. Mayhew lists London lodging houses in the Drury-Lane area, Charles Street, Coal-Yard, Kind-Street, Parker-Street, Short's-Gardens, Great and Little Wyld-streets, Wyld-Court, Lincoln-Court, Newton-Street, and Star-Court. The worst of these were those in St Giles's parish.
[161] Mayhew, vol. I, 243.

discussion—for all traders in broadside sheets. It operated on a subscription of 2d per week and the funds collected functioned as insurance for members who fell into need. The society had 40-50 members at its peak, had trade regulations—including bans on indecency in performance—and even kept a club room at a public house (the location of this is unknown). However, the society only lasted for about 4 years because it was too difficult to maintain the club when subscribers were so often venturing out of the capital—but such was the broadside trade.[162] It was perpetually on the move.

Mayhew describes in some detail the movement of sellers and performers from the city into the provinces—and the strategies London-based peddlers used to turn a profit there.[163] Jensen describes two models of ballad movement, along the lines suggested by Michael Harris, including 1) peddlers who travelled long distances and were itinerant long-term, and 2) those that used a major city as a hub from which they made excursions into the country—what Jensen has termed the 'hub-hinterland model' of ephemeral selling, in which Joseph Johnson participated.[164] Again, street sellers often worked in pairs when travelling, selling slightly varying merchandise by design; on reaching a new town, they would each take one side of a street and test the receptivity of the residents to their wares, exchanging notes at the end.[165] In his book, Mayhew included a fascinating set of symbols described to him by his interviewees—a sort of code that peddlers used to mark the houses that they visited, indicating hostility or

[162] Mayhew, vol. I, 242.

[163] See Jensen, 'The Travels of John Magee', *Cultural and Social History*, 11:2 (2014): 195-216, here 197-8, and Michael Harris, 'A Few Shillings for Small Books: The Experiences of a Flying Stationer in the 18th Century', in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550–1850*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), 83-108, here 84.

[164] 'Johnson is as frequently to be seen in the rural village as in great cities; and when he takes a journey, the kind-hearted waggoner will often enable him in a few hours to visit the market-places of Staines, Rumford, or St. Albans, where he never fails to gain the farmer's penny'. See *Vagabondiana*, 14.

[165] Mayhew, vol. I, 247.

receptivity of its occupants for future itinerant sellers.[166] Mayhew's research indicated that the street literature trade was a remarkably tight-knit one and sellers formed a web of connections across the country, forged and maintained as peddlers journeyed from London to other cities and provinces.[167] Ballad sellers who brought their ballads out of the city were conduits who not only disseminated the sheets of London printers but also tunes. Provincial printers, in the established tradition of broadside printing, would probably have pirated or 'overprinted' the sheets of their city peers that the sellers brought into the country; this would explain how many theatrical songs produced in the patent and minor theatres of London were reproduced by distant printers that would probably have had little—or more likely no—interaction with the theatres themselves.[168] These sellers might also have carried material back to the capital, as songs from many parts of the country appeared in print in London. Pitts himself brought materials to London from East Anglia, where his family had roots.[169] But while the broadside trade was active in the provinces, London was where production was based (or at least where new materials were sourced), and the population density provided a

[166] Mayhew, vol. I, 218.

[167] Mayhew, vol. I, 218.

[168] The London broadside press was influential around the country. There are two Birt garlands in the Johnson Collection (Johnson Ballads 35 and 49), each featuring several songs originally from the theatre, on which the printer advertises that 'country orders punctually attended to'. This would indicate that the London printers directly sold their stock to customers outside of London, while ballad sellers likely brought it there too to be sold, as discussed above (the theatrical songs on these garlands are Roud numbers V396, 13870, V18879, and V8188, V593, V189, respectively). Additionally, 224 editions of theatrical broadsides were sold by printers outside of London, in other towns and cities around England (notably Newcastle and Birmingham). These broadsides are included in Appendix C. Some of these would have been printed outside of London, but country printers could also 'overprint' stock from London printers. A great example of this would be the popular broadside song 'Deserted by the waning moon' originally from *The English Fleet of 1342* (premiered 1803): on Harding B 15(20), we find a version of the song showing Catnach's printing mark at the top with only one verse and a distinctive title in a modern typeface; Jackson of Birmingham's printing mark appears at the bottom of the sheet in a different typeface from that used for the ballads themselves. On Harding B 15(143) we find another version of 'Deserted by the waning moon' from the same print-run by Catnach, identical even down to typesetting idiosyncrasies, but on a slip ballad with Catnach's print mark cut off and just the 'overprinted' mark of Jackson of Birmingham.

[169] Robert Stark Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', 144.

securer living to a singer than perpetual travelling throughout the country could have done—and limited the risk of vagrancy charges for those who travelled outside their own parishes.[170]

Jensen has done tremendous research into the London ballad singer, discovering a great deal about individual singers' lives and occupations. But what about other figures involved in the broadside trade? We know something about the ballad-writers who wrote lyrics for broadside publication—but not very much. The 'bards' or 'poets' of the Seven Dials were usually paid a shilling per ballad, according to Mayhew's source (who identified himself as a writer for the broadside press), and we have the names of a few of the successful ones—though through anecdotes rather than through accreditation, as the names of these poets were almost never given on the sheets themselves.[171] We know the most about a man called John Morgan who was interviewed by Hindley in his seventieth year; he was associated with Catnach's press during his career, and he had purportedly taken over the running of the press when Catnach was jailed for libel.[172] In the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, there are five Seven Dials poets identified by name: 'Ben and Nic', Blind Peter, Sally Sallop, and Abel Sandwich.[173] But

[170] Jensen states that 'In a word, the geographies of popular print at this time were not "London-centric". The capital, possessed of more presses and itinerants than elsewhere, played a major part in this peripatetic economy, but that part was one of *primus inter pares*.' See Jensen, 'The Travels of John Magee', 211. Nevertheless, from my research into ballads from the London stage, it would appear that London remained an important source of material for the provincial presses, which kept abreast of new songs and trends through wandering salesmen/performers and reprinted materials brought by them from London. In Hindley's book, a source by the name of Ralph Crotchet (real or maybe invented) notes that at certain times of year, there would be an influx of 'rustics' into the capital to sell produce, but I have found no explicit mention of song performers coming into town from the provinces. London-based ballad sellers may have returned from their travels with new tunes or songs, however. See Hindley, *A History of the Cries of London,* 96-100.

[171] One case in five hundred, according to Hepburn, were credited in print, though most of these would be theatre composers, writers, or known poets rather than street bards. See Chapter 2 of this thesis, Hepburn, 27, and Smith, *Vagabondiana,* 33.

[172] See Hindley, *The History of the Catnatch Press*, 42, *The Curiosities of Street Literature,* 'Introduction', and Hepburn, 49.

[173] *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*.

I have found no other references to these figures. In *A Book of Scattered Leaves* (2000), James Hepburn identifies two more street poets: George Brown and J.H., but nothing more is known about them.[174] There is one trade figure that we know a bit more about: Bat Corcoran, a man who had an unusual role in the broadside industry, acting as Catnach's liaison with street sellers—a sort of 'business-to-business' salesman who supposedly worked out of The Beggar's Opera (the Rose and Crown pub). He is the only corporate 'middle-man' of record, though it is likely that he had a counterpart in Pitts' organization, the other large broadside printing house in the Seven Dials.

The marriage of words to music was a delicate affair by all accounts, and one that broadside sellers took quite seriously. According to one of Mayhew's interviewees, it was the most important selling point for a broadside. In his own words:

> …to select a tune for a ballad, however, is a matter of deep deliberation. To adapt the ballad to a tune too common or popular is injudicious; for then, I was told, any one [*sic*] can sing it—boys and all. To select a more elaborate and less-known air, however appropriate, may not be pleasing to some of the members of 'the school' of ballad-singers, who may feel it to be beyond their vocal powers; neither may it be relished by the critical street son, whose approving criticism induces them to purchase as well as to admire.[175]

We see that the customers' needs were taken into careful consideration when choosing a melody, and also that the choice of tune for a ballad was a matter of communal interest. The speaker's reference to 'the school' implies that street singers wanted to maintain a homogeneous offering, though working independently, presumably to prevent confusion for buyers. The simplest way to achieve uniformity in music selection would have been for the printers themselves to select music for the ballads they printed, and

[174] Hepburn, 61. One of the best-known ballad writers of the period was not in fact based in London. John Freeth (1731-1808) was the owner of a coffee-house in Birmingham who also wrote ballads, though he was not himself a singer or performer. His songs were printed in broadside form and also in books, including *The Political Songster; Or, A Touch on the Times* (Birmingham: Pearson, 1790). See Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge, 2010), 136.

[175] Mayhew, vol. I, 275.

there is evidence for this: according to Hindley, Catnach kept a fiddler on staff to assist in music selection.[176] We may assume that, once selected, the tune composed or selected for a given ballad would have been perpetuated by Bat Corcoran through his own sales efforts to ballad singers. But the choice of tunes for ballads was not, it appears, wholly a result of printer-level decision-making. According to another of Mayhew's interviewees, ballad singers themselves sourced music from 'cheap concerts, or from the gallery of the theatre, where street ballad-singers very often go, for the express purpose of learning the airs'.[177] There are also accounts of shorthand writers being sent into the theatre to pirate materials for printing (though not specifically for the broadside trade) and this phenomenon will be discussed in later chapters; but the anecdotal evidence of Mayhew's interviewees could have far greater implications concerning the impact of the theatre on the broadside trade.[178] Specifically, the above quotation implies that tunes were taken from the theatre to be *re-fitted* to street songs. The extent to which theatre or stage tunes were used to accompany songs *by the broadside press* is not truly traceable now, but the use of theatre melodies for ballads written by Seven Dials Poets would greatly increase the effect that the theatre had on the broadside and its sound; it would also explain why so many of the anonymous

[176] Hindley, *The History of the Catnach Press,* 222.

[177] Mayhew, vol. II, 196.

[178] 'Charles Mathews testified in 1832 that play profiteers regularly sent 'shorthand writers into the pit…and instead of the prompter getting that which was formerly considered his perquisite, they steal without ceremony at all, and it has become a kind of property among booksellers and adventurers.' The Dublin actor Thomas Snagg recalled approaching the London shorthand writers about acquiring a copy of Sheridan's *School for Scandal* (withheld from publication precisely in order to keep it out of the hands of the likes of Snagg) and, failing at that, 'going into the two-shilling gallery, a party of five. By sitting together, two on one seat, two behind and two below, we composed a group and with paper and pencils each writing down the direct words of one of the characters in a scene and regulating the whole in a committee after each performance, in four or five eights we completed the whole.' Reproducing and printing a play from memory was perfectly legal and, while reproducing and printing a play from stenographic notes was illegal, this was hard to prove. See Julie Stone Peters, *The Theatre of the Book, 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 78-79.

ballads printed at this time were nearly identical in form and character to the ballads that did originate from the stage (this will be discussed further in Chapter 3).

But Mayhew's interviewee goes on to say that, subsequent to learning airs from staged entertainments, street singers then worked the neighbourhoods of the theatres, selling to theatre-goers, because 'the airs being well known, you see it eased the way for us.'[179] This strongly supports the geographical connection between street singing and staged performances: the street reflected what was happening behind closed doors.[180] In the words of Mark Philp:

> A component of that public culture was its very openness—that, if not everyone, then at least a fair slice of all and sundry could turn up at the theatre, could abuse the actors, sing the songs, laugh and cry together, and jostle their betters in the crowd. And outside the theatre many of its songs were accessible to all through slips and ballad sheets or from the singing of ballad sellers in the streets.[181]

Oskar Cox Jensen considers another mode of transmission from the staged performance to street song. In his words:

> The tune could only be learned by ear. In the mixed print/oral culture of the street ballad, the seller would sing until the purchaser had it by heart…the interest lies in how ballad-singers, poor and musically illiterate, learned the tune. They may have employed an alternative air, but…It is more likely that singers learned the tune from…performances or a private function. Street singers could save for a cheap gallery seat, or linger outside with an ear to the door…And though ballad-singers did not frequent drawing rooms, ephemeral printers of 'True Courage' such as John Marshall and John Pitts did, and may have taught the tune to their sellers…The path from private performance to piracy could be short.[182]

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[179] Mayhew, vol. II, 196. Mayhew also found that the 'Vic' (Coburg) Theatre was a particular favourite of street peddlers, costermongers specifically. However, I have not found any songs from the Coburg's productions that were reprinted for the broadside trade. See Mayhew, vol. I, 18-19.

[180] Later in the century, Penny Gaff theatres proliferated for working class entertainments, particularly on Mondays, though the phenomenon really started toward the end of the period with which this project is concerned, from the 1830s-1870s. However, these pop-up theatres provided further examples of staged entertainments that were closely associated with the street. See Mayhew, vol. I, 40-2.

[181] Mark Philp, 'Afterword: Dibdin's Miscellany', in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture,* edited by Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerly and Ian Newman, (Oxford: University Press, 2018), 220-226, here 221.

[182] Oskar Cox Jensen, 'True Courage', in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture,* 115-136, here 127-8.

The conjecture Jensen makes regarding Pitts and Marshall is a significant one, as it brings into consideration the relative social class of ballad printers and performers, and the greater access to staged entertainments that the former may have enjoyed. And to further this line of logic, printers may have used scores or song sheets to source the words and music, bypassing the need for their own transcribers. If Jensen is correct in assuming that Pitts and Marshall mined their personal experiences of private performance to tutor street sellers, then the personal taste and musical exposure of the printers in question would be all the more important in determining the ballads they produced and the melodies to which they were sung. But the tastes and interests of the ballad singers themselves are not to be underestimated: as Jensen found with Joseph Johnson, ballad singers chose to sell ballads that complemented or integrated with their image or values, and they themselves were mediators between the printers and the street.[183]

Broadside Ballad Buyers

Broadside printers and sellers constituted only one half of the broadside trade—far less than half, proportionally. What do we know about broadside buyers? Who was the broadside sellers' target market? Who wanted broadsides—and who could afford them? Given that the focus of this thesis is the intersection of broadside ballads and theatre songs, the question of broadside buyers' identities will be addressed from two fronts.

[183] Jensen, 'The Travels of John Magee', 211, and 'Joseph Johnson's Hat, or, The Storm on Tower Hill'. As previously noted, musical scores could have been sources of songs for broadside printers as well: see footnote 28 above.

Firstly, we will consider who *could* and *did* buy broadsides, and secondly, we will consider who might have bought broadsides *and* engaged with theatrical entertainments.

The price of culture in Britain at the end of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries is surprisingly hard to ascertain. Robert D. Hume has written a very helpful article on the price of culture from the seventeenth through to the nineteenth centuries: in spite of the enormous trove of information he presents, he concludes that it is nearly impossible for modern scholars to precisely judge the contemporaneous monetary value of theatre tickets, books, and art. The actual prices of many of these items can be found through records and archives, but translating the economic worth of their contemporaneous currency is a very different matter. Firstly, inflation was extremely variable throughout the eighteenth century, with wild peaks and ebbs during the Napoleonic Era, depending on Britain's contemporaneous geopolitical standing. But annualised, in the 1790s, inflation was 4.53%—a considerable figure when judging the cost of cultural luxuries across the social classes.[184] Thus, Hume uses a range of multipliers in each period to give scholars flexible estimates of what the monetary value of an item *might* have equated to in a given year: for example, he uses a conversion multiplier of 100-150 for British currency during the Napoleonic Era (1795-1815).[185] Secondly, the *worth* of money has changed because proportionally, there are many more people in the 'middle class' now than there were during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. In this period, the gap between the 'upper classes' and the 'lower classes' (to use a binary structure of social hierarchy) was much wider, and the number of people who had

[184] Robert D. Hume, 'The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power—and Some Problems in Cultural Economics', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (2014): 373-416, here 376.

[185] Hume, 380.

discretionary income was far smaller: applied to Runciman's four-part social model, this would mean that there were fewer people in the professional and wage-earning brackets than there would be in Britain today—and more that would be described as economically deprived.[186] Therefore, something that cost 1s 6d would be nothing at all to *some* members of society but utterly unaffordable to the majority.[187]

Despite the difficulties Hume identified in understanding the relative worth of British currency at any given time, he concludes that most culture *was* actually unaffordable to the contemporaneous working classes during the whole period in question. Paintings, most concerts, and continental opera were simply out of reach of any but the wealthiest social classes—around 3% of the population at the beginning of the nineteenth century (in London, this would have accounted for roughly 30,000 people).[188] Deborah Rohr asserts that staged entertainments were categorically unaffordable to the working classes, even before ticket prices were increased in 1809 (leading to the Old Price Riots).[189] However, according to Hume's calculations, tickets to certain theatrical entertainments—though not widely accessible—*were* feasible splurges: a second gallery seat at the patent theatres could cost 1s for a performance of a comic opera or musical play. According to Adam Smith's estimate in 1776, the London worker received on average 18d per day, making the theatre a costly luxury, but not entirely out of reach.[190]

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[186] W.G. Runciman, *A Treatise on Social Theory*, vol. III (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), 108.

[187] Hume, 381.

[188] Hume, 377.

[189] Rohr, 53.

[190] 'Adam Smith notes that the "common price of labour in London' is 18d. per day; a few miles away it falls to 14d. or 15d. In Edinburgh it is 10d., but a few miles away just 8d."' See Hume, 380. See also Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* vol. I, ed. R. H. Campbell, A. S. Skinner, and W. B. Todd, 2 vols (1776; Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1981), 92.

Additionally, half-price tickets were routinely available to those who came late and saw only the 'farce' or 'afterpiece', which tended to be musical.[191]

Hume also details the cost of books during this period, concluding that they, too, were probably unaffordable to almost all of the British population—as were newspapers. He estimates that leading up to the turn of the century, only 10-15,000 families could afford printed materials other than almanacks and pamphlets.[192] He does note, however, that the number of readers of these materials was not necessarily the same as the number of purchasers: lending libraries had existed in England since the seventeenth century (at least) and there was a market for second-hand printed materials. Also, those who *could* afford printed materials might share them with family members or friends, and those who could not afford print literature by themselves could have teamed with others to buy and share print materials.[193]

According to Hume, the only print culture that was affordable to purchase for *most* was street literature, including broadsides, chapbooks, and almanacks, usually sold at a halfpence.[194] Even so, the cost of a broadside was not insignificant. Eighteenth-century society subscribed to a curious economic belief that the working classes would only exert themselves if wages were low, assuming a so-called 'leisure preference': if workers could afford to live by working less, they would, rather than working harder to earn more.[195] The image considered earlier of St Giles, depicted as a small boy with a

[191] Michael Burden, 'Opera in Eighteenth-Century England: English Opera, Masques, Ballad Operas', in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti (Cambridge: University Press, 2009), 202–213, here 204.

[192] Hume, 375.

[193] Hume, 278.

[194] Hume, 412.

[195] Hugh Cunningham, *Time, Work and Leisure: Life Changes in England since 1700* (Manchester: Studies in Popular Culture, 2014), 31.

toy, comes to mind: prevailing wisdom said that the working classes were lazy by default. This assumption formed a theoretical 'backward-sloping supply curve'. But the nineteenth century proved the opposite was true: the working classes worked longer hours, not just to meet the cost of living, but to enjoy the *consumption of goods*, sacrificing their leisure time for it.[196] How does the broadside fit into this dynamic? Its relationships with leisure and consumerism are characteristically complicated, as it constitutes a material item that may be acquired and metaphorically 'consumed', but it was also performative, belonging to times of leisure and entertainment.[197] As will be discussed later in the chapter, the ballad singer demanded of his potential customers not only money but also *time:* time to listen and time to read and sing. One advantage the broadside had as a form of entertainment or leisure was that it was flexible: it could be purchased in a couple of minutes now and sung somewhere else later, as time permitted, proving not only physically transportable as a sheet, but temporally transferrable as a performance. But the value a passer-by invested in stopping and listening to a ballad, though not quantifiable, must be considered.[198] If time was money, then the cost of a broadside was more than the printed price.

[196] Ibid., 3, 66, and 55.

[197] In a way, playbill vendors were similar to broadside sellers in that they dealt in physical items that were related to performance. These peddlers sold playbills and wordbooks outside of the theatres, providing 'merchandise' to theatre-goers in a similar way as broadside singers. The geographical placement of these sellers was firmly tethered to the theatres, as was the placement of some performing musicians (discussed later)—perhaps more so than street singers, who sourced materials in St Giles's but moved about the city with their wares. The difference between broadside singers and these peddlers was that the pinners-up of playbills and wordbooks did not perform their wares, but relied on other forms of performance for advertising their stock (namely, performance in the theatres). Some playbill peddlers, according to Mayhew, had no knowledge of the theatres at all, and were considered a very low class of street seller. Mayhew says there were an astonishing 2,000 of them in London in his day—too many to be sustained by market demand. See Mayhew, vol. I, 215, 228, 280, and 287.

[198] Burke warns passersby of stopping, however: ballad singers were seen as potential colluders with thieves, who took advantage of the crowds that performances drew. See Burke, 71.

But looking to the other end of the social spectrum, were broadside purchasers always of a class that *could not* afford other forms of culture? In short, no. Though we cannot consider them to be part of the average broadside sellers' target market, the collectors of broadside ballads prove that there was interest—and contemporaneous interest—in ephemeral street literature among the professional and élite classes from the seventeenth century with Samuel Pepys to the twentieth century with Walter Harding (as discussed in the Introduction). Though broadside collectors may have been the minority of contemporaneous broadside purchasers, their participation in the trade highlights the power of the broadside in Britain's wider culture: the broadside press was a rare forum in which the working classes *spoke*, and the professional and élite classes *listened.* And because the broadside reversed these social norms, Jensen suggests that it posed a potential socio-political 'threat' to British society (more on this later in the chapter).[199] As David Atkinson notes, street literature was consumed by a fairly broad audience leading into the nineteenth century, but decreasingly so: the 'popular' was consigned to the lower classes as the nineteenth century progressed and concepts of 'high' art developed.[200] This phenomenon is elaborated upon in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture:*

> Indeed, it is possible to understand the shift from the miscellaneous to the specialized as an epiphenomenon of larger changes in attitude towards the popular, as outlined in Peter Burke's seminal study *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, which traces the increasing polarization between the élite and popular from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. In Europe in 1500, Burke argues, 'popular culture' belonged to everyone. While the educated few had access to a separate élite tradition, they also participated in the popular traditions of the entire population. By 1800, however, the educated élite had 'abandoned popular culture to the lower classes, from whom they were now separated, as

[199] Jensen, *London Ballad Singer.*

[200] David Atkinson, 'Was There Really a "Mass Extinction of Old Ballads" in the Romantic Period?' in *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and North America*, ed. Steve Roud and David Atkinson (London: Routledge, 2014), 19-36, here 19.

> never before, by profound differences in world view'. While the scope and chronological spans differ between Burke's and Weber's accounts, their overall arguments are neatly compatible, both seeing a basic shift in attitudes towards the popular and an increased specialization of cultural forms by the early nineteenth century.[201]

Materiality and Sound World

The streets of modern London are saturated with advertisements, particularly in well-known shopping districts: logoed banners line Bond Street; painstakingly curated window displays adorn Jermyn Street; glowing signs and larger-than-life billboards plaster Oxford Street. Buses that connect the sprawling metropolis—commercial, residential, and retail centres alike—are moving advertisements for theatre shows, museum exhibitions, films, food, and more. But significantly, our modern advertisements are predominantly visual: potential customers are enticed by striking models, well-photographed food or ironic marketing phrases and taglines. Audible advertisements remain on radio, through in-store announcements, at Speakers' Corner in Hyde Park, and even on interactive commercials on the backseat screens of London cabs. But all of these forms of sonic advertisements are 1) impersonal, in that the sound of the transmitter is divorced from its human source, and 2) within proprietary spaces that listeners tacitly 'consent' to enter. Audible advertisements are no longer normal on the streets and modern sonic advertisement is rarely 'personal' as it once was: radios and in-store announcements are safely ignored without risking rudeness—they do not demand engagement. Charity street collectors, subscription sellers, and *Big Issue* sellers

[201] Ian Newman, Oskar Cox Jensen, and David Kennerly, 'Introducing Mr Dibdin', in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture,* here 9-10. The sources referenced in this quotation are William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: University Press, 2008), and Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978).

(who straddle the fence between street selling and begging, as ballad singers once did) are perhaps the last vestiges of the street 'salesmen' of earlier centuries—approaching people face-to-face, and using sound and presence to engage them. This form of 'advertisement' is perhaps the most loathed of all by city dwellers, who will happily fake a phone call to avoid being approached, because the very act of being *spoken to* is personal. The average Londoner is bombarded by as many as 3,500 visual advertisements a day, but *visual* advertisement is acceptable because it is deceptively passive: the viewer feels that he or she has control over engagement with the advertising material.[202] As Walter J. Ong says, written communication (and therefore printed communication) removes the speaker or author from the message, effectively de-personalising it.[203] But sonic advertisement embodied—a person speaking to us—is intrusive: it is not easily ignored because the average modern Briton considers it rude to ignore those who personally address them.[204] Teams hit the streets to collect for charity or sell weekly flower subscriptions because personal addresses shame passersby into engaging with collectors and sellers.

Modern London is far from silent—it is awash with sound. It hums with traffic, car horns, the low hum of heaters or (very occasionally) air conditioners, police and emergency vehicle sirens, the smooth whizz of bike tires on the road. Natural sounds contribute—rain remains a near-constant, and the odd gust of wind howls between buildings and along the streets. There are the unmistakable sounds of people too: the

[202] Owen Gibson, 'Shopper's Eye View of Ads that Pass Us by' in *The Guardian* (London), November 19, 2005.

[203] 'Writing, as we have seen, serves to separate and distance the knower and the known and thus to establish objectivity.' See Ong, 111.

[204] Door-to-door salesman still exist too, though in far fewer numbers than in previous centuries—or even previous decades. The act of coming to one's home can be perceived as intrusive and even threatening to residents: nineteenth-century residents of London began to resent domestic intrusions and so this form of peddling was in decline by mid-century, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

sound of feet on the sidewalk and the intervallic rush of pedestrians crossing the road at a crosswalk, the coughing of residents suffering from this season's flu, the sound of voices as people chat with companions while journeying to their destinations. But the soundscape of London before mechanised automobiles was far more human-centric and 'staccato' than our modern one: the whirring of machines was entirely absent.[205] For most Londoners, travel was done on foot, accompanied by the incessant beat of wooden shoe soles on the ground. Carriages and carts provided vehicular transport for people and goods, but with endlessly rotating wooden wheels on uneven roads, they emitted a much more variable sound than wheeled transport does today, and they were always accompanied by the rhythmic percussion of horse's hooves on stone, wood, or macadamised road.

And the streets of London were not spaces of solitary, isolated commuting: they were spaces for interaction. Advertisement was embedded as much in the oral space as the visual space in the early-nineteenth century—more so, in fact. On a busy street, visual advertisements were hard to see: in a crowded market, a lone peddler, or even one with a cart or stand, could be visually obscured by the throngs clogging the street, and the type or quality of his wares, even if on display, may only be clear to those in close proximity to them. A voice, however, carried across crowds and acted as a beacon to potential customers. Sound 'space' was at a premium in the street because of the volume of goods that peddlers were pushing, particularly around the Seven Dials—a hub for the second-hand clothing market as well as the broadside trade—and of course at Covent Garden market itself.

[205] Burke, 20-1.

The tumultuous roar of street sellers in London was described in some detail by Mayhew in *London Labour and the London Poor.* All street sellers—costermongers, milk-men, match-sellers and more—*had* to be vocal performers because they relied on cries to attract customers across and along streets or over crowds. And their street cries were not mere 'sounds', we find. Charles Hindley wrote a thought-provoking book on the street cries of London; though it is difficult to separate fact from romanticised fiction in this work (which seems more concerned with songs *about* street cries than the cries themselves), the premise of the book is based on the fact that street cries, through constant repetition, became not just sounds but musical *motives* (Mayhew's extensive interviewing of street sellers confirms the existence of identifiable motives or even tunes that were associated with specific wares).[206] Hindley quotes the following in his book: 'most certain it is, that people know the wares they deal in rather by their tunes than by their words'.[207] Indeed, the corruption of words in peddlers' cries was common: Hindley notes that the typical cry of milk sellers, 'milk below', was practically pronounced as 'mio'. Londoners understood that 'mio' meant 'milk below' when it was called under their windows, not because of the communicative power of the words, but because listeners recognised the meaning of that particular melodic shape. As will be discussed further on, these 'musical' cries became sonic fixtures of the city and were codified—even ossified—by the nineteenth century. Ironically, the 'silent nation' was in fact a musical nation at base.[208]

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[206] See Charles Hindley, *A History of the Cries of London: Ancient and Modern* (1881; Cambridge: University Press, 2011).

[207] This quote is supposedly by a man called Ralph Crotchet, but he was probably a source Hindley invented to present contemporaneous arguments against street criers, sellers, and singers. Hindley, 96-100.

[208] England was famously called a 'land without music' by Oscar A.H. Schmitz in *Das Land Ohne Musik, Englische Gesellschaftsprobleme* (München: Müller, 1914). See also Bennet Zon, ed. *Music*

The inherent musicality of street sellers was in fact an inspiration to songwriters as well as to artists—like John Thomas Smith—who drew them. The following song, written by Thomas Dibdin from the perspective of a Muffin Man, compares the cries of the muffin trade with the 'opera-squalls' of street song. This is ironic, as the Dibdins produced many of the English comic opera songs that filtered onto the street, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

> While you opera-squallers fine verses are singing,
> Of heroes, and poets, and such like humguffins;
> While the world's running round, like a mill in a sail,
> I'll ne'er bother my heard with what other folks ail,
> But carefully and frisky, my bell I keep ringing,
> And walk about merrily crying my muffins
>
> *Chorus:*
> Lilly-white muffins, O, rare crumpets smoking,
> Hot yorkshire cakes, hot loaves and charming cakes,
> One-a-penny, two-a-penny, Yorkshire cakes.
>
> What matter to me if great folks run a gadding,
> For politics, fashions, or such botheration;
> Let them drink as they brew, while I merrily bake;
> For though I sell muffins, I'm not such a cake -
> To let other fools' fancies e'er set me a gadding,
> Or burthen my thoughts with the cares of the nation.
>
> *Spoken*.—What have I to do with politicians? And for your Parliament cakes. Why! everybody known they are bought and sold, and often done brown, and made crusty all over the nation. No, no, it's enough for me to cry—
>
> Lilly-white muffins, &c
>
> Let soldiers and sailors, contending for glory,
> Delight in the rattle of drums and trumpets;
> Undertakers get their living by other folks dying,
> While actors make money by laughing or crying;
> Let lawyers with quizzels and quiddities bore ye,
> It's nothing to me, while I'm crying my crumpets.

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and Performance Culture in Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley (London: Routledge, 2016), 1.

> *Spoken.*—What do I care for lawyers? A'nt I a baker, and consequently, Master of the Rolls:—Droll enough, too, for a Master of the Rolls to be crying-
>
> Lilly-white muffins, &c.[209]

The broadside was but one element in a very diverse and lively sonic world on the streets of London, neither the prevailing sound nor even—arguably—the predominant *music* of the street. The broadside ballad of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries had a very large extended family: it was intimately connected with street vendors, street patterers (of spoken word), and street musicians or performers. So close were these connections that it can be difficult to determine where one ends and the other begins. As Bruce R. Smith notes, the English ballad was 'within, around and among'.[210]

The street vendor that had the most in common with the ballad singer was the street patterer. Street pattering was a fascinating social phenomenon that was as foreign to the culture of the street as it was a part of it. Unlike street singers and most other street vendors, street patterers were often not 'born' to the street—according to Mayhew. Street patterers could be of the educated classes, sometimes the sons of businessmen or military officers—or even themselves professional men. The circumstances that would lead these men to choose a life of street pattering is not clear; but according to the individuals Mayhew interviewed, the role of street patterer was one that was largely adopted rather than inherited.[211] Those from such backgrounds considered themselves a higher class of street seller than costermongers, peddlers, and singers because they tended to be educated and made money from their wit and use of language—

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[209] Hindley, *The Cries of London,* 209. This ballad does not exist in broadside form in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections but was a part of Hindley's private collection.

[210] Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1999), 184.

[211] Mayhew, vol. I, 213.

extemporaneous construction of dialogue was considered a more skilled art than the repetition (or even creation) of melody. [212] Thus, the broadside seller—who in turn enjoyed a higher social ranking than the street seller of wares—found himself a rung or two below his pattering counterpart.[213]

Street patterers as a whole had an unwholesome image in culture, as many were associated with the sale of fake medicines (a practice called 'strawing') and pornography, as well as the 'sham indecent' trade—which entailed the sale of plain envelopes of 'indecent materials' on the street, which were later found to be empty of the forbidden merchandise.[214] It was common for patterers, as well as ballad sellers, to sell a range of printed and non-printed merchandise to make a living on the street. Even street printers engaged in other trades: John Pitts was involved in the toy trade, while the Dicey family and John Evans sold medicines.[215]

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[212] See Mayhew, vol. I, 6-7. It is possible to draw a connection here to the prevailing attitudes in Britain concerning the relative value of words and music as performed media: in Hogarth's famous engraving 'Bad Taste of the Town' (1723/4), we find that pantomimes, operas, and musical entertainments were depicted as the popular and trashy usurpers of 'legitimate' drama, of which England had a long and revered tradition. According to Leo Hughes regarding musical pantomimes: 'the hopes of the enemies of pantomime and bad taste in general were raised only to be eventually dashed or at least badly adulterated. The new champion who had arisen to defend the cause of legitimate drama failed to retain his zeal, though it must be said in his defence that he never stooped as low as Fleetwood and Rich…Knowing this I venture to suggest that Garrick's attitude [on music in drama] was curiously—exasperatingly—ambivalent.' See Leo Hughes, *The Drama's Patrons: A Study of the Eighteenth-Century London Audience* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 108. The superiority of peddlers who peddled words versus those who sold music reflects something of this cultural tension. See also Rohr, 1-2, and 20.

[213] There was a 'second class' of street patterer, according to Mayhew's sources, that carried out this line of work without the benefit of education or profession. Interestingly, the reputations of these patterers on the streets were better than those of their loftier counterparts. According to Mayhew's interviewee: 'there can be no doubt…that the second class of street-patterers, to whom nature, or parents, or circumstances have been unpropitious, are the most moral, and have a greater sense of right and wrong, with a quicksightendness about humane and generous things to which the 'aristocratic' patterer is a stranger.' The 'aristocratic' patterer was also considered to be 'not religious' though some had in fact been trained in the clergy. There appeared to be considerable distrust of these interlopers on the street, as those 'born' to the street judged that patterers' descent to pattering—and the abandonment of their own social sphere—was the result of personal moral failings. See Mayhew, vol. I, 214 and 218.

[214] Mayhew, vol. I, 214-215 and 237-240.

[215] Steve Roud, 'Introduction' and Peter Wood 'The Newcastle Song Chapbooks' in *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and North America*, ed. Steve Roud and David Atkinson (London: Routledge, 2014), 1-18 and 59-76 respectively, here 10 and 71.

The broadsides sold by street patterers were exclusively for reading, though they were 'performed' by their sellers. Existing broadside collections suggest that Catnach and other broadside printers produced a significant number of non-musical broadsides, though the relative proportion of musical to non-musical broadsides is difficult to determine through the lens of broadside collectors. These broadsides were often news-based (about deaths or scandals), earning their patterers the name 'death or fire hunters'. One of Mayhew's interviewees, who was himself a patterer, asserted that the information of the street patterers could be better than that of the newspapers as the pattering network was extensive and their 'correspondents' were the quickest to the scene of any tragedy or event in the city. But the veracity of this assertion is highly questionable: patterers had the reputation of inventing stories when none existed and were not known to be particularly trustworthy sources of news—much like the ballad seller. The street patterer worked on political as well as tragic and comic subjects: broadsides on political topics were called 'political litanies' and were considered the most advanced form of broadside pattering as performances required a knowledge of Britain's political environment as well as the use of comedy to be executed successfully.[216] Some street patterers sold second-hand newspapers rather than broadsides, but their mode of marketing them was probably similar.[217] Mayhew identifies 'running' and 'standing' types of patterers, as he did for broadside sellers: running patterers shouted out the contents of their papers as they moved down streets, while standing patterers performed their acts from a single location. Like ballad singers, patterers often worked in duos to enable banter that could engage an audience on the

[216] Mayhew, vol. I, 236.
[217] Mayhew, vol. I, 230.

street, according to Mayhew.[218] Sometimes, they even teamed with their musical brethren: singers or chaunters would provide instrumental music while patterers cried their wares.[219]

Like ballad singers, patterers were peddlers of material items who used sound as a means of advertisement. The same could be said for the costermonger, but—like the ballad singer—the patterer's use of sound-space was doubly important because his advertisements (in monologue or dialogue form) were *intrinsic* to the value of his wares. Patterers sold sheets, but passersby also bought entertainment. Therefore, intelligibility was more important to patterers than it would have been for other peddlers: as wit and humour were the tools of their trade, they had to be properly audible to be appreciated. They needed to communicate with more than general vowel sounds or melodic motives (like 'mio' for milk, for example). Broadside singers also relied on intelligibility to an extent as a part of their 'marketing mix', but here the ballad seller was at an advantage in being able to sing a tune while the patterer only spoke words: projection is more easily accomplished in intoned melody than in a speaking voice—and a song, however plain, is generally considered to be more aesthetically pleasing and less aggressive than a bellowing voice. The patterer then depended on intellectually engaging buyers while the broadside seller could rely more on aesthetic appeal in performance—but *both* depended on acquiring sound-space to carry their messages.

Street musicians formed yet another group of street dwellers that were closely related to ballad singers. Most, though not all, street musicians were instrumental performers:

[218] Mayhew, vol. I, 214.
[219] Mayhew, vol. I, 223-4, 226 and 228.

Mayhew records in detail the phalanx of organ-grinders, English street bands, German bands, Irish pipers, Scottish pipers, Italian pipers, tom-tom players, and drum and pipe bands that inhabited the streets of London in his day.[220] Ballad singers themselves might have used instruments in performance (the violin was a typical accompanying instrument), but the difference between ballad singers and most other types of musical performers was that ballad singers were typically selling physical items, not just performances (excepting the case of singing beggars). Most street musicians performed to garner coins from appreciative passersby, but the broadside seller sung to advertise wares. In a way, this meant that monetising performance required an 'extra' step for the ballad singer: he had to not only please potential buyers in performance, he also had to exchange a sheet for money, unlike street musicians who received money purely for their performances. However, this was not necessarily a disadvantage. Street musicians received money if listeners were overcome by either appreciation for the performance or pity for the performer, and therefore proffered money for services *already received* or services that *required no expenditure*—overhearing a performance on the street or even stopping and listening to it did not oblige one to pay for it. Broadside singers, on the other hand, acted like models *showcasing* their wares—the implication being that the broadside seller's performance was not all the broadside singer had to offer listeners—though an important part. The quality of his singing, while influential, was then not *all*-important: he also had the tangible broadside to give in exchange for money received, a sort of 'value added' (and one which made the performance both repeatable and mobile). Thus, monetising performance was fundamentally different for broadside singers versus street musicians (and singing beggars), though both groups competed for

[220] Mayhew vol. II, 175-190.

the same sound space.[221] Practically, there was considerable crossover between street musicians and beggars—as there was between ballad sellers and beggars. Some street performers were in fact not musicians at all but beggars who asked for charity, carrying instruments to either escape Mendicity Laws or to annoy residents into paying them to go away. Even ballad singers that we know more about, like Johnson, were ambiguous figures in this respect and were members of what Jensen calls the 'grey economy' of early-nineteenth century Britain, constituted of both petty salesmen of a variety of merchandise and beggars (again, *Big Issue* sellers might be modern counterparts to these street dwellers).[222]

Some street performers of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were known by name and were associated with particular locations in the city: such is the case with Matthew Skeggs, who 'played a concerto on a broomstick' in the character of the eighteenth-century entertainer Signor Bumbasto near the Little Theatre in the Haymarket.[223] Many others moved from place to place, like ballad sellers. String players were the most common street musicians because—as noted by one such instrumentalist—wind instruments were practically impossible to play all day long.[224] Many of the musical performers on the London streets were originally from the Continent, and unlike native English ballad singers, they tended not to be career performers. Many continental performers came to London with the intention of sending money home to their native countries and eventually moving back themselves: such was the case with the Italian boys who flooded the streets in the early years of the nineteenth

[221] See Mayhew, vol. III, 160.
[222] Jensen, 'Joseph Johnson's Hat', and 'The Travels of John Magee', 196.
[223] Smith, *Vagabondiana,* 45.
[224] Mayhew vol. II, 163. Of course, the physical stamina needed to sing or speak all day was also considerable: as one seller said, being a patterer required 'a good pair of stout lungs.' Mayhew, vol. I, 235.

century.[225] Ballad singers and native street musicians, on the other hand, were predominantly 'born to the streets' and often worked as street performers for a large portion of their lives—though they did not necessarily only perform there: Mayhew notes that street musicians were often found playing in assembly rooms, revealing yet another interchange between public and private performance spaces.[226] Irish immigrants also performed as street musicians in London, particularly in pipe bands, though interestingly, it appears that the large Irish population of the Seven Dials was not much involved with broadside production or sale.[227] The reasons for this are unclear. Was there a stigma to the Irish accent in singing? As Jensen has found, the identities of ballad singers were important to their commercial viability as sellers.[228] Perhaps the Irish were not welcome in the 'school' of English ballad singers.

It might be helpful here to make a distinction between the requirements for sonic space of street performers (including ballad singers) and that of the many non-performing street sellers (like costermongers).[229] Both used sonic space, but the street seller used cries to attract attention to himself, after which the buyer judged the merit of his wares using *visual* cues. If a seller called out 'cherries, cherries ripe', his sonic signals were

[225] John E. Zucchi, ''The Organ Boys' in London', in *The Little Slaves of the Harp: Italian Child Street Musicians in Nineteenth-century Paris, London, and New York* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 76-110, here 81, and Mayhew, vol. I, 213 and 223.

[226] Mayhew, vol. III, 194.

[227] We do know, however, that the Irish were certainly ballad consumers, as one ballad peddler noted that ballads with anti-Irish or anti-Papist content could not be sold. One of the fascinating characteristics of the broadside trade, as a fundamentally commercial tradition, was that consumers had the power to affect its production as well as its producers. See Mayhew, vol. I, 223-4. As immigrants, it would seem that the Irish of St Giles's had the lowest of the menial jobs open to them: they were often 'speck' sellers, peddling fruit and vegetable that were too rotten to be sold by regular costermongers. See Mayhew, vol. I, 117. Interestingly, in the curious volume *Vagabondiana,* John Thomas Smith states that 'To the honour of Scotland, not one Scotch beggar is to be found in the dregs or lees of St Giles's.' Smith, *Vagabondiana,* 50.

[228] Jensen, 'Joseph Johnson's Hat'.

[229] According to Mayhew, there were 2,500 costermongers a day at Covent Garden in his day. See Mayhew, vol. I, 5.

only used to alert potential cherry-buyers and direct customers' visual attention in his direction. The sale was then left up to visual advertisement: are there cherries, and are they indeed ripe and worth buying? The street seller's demand for sonic space was then constant but did not demand *time* in the same way that the performer's did: the street patterer or ballad singer needed to both gain and *retain* a buyer's attention in order to monetise their performances because they needed people to both stop and listen for a period of time before money changed hands (commercially or charitably). Sellers used dramatic and visual elements as well sound to maintain their audience's attention; as noted above, ballad sellers used boards, long poles and even costumes to add visual interest to their performances.[230] Nevertheless, maintaining listeners' attention depended in large part on what was voiced and how amusing, engaging, or otherwise pleasing it proved to be. Our own generation is famous for its short attention span, but the value of time in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries should not be underestimated: while costermongers sold goods that could be considered necessities, street patterers and singers were selling what was—in its own modest way—a luxury: entertainment. To waylay people in the transient space of the street, performers had to provide adequate recompense for doing so, particularly in busy market or commercial areas where much of the crowd would be there for the purpose of buying or selling: the distraction had to be worth the time. This relates back to our earlier discussion about consumerism versus leisure, and the time costs of the broadside. And as well as asking potential purchasers to invest time in listening to a performance, patterers and ballad singers were also asking them to take some degree of financial or personal risk: from the eighteenth century, broadside sellers (as well as patterers) had been associated with

[230] Of particular note is the ballad singer Joseph Johnson, discussed above. See Smith, *Vagabondiana,* 33.

pickpockets, as they provided intentional or unintentional distractions for pedestrians—and thus opportunities for thieves.[231]

Street performers, singers, patterers, and sellers all shared the sonic and geographic space of the streets, which as Michael Bywater has said, was liminal space: the street is spatially defined but it is occupied predominantly by those who are transiting. In Bywater's words:

> In the street we are all liminal, we are all in transit; and so the liminality of individuals or groups in the street is not a useful differentiation from others. It is more helpful to consider the street itself as liminal – as a space in which normally socially disparate groups not only may but must interact – and then to look at what those different groups do with the street.[232]

Thus, in this context, ownership is asserted not so much through the occupation of geographical space (or sound space) but by *time.* Bywater continues:

> Liminal spaces are contended for in transit. The crowd moves through the space, but the space itself is fixed and bounded. If one wishes to extend possession of the space, the only dimension in which one may do so is in that of time; the longer one can hold the attention of the crowd (the crowd in aggregate, that is; individual members of the crowd will come and go, but the collective attention remains), the longer one holds the space.[233]

Bywater is speaking specifically about geographical space, but the same applies to sonic space. Jensen discusses how this geographic liminality can be used to persuade those traveling through the space that they are operating outside of real time too.[234] The ownership of sonic space by street sellers was what we might call sonic 'squatting'. Street sellers, beggars and performers exercised ownership over 'liminal' sonic and

[231] Burke, 71.

[232] Michael Bywater, 'Performing Spaces: Street Music and Public Territory', in *Twentieth-Century Music* 3, no. 1 (2007): 97-120, here 103.

[233] Michael Bywater, 118.

[234] Jensen, *London Ballad Singer.*

geographical spaces through their cries and performance. Many peddlers were itinerant and contributed to the dynamism of the London sonic topography by claiming ownership temporarily over a street or part of a street before melting back into the crowd and doing the same again elsewhere, but others formed more permanent ownership relationships with geographical and sonic spaces, exercising a form of 'squatting' in the London soundscape that could last for years. John Thomas Smith's anonymous ballad-seller in Bethnal Green enjoyed a tacit 'ownership' of the area (and any potential customers who passed by) *through* his singing. And this ownership, asserted through sound, could be territorial—usually in a limited sense. The ownership exercised by street sellers would have been predominantly generic—the Bethnal Green singer's implied ownership of the area might prevent *other* singers moving into the immediate vicinity, but would probably not affect the gingerbread man, who represented a different 'species' of salesman that was mostly (though perhaps not wholly) non-competing with the ballad singer.[235] The same may be found today in public spaces: Oxford's Cornmarket may host multiple street performers at once, but the space is geographically divided along sonic lines: street performers space themselves so that they own their immediate sonic environment without competing with other performers. However, the claims of ownership on sonic and geographic space can also be comprehensive: in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the thumps that the watchmen made on their rounds were a form of sonic/geographical ownership asserted by the parish law-enforcement, indicating that any and all residents were

[235] I say 'not wholly' because gingerbread was a treat and therefore would have competed with other luxuries (including print entertainment) for customers' disposable income. Additionally, the gingerbread man, like almost all street sellers, would have competed for sound space to some extent while plying his wares.

unwelcome on the streets they policed until the curfew was lifted in the morning.[236] The streets, while liminal, were still places of possession and ownership.

Broadside sellers thrived in busy areas of commerce with heavy foot-traffic. The surrounds of Covent Garden and the theatres met this description, but so did many other areas of the city, from Westminster to Whitechapel. Ballad singers traversed the city to find places where pedestrians were plentiful and competition was thin. Residential areas were, in their own way, prime locations for street musicians, costermongers, milkmen, and other tradesmen who wished to sell wares to residents—or residents' domestic staff, depending on the nieghbourhood. Certain tradesmen did best in the quiet backstreet while others stayed in central market areas, or else walked the city in the week and came back to attend the vibrant market scenes of Covent Garden on Saturdays, when traders flocked to London and the greatest trade was enjoyed. As Jensen has demonstrated with his map, London broadside singers could be found nearly anywhere at nearly anytime.

In the nineteenth century, the number of wandering tradesman declined, however, as the noise of London became an issue of increasing concern for residents.[237] Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the streets were more than places of transit: they were places where life was carried out. Passers-by were constantly accosted by street peddlers and beggars and their senses were assaulted not only by the unpleasant smell of the city (which Mayhew likened to a dung-yard), but also by its unremitting noise.[238]

[236] The nineteenth century did not experience the worst of the watchmen's sonic intrusions: in the seventeenth century, watchmen called out the hours in moralistic, multi-line verses—another surprising manifestation of street song. See Beaumont, 66-8.

[237] See Hindley, *The Cries of London,* 101: 'the working trades, as well as the venders [*sic*]of things that can be bought in every street, are now banished from our thoroughfares.'

[238] Mayhew vol. III, 193.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a movement against those who were seen to be the worst offenders against the citizenry's ears, culminating in a campaign by Charles Babbage in 1864 against street performers. Before this, a law had been put in place in 1839 allowing police to remove musicians and singers from residential areas if they were performing near houses that were inhabited by the sick; but the law was rarely enforced because it contravened the rights of performers in the city, which had been legally established when the controversial theatrical monopoly was abolished in 1843.[239] In a climate of increased hostility towards noise and peddling on the street, street sellers gradually centralised as the century wore on, basing themselves in areas like Covent Garden or Tottenham Court Road, as they were less and less welcome as door-to-door vendors, selling foodstuffs and merchandise from trays or barrows.[240] This was not an issue concerning individuals' ownership of real property: it was an issue of ownership over the 'liminal' geographical and sonic spaces of the street. The movement against London street sellers and musicians because of their *noise* was effectively a form of sonic 'enclosure', analogous to the highly-political land enclosure movement: it divided the 'common' and claimed it as 'proprietary'. Everyone had less space, but had more control over it: the common was becoming *less* common and the street was becoming increasingly 'owned'[241]. As with the enclosure of real property, sonic

[239] Brenda Assael, 'Music in the Air', in *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink,* eds. Heather Shore and Tom Hitchcock (London and Sydney: Rivers Oram Press, 2003), 183-197, here 183-188. Ballad singers were known to flock to Blackfriars' Road, a haven for invalids, because they would be paid to go away and leave its residents in peace. Mayhew, *London Poor,* vol. III, 206.

[240] Mayhew, vol. III, 206. While there was a perceptible movement towards sonic 'ownership' of the London streets and the removal of the sonic 'common' in the first half of the nineteenth century, markets remained areas of aural advertisement and personal engagement as the buying and selling of goods became more centralised to these areas. See Hindley, 24.

[241] The control of 'public' space in London continues to be a tense issue today: a good example would be the controversy over the plans for the Garden Bridge in 2017. See Nadia Khomami, 'London Garden Bridge Project Collapses in Acrimony after £37m Spent', *The Guardian* (London), August 14, 2017.

‘enclosure’ left control of common spaces largely in the hands of the wealthy. A fascinating letter reproduced by Charles Hindley provides particular insight into the issue, and is worth reproducing nearly in full:

> …the cries of London may be divided into vocal and instrumental. As for the latter they are at present under a very great disorder. A freeman of London has the privilege of disturbing the whole street for an hour together with the twankling of a brass kettle or a frying-pan. The watchman's thump at midnight startles us in our beds, as much as the breaking in of a thief. The sow-gelder's horn has indeed something musical in it, but this is seldom heard within the liberties. I would therefore propose, that no instrument of this nature should be made use of, which I have not tuned and licensed, after having carefully examined in what manner it may affect the ears of her majesty's liege subjects.
>
> Vocal cries are of a much larger extent, and indeed so full of incongruities and barbarisms, that we appear a distracted city to foreigners, who do not comprehend the meaning of such enormous outcries. Milk is general sold in a note about Ela [E5], and in sounds so exceedingly shrill, that it often sets our teeth on edge. The chimney-sweeper is confined to no certain pitch; he sometimes utters himself in the deepest bass, and sometimes in the sharpest treble; sometimes in the highest, and sometimes in the lowest note of the gamut. The same observations might be made on the retailers of small coal, not to mention broken glasses or brick-dust. In these therefore, and the like cases, it should be my care to sweeten and mellow the voices of these itinerant tradesman, before they make their appearance in our streets, as also to accommodate their cries to their respective wares; and to take care in particular, that those may not make the most noise who have the least to sell, which is very observable in the venders of card matches, to whom I cannot but apply that old proverb of Much cry, but little wool.
>
> Some of these last mentioned musicians are so very loud in the sale of these trifling manufactures, that an honest splenetic gentleman of my acquaintance bargained with one of them never to come into the street where he lived; but what was the effect of this contrast? Why, the whole tribe of card-match-makers which frequent that quarter, passed by his door the very next day, in hopes of being bought off after the same manner.
>
> It is another great imperfection in our London-cries, that there is no just time nor measure observed in them. Our news should indeed by published in a very quick time, because it is a commodity that will not keep cold. It should not, however, be cried with the same precipitation as fire; yet this is generally the case: a bloody battle arms the town from one end to another in an instant. Every motion of the French is published in so great a hurry, that one would think the enemy were at our gates. This likewise I would take upon me to regulate in such a manner, that there should be some distinction made between the spreading of a victory, a march, or an encampment, a Dutch a Portugal, or a Spanish mail. Nor must I omit, under this head, those excessive alarms with which several boisterous rustics

infest our street in turnip-season; and which are more inexcusable, because these are wares which are in no danger of cooling upon their hands.

There are others who affect a very slow time, and are, in my opinion, much more tunable than the former; the cooper in particular swells his last note in a hollow voice, that is not without its harmony; nor can I forbear being inspired with a most agreeable melancholy, when I hear that sad and solemn air with which the public are very often asked, if they have any chairs to mend? Your own memory may suggest to you many other lamentable ditties of the same nature, in which music is wonderfully languishing and melodious.

I am always pleased with the particular time of the year which is proper for the pickling of dill and cucumbers; but alas! this cry, like the song of the nightingale, is not heard above two months. It would therefore be worth while to consider, whether the same air might not in some cases be adapted to other words.

It might likewise deserve our most serious consideration, how far, in a well-regulated city, those humourists are to be tolerated, who, not content with the traditional cries of their forefathers, have invented particular songs and tunes of their own: such as the name of the Colly-Molly-Puff; and such as is at this day the vender of power and wash-ball, who, if I am rightly informed, goes under the name of Powder-Watt.

I must not here omit one particular absurdity which runs through this whole vociferous generation, and which renders their cries very often not only incommodious, but altogether useless to the public; I mean the idle accomplishment which they all of them aim at, of crying so as not to be understood. Whether or no they have learned this from several of our affected singers, I will not take upon me to say; but most certain it is, that people know the wares they deal in rather by their tunes than by their words: insomuch that I have sometimes seen a country boy run out to buy apples of a bellows mender, and ginger-bread from a grinder of knives and scissors. Nay, so strangely infatuated are some very eminent artists of this particular grace in a cry, that none but their acquaintance are able to guess at their profession; for who else can know, that work if I have it, should be the signification of a corn-cutter.

Forasmuch therefore as persons of this rank are seldom men of genius or capacity, I think it would be very proper, that some man of good sense and sound judgment should reside over these public cries, who should permit none to lift up their voices in our streets, that have not tunable throats, and are not only able to overcome the noise of the crowd, and the rattling of coaches, but also to vend their respective merchandises in apt phrases, and in the distinct and agreeable sounds. I do therefore humbly recommend myself as a person rightly qualified for this post; and if I meet with fitting encouragement, shall communicate other projects which I have by me, that may no less conduce to the emolument of the public.

I am, Sir, &c.
Ralph Crotchet[242]

[242] Hindley, *The Cries of London,* 96-100.

‘Crotchet’—most likely a strawman of Hindley’s creation—is presented as the poster boy of sonic intolerance, a parody of Charles Babbage and his crusaders against public noise. He critiques street noise on three fronts: firstly, its aesthetics; secondly, its utility; and thirdly, its power. He condemns unattractive cries and criers while commending those sellers—and wares—associated with more pleasing calls; he even suggests that established motives which he finds attractive should be adapted to *other* products to improve the sound-world of the streets. In this aesthetic discussion, his opinions are both deeply personal and explicitly musical: he judges the calls not by their purpose for seller or buyer, but the value of their musical sound. To contradict himself completely, he then targets the indecipherability of some cries, and makes objections to those criers who employ new motives to sell wares that already have well-established modes of vocal advertisement.[243] His third and last charge against the sounds of the street is implicit but clear: Crotchet objects to the authority exercised by street sellers and criers over public space and the public *itself*. Underpinning his entire diatribe is a desire to control the ‘threat’ of street sellers (to use Jensen’s word); along with ballad singers and patterers, street sellers were some of the only members of London’s lower classes with a voice and the power to make others—including their social betters—listen to them.[244]

Crotchet, with great presumption, puts himself forth as a proper authority for managing the sounds of the street. He offers some suggestions on how to tame it. He argues that cries must be made to reflect the urgency with which the product will corrupt: news, in his view, is the most urgent, but the cries of the peddler should sonically reflect the

[243] Again, Hindley notes the consistent corruption of words into sounds that were, in a proper form, meaningless, including the call 'milk below' to 'mio'. See Hindley, *The Cries of London,* 103.

[244] Jensen, *London Ballad Singer.*

relative import of the news at hand. Conversely, sellers of products that do not expire rapidly should be sold in a slower tempo entirely. Crotchet also correlates the amount of noise a seller may make and the quantity (perhaps also quality) of the goods at issue. While absurd, all of these suggestions are aimed at exercising hegemony over street criers and stripping them of the power they had in that space through the implementation of arbitrary rules. We see that this letter (real or invented) reflects a changing mentality toward 'liminal' space in London: Crotchet rejects the *de facto* ownership of the streets by 'squatting' sellers, singers, and patterers who claim it through noise and exercise control over the people in it—control that is incommensurate, Crotchet implies, with their importance and place in society. His argument against street sellers is undergirded by the assumption that the sonic and geographic space of the street should not remain common or subject to temporary and unregulated 'ownership'. His solution to the problem? Regulate its sound.

Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to examine the multifaceted identity of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century broadside as text, material culture, and sound, contextualising it within its contemporaneous London geographically, socially, sonically, and commercially. As a tradition of both material culture and performance, the broadside proved a complex item that could be many things to many people. To a buyer, a broadside's value may have been found in its association with a stage performance, or in the enjoyment of the street performance itself; it may have been valued as a means of future performance by the buyer, or even as literary ('reading')

entertainment. The cost of a broadside to a buyer was the money exchanged for it *and* the time spent listening to the performance—as discussed above. But the value and cost of a broadside was very different to other stakeholders in the trade. To a printer, its value was as a saleable good and its costs included paper and ink, pressmen's wages, and commissions to writers or shorthand copyists. To a broadside seller, the value of the broadside was also vested in its materiality: a broadside was worth the halfpence received in exchange for it, and the cost of it included its wholesale price, as well as the time and energy expended to gather a crowd and perform the song (amortised over the number of ballads sold per performance). The commercial broadside trade depended on the tradition being *both* material and performative to meet the needs of all its stakeholders.

The broadside's relationship with geography was similarly pluralistic and complex. On the one hand, the broadside of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was ubiquitous, taken to all corners of London (and beyond) by its sellers, who colonised streets by contending for sonic space within a competitive soundscape. The broadside was everywhere: it was cosmopolitan. Performances themselves were peripatetic and evanescent: the song did not last and the singer may not stay. But on the other hand, the broadside was rooted in specific places and subcultures of London—at this time, that was the Seven Dials and St Giles's. If London was the broadside's extended empire, then these neighbourhoods constituted its capital: these were parishes of perennial 'night culture', inhabited by rag sellers, gin houses, filthy lodgings, street printers, used-clothing dealers, Irish immigrants, working musicians, entertainment-seekers, prostitutes, pickpockets, crippled beggars, and—significantly—London's largest theatres.

CHAPTER 2

The Crossover: Theatre Music on the Street

As stated in the Introduction, the database that was built during the course of this project is not comprehensive: it does not include all existing broadsides of the period in question, and—though I tried to be as thorough as possible in my examination of relevant theatrical works—it will not include every entertainment staged in London whose songs were reprinted for the street. However, I do believe the Bodleian's Collections constitute a sufficient sample size to indicate some valid overall trends regarding the theatrical works that were pirated by the broadside press (and consequently, the songs taken from them). This chapter is devoted to considering some of these trends; specifically, it will look at the theatrical performers associated with the broadside tradition, the playwrights and composers whose works appear in the broadsides, the theatres that produced entertainments from which songs were taken, the genres of these theatrical works, and lastly, the broadside printers who were involved with printing theatre songs. As we will find, the issue of geography will be reflected in several of these discussions, and so this chapter builds on the previous one, while laying the groundwork for the following chapter, which will examine the nature and characteristics of the particular theatrical works and songs that were involved in the intersection of stage and street music.

Performer References

In the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the concept of a musical 'work' was fundamentally different from our understanding of it today. Modern classical performers are more likely to define 'works' by urtext editions than by sounds—a phenomena with which Christopher Small famously engaged.[245] But even within the world of sound, our modern understanding of music has been indelibly changed by the advent of sound recording. We can reproduce Bob Marley's classic 1975 Lyceum recording of 'No Woman, No Cry' in any space and context the world over. In a way, sound recording immortalises that one time, place, and performance, but it also strips the performance context of all meaning: who was there, who heard the song, where they were standing, the feeling in the room, the experience of listening as Marley sung it. And more than this, because the recording has endured unchanged in the sound world for nearly forty-five years, it has come to define what the song *is*: that recording is now inextricably associated with the song's identity, representing its 'authentic' or 'original' version to listeners decades later.

However, in the nineteenth century, there was no single indelible, 'authoritative' version of any of the songs we are discussing here—in recorded sound, or even on paper (print and score versions of songs often varied). 'The Waterman' may have been an identifiable song to audience members, but practically, it was manifested (and definable) only through multifarious and varying performances—it existed within a *living* sound world. Particularly in the realm of theatrical broadsides, defining musical 'authenticity' proves a fruitless task: composers wrote and then revised, and as we will

[245] Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover; London: Wesleyan/University Press of New England), 1998.

find, the broadside press regularly printed stage songs in approximated forms. And then of course, there was performance itself, which is endlessly varied and idiosyncratic. For listeners, this living, dying sound—cloaked in layers of variability that included alteration, revision, misprint, interpretation, instrumentation—is what the song *was.* To identify a song, you could not point to a piece of paper or play an unchanging sound recording; you could, however, reference one of the many manifestations of that song in time and space. The identification of a particular *performance* lent the authority to printed sheets that classical performers look for today in edited scores and urtext editions.

Music, as a concept and a reality, was inextricably entwined with performance—or 'musicking' as Small would say. Consequently, theatrical broadsides frequently featured contextual references to help customers situate a song in a particular time and space within London's sound world. The inclusion of references to performers—and authors/composers, which will be discussed further on—was rare in the seventeenth-century 'heyday' of broadside printing, as the printed ballads of this era referred to tunes rather than performances as a means of identifying their melodies.[246] But in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, tune references all but vanished as a few contextual references appeared: most late-eighteenth and early nineteenth broadsides had neither tune reference nor contextual detail, but an important minority of broadsides featured contemporaneous contextual details, shattering the broadside's traditional anonymity by referencing contemporaneous events, places, performers, authors, or

[246] Additionally, without performer or composer references, the broadsides of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries maintained the aura of anonymity that linked them with 'traditional' (oral) balladry. The broadside tradition was constantly engaging with its own history and often nurtured its 'traditional' image, as we saw in the last chapter's discussion on the use of black-letter type well into the eighteenth century.

composers. These references indicate that printed broadsides did not include tune references because their songs—in some portion at least—had their *own* tunes that were disseminated or accessed through performance on the street and through the stage.

Performer references allowed customers to locate a song in London's ephemeral sound world, while also attesting to the quality and popularity of the song, and assuring broadside sellers/customers that the music would indeed be accessible in the current sound world because the song was *actively* being performed (the reader will remember that performance was the only means through which members of the broadside trade could learn the melody to a given theatrical broadside). The inclusion of performer references on broadsides provides further evidence that there was overlap between broadside buyers and theatre audiences. The very existence of theatrical broadsides implies that music from the stage was accessible to the broadside purchaser, even if only second- or third-hand: however, the use of performer references in the broadsides indicates that the trade had a high degree of familiarity with the music as performed *in the theatres*. This overlap was enabled by entertainment venues—including the theatres and some of the pleasure gardens—that hosted multiple social classes at once (and were in fact obliged to continue doing so, even when against the will of their managers). This phenomenon was mentioned in the last chapter and will be discussed more later in this chapter.

The reader will find in Table 2.1 a list of the stage performers explicitly referenced in broadside ballads of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries in the Bodleian's Collections.

Table 2.1:
Performers named on editions from 1797-1844 in the Bodleian's Collections, alphabetically listed, and with the number of editions on which they are explicitly named.[247]

Performer	Number of Editions
Anderson, Mr (n.d.)	2
Bagnall, Sam (d.1885)	6
Baker, Mr (n.d.)	3
Bannister, John (1760-1836)	6
Bateman, W. (n.d.)	1
Bates, Mr (n.d.)	1
Beard, John (1716/7-1791)	4
Benson, Mr (n.d.)	3
Bentley, W.A. (n.d.)	2
Blanchard, Mr (1760–1797)	2
Bland, Maria Theresa (1769-1838)	7
Bradshaw, Ann Maria (1801-1862)	7
Braham, John (1774-1856)	19
Broadhurst, Mr (n.d.)	2
Carpenter, Mr (n.d.)	1
Cawse, Harriet (1812-1889)	1
Clifton, Harry (1832-1872)	7
Coefield, Sam (n.d.)	1
Collins, Sam (1826-1865)	2
Deighton [possibly Robert Dighton (1751–1814)]	1
Delagarde, Charles, Mrs. (n.d.)	1
Dibdin, Charles (1745-1814)	14
Dibdin, Mary Bates [Mrs. Charles Dibdin] (1781/2–1816)	1
Dickons, Maria (1770-1833)	1
Dighton, Robert (1752-1827)	3
Dignum, Charles (1765-1827)	2
Dowton, William (1764-1851)	2
Dunn, T. (n.d.)	1
Dunstall, John (1717-1778)	1
Eden, W. (n.d.)	1
Edwin, John (1749-1790)	3
Elliston, Robert William (1774-1831)	2
Emery, John (1777-1822)	9
Euston (n.d.)	1

[247] This list includes all performer references I have found from the period in question. Not all of the editions on which these references were found would be true theatrical ballads: some were likely referencing concert or pleasure garden entertainments. It is often unclear in which venues these performances took place, as there was considerable interchange of performers and artists among staged dramas, concerts, and pleasure garden entertainments. As we will see, however, the performers most often mentioned by name in the broadsides were closely associated with the patent theatres.

Fawcett, John (1769-1837)	19
Fitzgerald, William Thomas (1759-1829)	1
Frazer, Miss (n.d.)	2
Freyer, Master (n.d.)	3
Garrick, David (1717-1779)	1
Gillis, J.A. (n.d.)	1
Grimaldi, Joseph (1778-1837)	7
Hamilton, W. (n.d.)	1
Harley, Mr [possibly John Pritt Harley (1786–1858)]	3
Harrison, William (n.d.)	1
Hatton, Mr (n.d.)	2
Howell, Mr (n.d.)	2
Huckell, Mr (n.d.)	2
Hutchings, H.S. (n.d.)	1
Hyde, Master (n.d.)	2
Incledon, Charles Benjamin (*bap*. 1763-1826)	10
Johannot, Tony (d. 1825)	4
Johnston, Charles (n.d.)	1
Johnston, Henry Erskine (1775-1845)	1
Johnstone, John Henry (1749-1828)	6
Jones, R. (n.d.)	1
Jordan, Dorothy (1761-1816)	2
Keeley, Robert (1793-1869)	1
Kelly, Mr [probably Michael Kelly (1762–1826)]	1
Kennedy, Mrs. (d. 1793)	2
King, Mr (n.d.)	1
Knight, Mr [possibly Joseph Philip Knight (1812–1887)]	3
Leary, Miss (n.d.)	1
Leybourne, George (1842-1884)	8
Liston, Harry (*c.*1776–1846)	9
Longhurst, Master (n.d.)	2
Lovegrove, William (1778-1816)	1
Lowe, Thomas (d.1783)	2
Malibran, Maria (1808-1836)	3
Mallinson, Joseph (n.d.)	1
Mardyn, Mr (n.d.)	3
Mathews, Charles (1776-1835)	5
Matthews, Miss [possibly Mary Matthews (1751–1796)]	1
Mattocks, Isabella (1746-1826)	2
Mears, Mr (n.d.)	1
Middleton, Mr (n.d.)	3
Millar, S.A., [Miss Isaacs] (1837-1878)	1
Miller (n.d.)	1
Moody, John (1724-1813)	1
Moore, D. (n.d.)	1

Moore, T. (n.d.)	2
Morgan, E. (n.d.)	2
Morgan, Wilford (n.d.)	1
Morley, Mr (n.d.)	1
Mountain, Rosemond (1769-1841)	4
Munden, Joseph Shepherd (1758-1832)	8
Newton, Miss (n.d.)	2
Newton, Mr (n.d.)	3
Nicol, Miss (n.d.)	1
Palmer, Robert (1754-1817)	1
Paton, Mary Ann (1802-1864)	3
Perry, F.C. (n.d.)	2
Phillips, Henry (1801-1876)	4
Rainforth, Elizabeth (1814-1877)	5
Reynolds, Mr (n.d.)	1
Sharp, C.R. (n.d.)	4
Sharp, John W. (1828-1856)	4
Sinclair, John (1791-1857)	11
Slader, Mr (n.d.)	1
Sloman, Mr (n.d.)	1
Smalley, Master (n.d.)	1
Smith, Mr (n.d.)	4
Somerville, Miss (1799–1883)	3
Stephens, Catherine (1794-1882)	26
Swarbrick, J. (n.d.)	2
Tayleure, John (1782-1861)	5
Taylor (n.d.)	3
Thillon, Anna (1812-1903)	4
Vale, Mr [possibly Samuel Vale (1797–1848)]	1
Vestris, Madame [Lucia Elizabeth Mathews] (1797-1856)	26
Waylett, Harriet (1800–1851)	4
Williams, Mr (n.d.)	4
Wrighten, Mary Ann [Mrs. James Wrighten] (1756-1796)	7
Wrigley, I. (n.d.)	1
Wyatt, Mr. (n.d.)	2

One feature of the table that becomes immediately apparent is the ratio of male to female performers. The table lists 114 performers referenced on 404 broadside editions, and yet only twenty-four of these performers were women, and then only two of those twenty-four were mentioned ten times or more in the broadside collections. The stage

was one of very few professional contexts in which women enjoyed a degree of equality with men: in the eighteenth century, female singers achieved enormous popularity and financial success on the Italianate opera stage, and in her book *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater*, Felicity Nussbaum argues that female performers on the English stage—like Susannah Cibber—did too.[248] However, by the time music from theatrical productions had reached the streets, female performers appear to have been largely edited-out. Why would this be?

As we will find in the next chapter, the songs written for female characters tended not to be as comedic as those written for men. The tone of their songs reflected the passivity of the contemporaneous female ideal—contrasting with the relative power of the actresses who portrayed them—while the subject of their songs was almost invariably love. Thus, the songs of female performers tended to be reflective, sentimental, or melancholic. None of these moods provided scintillating comedic verses. Sentimentality had its role in street literature, which had moved on from the clinical narrative recounts of early broadsides, but comedy was the predominant mood of the broadsides during this period. War was very much on society's mind around the turn of the nineteenth century (in anticipation, reality, or living recollection), so swashbuckling martial characters and comedy were at a premium—particularly in broadsides. The comedic value of female roles on the stage tended to be embedded within the drama, rather than invested in the characters themselves—while retaining their delicacy and dignity, female leads created comic love-triangles and confusion for the other characters in the plot. This situational comedy was rarely distilled effectively in an excerpted song. Men's roles, on the other

[248] Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadephia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

hand, could engage in buffoonery in a way that women's characters could not. We see this in English comic operas and similar entertainments, as men took the roles of comedic side-kicks and inept henchmen; even heroic male leads had more comedic potential than their female counterparts, as they had agency in the plot, and could thus reference action and intent rather than simply dwell on feeling. Their songs were altogether more suitable for adaptation to the broadside trade, where a song *had* to retain its entertainment value without the benefit of dramatic context. Additionally, the development of a new genre called 'monologue entertainments' outside the patent theatres might have affected this gender imbalance between referenced performers. Monologue entertainments combined character impersonations and dialect songs in a comic one-man show. Charles Dibdin Sr, who will be discussed in greater detail below, was largely responsible for developing and establishing this form of entertainment. These popular, performer-centric shows were filled with independent songs that lent themselves perfectly to broadside publication, and they were always (to my knowledge), performed by men. Songs from such monologue entertainments as *The Whim of the Moment* (premiered 1788) and *The Oddities* (premiered 1790) were particularly popular in the broadside trade, according to existing editions in the Bodleian's Collections.

Gender imbalance aside, Table 2.1 lists a large and extremely varied collection of performers, though there are many performers listed here about whom little is known. Of the 114 names listed in the table, I will discuss only a handful in any detail, according to the frequency with which they are mentioned in the broadsides.[249] As already mentioned, there are only two female performers referenced with notable

[249] For the sake of brevity, I will limit this discussion to performers who are mentioned on 10 or more editions in the Bodleian's Collections.

frequency in the broadsides—but interestingly, both were referenced on twenty-six editions, more than any man on the list. Catherine Stephens (1794-1882) was a diverse actress and singer, who performed in ballad operas (she took the part of Polly Peachum in a reprisal of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* in 1813) and in English comic operas (including *The Duenna* and *The Farmer's Wife,* performed in 1813 and 1814, repsectively). She was one of the few English actresses that succeeded in performing Italianate opera as well, having taken the part of Cherubino in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* at Covent Garden in 1819. Stephens had a contract at Covent Garden from 1813-22, and again from 1822-28, with a stint at Drury Lane in the intervening years.[250] The second female performer that is frequently mentioned on the broadsides is the contralto Madame de Vestris (1797-1856), born Lucia Elizabeth Bartolozzi, the granddaughter of the Italian engraver Francesco Bartolozzi, who was brought up in London. Her mother Theresa Jansen was a keyboardist who studied under Clementi and was highly regarded by Haydn. After marrying Armand Vestris, the son of the French dancemaster Gaetano Vestris, Madame de Vestris started performing in concerts and made her debut at the King's Theatre, Haymarket in 1815. In 1817, during the peace, the Vestris family moved to the Continent to escape debts; she performed at the Théâtre des Italiens and Théâtre Français during that time. On her return to England in 1820 (without her husband), she was engaged at Drury Lane, and became famous for her trouser roles. Like Catherine Stephens, she was noted for performing actively at both the King's Theatre, Haymarket and the patent theatres; her ambivalence to English and Italianate was the source of some controversy, however, as critics could not decide in which

[250] Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians: 1750-1850* (Cambridge: University Press, 2001), 105. See also Rachel E. Cowgill, 'Stephens, Catherine, *married name* Catherine Capel-Coningsby, countess of Essex] (1794–1882)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: University Press, 2004), online ed., ed. David Cannadine.

operatic tradition she 'belonged'.[251] The significant presence of these actresses in the broadsides attests to their immense popularity in London among a wide audience base.

There are five male performers who were frequently referenced in the broadsides. John Braham (1774-1856) was a great English tenor who was a favourite of George IV and had the rather unusual distinction of having sung for both Nelson and Napoleon. He came from a Portuguese Jewish family, and had a long-time affair with the celebrated actress Nancy Storace. He was known for his roles in continental operas, and he sung in the English premiere of *Der Freischütz* by Carl Maria von Weber in 1824, whose funeral he helped organise. He was himself a composer, and is remembered for the music he wrote for *The English Fleet in 1342* (premiered 1803), which proved popular in the broadside trade. He is a named performed on nineteen broadsides in the Bodleian's Collections (sometimes mentioned more than once on a single sheet, in the case of multi-ballad broadsides). Like Madame de Vestris, he was unusual in his success in both English and Italian operas, and sang at both patent theatres, the Haymarket in the summer, and the King's; he took the male lead in many of the English operas that were popular in the broadside trade, including *Family Quarrels* (premiered 1805), *The Cabinet* (premiered 1802), *Kais* (premiered 1808), and of course, *The English Fleet* (premiered 1803).[252]

John Fawcett Jr (1769-1837) is also mentioned by name on nineteen of the broadsides in the Bodleian's Collections. A protégé of the famed David Garrick, Fawcett left an

[251] Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 216-19, and Jacky Bratton, 'Vestris, Lucia Elizabeth (1797–1856)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[252] See Jim Davis, *Comic Acting and Portraiture in Late-Georgian and Regency England* (Cambridge: University Press, 2015), 168-70, and Rohr, 105-7. See also George Biddlecombe, 'Braham, John (1777?–1856)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

apprenticeship to join the theatre, against the wishes of his father—also an actor. John Fawcett Jr's career was based largely in Yorkshire till Thomas Harris of Covent Garden offered him a contract in 1791. He appeared regularly at Covent Garden until his retirement in 1830—despite disagreements with management—and also performed at the Haymarket in the summer months.[253] John Sinclair (1791–1857) was an Edinburgh native who worked as a clarinettist in a regimental band before moving to London to make a career as a singer. He made his debut in 1810 at the Haymarket as Captain Cheerly in *The Lock and Key* (premiered 1796). He worked at Covent Garden for seven years before travelling to France and Italy, where he studied and performed from 1819-23. On his return to England, he continued performing at Covent Garden, Drury Lane and the Adelphi, taking lead parts in comic operas like *The Cabinet*.[254] Sinclair is mentioned eleven times in the broadside collections.

After a career in the Royal Navy during the American Revolution, Charles Incledon (*bap*. 1763-1826) joined a travelling troupe performing comic operas in the south of England, touring through Southampton and Bath, where he also gave concerts. He eventually reached London, and in 1786, he began performing at Vauxhall. He made his Covent Garden debut four years later, and remained a regular at that theatre until 1815; during the summer months, he toured Ireland and England. A lauded tenor of his day,

[253] Philip H. Highfill, Jr, Kalman Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol. V (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 195-204. See also Joseph Knight, rev. Nilanjana Banerji, 'Fawcett, John (1769–1837)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and also Henry Saxe Wyndham, *The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre from 1732 to 1897* (London: author, 1906), 60.

[254] W.H. Husk, and John Warrack, 'Sinclair, John', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (Oxford: University Press), and J.C. Hadden, and Anne Pimlott Baker, 'Sinclair, John (1791–1857)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

he performed in the premiere of Haydn's *Creation* in 1800.[255] He is explicitly referenced ten times in the Bodleian's Collections.[256]

What do the references to these performers tell us about the theatrical broadsides? Firstly, all of these performers were prolific, with frequent professional engagements at the patent theatres (John Fawcett is the only performer here who did not regularly perform at *both* the patent theatres during his adult career). These theatres were the largest in London at the time and so, naturally, their regular performers enjoyed wide exposure to audiences; but these performers' strong connections with the patent theatres again suggests that geography played an important part in the intersection between stage and street music. Some of these performers also had professional connections with the pleasure gardens, which is important to note, because the pleasure gardens provided a secondary venue in which potential broadside purchasers (the non-leisure classes) could hear music performed—as they could in cheap seats at the theatres. And singers who sung in these concert-style venues needed similar song materials to what broadside printers did: entertaining or engaging songs that could stand apart from dramaturgical frameworks. We know that there was an exchange of repertoire between the pleasure

[255] Olive Baldwin, and Thelma Wilson, 'Incledon, Charles', *Grove Music Online*, and John Rosselli, 'Incledon, Charles (*bap*. 1763, d. 1826)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[256] There are some notable absences from this discussion. John Beard (1716/7-1791) performed at least three of the theatrical broadsides in the Bodleian's Collections (according to wordbooks I have found), but is only mentioned on one broadside ballad that came from the theatre ('Come Roger and Nell' from *Harlequin Sorcerer: With the Loves of Pluto and Proserpine*, n.d., wordbook printed 1752). He is, however, noted on several other broadsides that appear to be associated with the pleasure gardens. His signature song was 'The Early Horn' from Edward Phillips and John Ernest Galliard's pantomime *The Royal Chase* (1736); this song appears in the Bodleian's Collections, but his name is not mentioned on its broadside editions. He was one of the earliest of the performers associated with the theatrical broadsides, having died before Pitts even established his press. Similarly, John Bannister (1760-1836), who originally sung at least 13 of the theatrical broadsides, is only noted on 4 theatrical broadsides by name. The other very notable absence is Nancy Storace (known as Signora Storace), who created the leading lady roles in many theatrical works popular on the street, including *Family Quarrels (1805), The Cabinet (1802), Kais (1808),* and *The English Fleet (1803)*, to name a few. See Victoria Halliwell, 'Beard, John (1716/17–1791),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

gardens, concerts, and comic operas: songs from Brandon Isaac's *Kais* (1808), for instance, endured as concert repertory after the comic opera itself had been all but abandoned.[257] Singers, like those discussed above, connected the different performance venues of London, and they may have increased the exposure of broadside buyers to theatrical music by performing theatre songs in secondary performance contexts like concerts and pleasure garden entertainments.

Significantly, we find that 'foreign' singers do not feature much at all in this list—save for Madame de Vestris, who was actually born in England, though with an Italian family and French first husband. But this was the case with the broadside trade as a whole: there was very little direct influence from 'foreign' music or musicians (the notable exception being the twelve broadside editions of the 'Huntsmen's Chorus' from Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischutz,* 1821). [258] Given the contemporaneous political climate, England's xenophobia is not surprising. In the early nineteenth century, Britain was under threat from the Continent: in 1797 and 1805, the country faced very immediate threats of invasion by the French across the Channel, but these fears were not entirely quelled until Napoleon's defeat in 1815. Government propaganda bolstered home support for the military forces by fanning the public's fears, but as we will see in the next chapter, there was also a surge of grassroots nationalism in popular spheres, not least of all in street literature. Cultural icons like John Bull and Jack Tar became the poster-boys of Britain, and certain characteristics of theirs—like loyalty, simplicity, and plain-spokenness—became integral to the country's self-image. In the upper classes of English society, Italian opera still held cachet, but 'foreign' opera had been in decline

[257] For more on this opera, see the footnotes for Chapter 3.

[258] See the twelve editions of the 'Chorus of Huntsmen in Der Freischutz', Roud Number: V7486, Ballads Online, Bodleian Library.

since Handel's day, and more 'native' forms of entertainment were gaining favour. Notably, Catherine Stephens, who performed both Italianate and English operas, was praised by critics for her 'English' declamation.[259]

Charles Dibdin, Sr

The fifth and last performer of note listed in Table 2.1 is of such significance to the story of the broadside ballad in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that he deserves a discussion of his own. Charles Dibdin Sr (1745-1814) is explicitly referenced as a performer on fourteen of the broadsides in the Bodleian's Collections, but as an author or composer on a further twenty editions (as will be found in Table 2.2 below). Dibdin was an immensely popular performer and comic-opera composer, who G.H. Davidson likened to Robert Burns in his preface to Dibdin's complete works.[260] Davidson was proved incorrect in his prediction that the two authors would be equally esteemed by future generations, but then history does not always provide an accurate reflection of a figure's contemporaneous importance or influence. The book *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture,* edited by Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerly, and Ian David Newman, has done much to reveal the influence of Dibdin and his work on contemporaneous music, theatre, and culture.[261]

Charles Dibdin was born the son of a silversmith in Southampton, one of over a dozen children (Hogarth says he was one of eighteen, but he was probably only one of

[259] Rohr, 111.

[260] G.H. Davidson, 'Preface' to *The Songs of Charles Dibdin, Chronologically Arranged* (London: G.H. Davidson, 1848), v.

[261] Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley, and Ian David Newman, eds., *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture* (Oxford: University Press, 2018).

fourteen).[262] He was sent to Winchester College, and after organist Peter Fussell discovered that he had a lovely voice, he received some musical training there. He never acquired sufficient skill to earn a post as organist, however—though he did apply to at least one position—and therefore went to London, where he could enlist the help of his elder brother Captain Thomas Dibdin. After working briefly as a harpsichord tuner for John Johnson in Cheapside, he sold six ballads for three guineas to Thompson of St Paul's Churchyard. Eventually, acquaintances brought him to the attention of John Rich, manager of Covent Garden, and also his son-in-law John Beard. Beard accepted Dibdin's first entertainment *The Shepherd's Artifice* for production in 1762. His first great success as an actor was in Isaac Bickerstaffe's *The Maid of the Mill* in 1765, which was such a hit that the people of London took to wearing 'Ralph Handkerchiefs' in honour of his character.[263] His next major success as an actor came in his own work *The Padlock* (premiered 1768), with words by Isaac Bickerstaffe, for which he took the role of Mungo, a popular sung blackface role on the English stage.[264] Dibdin so closely identified with this role that the character became a namesake of his first son, the writer Charles Isaac Mungo Dibdin (1768-1833), by actress Harriet Pitt.

After his early successes, Charles Dibdin Sr worked as a singer at Drury Lane, Haymarket, and Covent Garden—where he also briefly held the post of composer and musical director.[265] He wrote comic operas and musical entertainments for all the major

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[262] See George Hogarth, 'Memoir of Charles Dibdin' in *The Songs of Charles Dibdin, Chronologically Arranged,* ed. G.H. Davidson (London: G.H. Davidson, 1848), xi, and Jon A. Gillaspie, 'Dibdin, Charles', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and Roger Fiske, and Irena Cholij, 'Dibdin, Charles', *Grove Music Online*.

[263] Jon A. Gillaspie, 'Dibdin, Charles'.

[264] Ibid.

[265] Wyndham, *The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre,* 217. It is unclear whether Dibdin had a tenor or baritone voice: according to Felicity Nussbaum, he was a baritone when he played the role of Mungo in *The Padlock* (1768), but this is not entirely clear from the score. See Felicity Nussbaum, 'Charles Dibdin and Racial Performance', in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture,* 23-42, here 24 and 35.

London venues and some of the smaller theatres, including Sadler's Wells and the Sans Souci and New Sans Souci Theatres, which he managed. Despite the success of his works and the reception of his performances, he eventually withdrew from London's major venues, as he invariably ended up in disputes with management. Evidence would suggest that he was a remarkably bad businessman who did little to protect himself from disadvantageous business arrangements—though his autobiographical works place the blame elsewhere. Dibdin, though relatively prolific and extremely popular, battled poverty throughout his career.

After withdrawing from the patent theatres, Dibdin began crafting his own shows, weaving approximately thirty independent songs into 'table entertainments' (also known as 'monologue entertainments'). These works were essentially one-man vocal concerts—accompanied by a most extraordinary instrument that combined a pianoforte, a chamber organ, and percussion instruments—punctuated with readings and character impersonations. The first of these shows was *The Whim of the Moment, or, Nature in Little* (premiered 1788), for which he rented concert rooms; eventually, his entertainments became so successful that he founded the Sans Souci and then the New Sans Souci Theatres. Dibdin wrote approximately a thousand songs for Vauxhall, his comic operas, and his table entertainments. Those songs written for the pleasure gardens or his one-man shows were naturally well-suited to performance outside of a drama; but many of his theatre songs were too—some of his dramas were constructed around songs

he had written for other contexts.[266] Thus, his songs provided perfect fodder for broadsides.[267]

Dibdin received a rudimentary musical education. He thought very highly of his own musical proficiency and skill according to his autobiographical writings, but all evidence suggests that his understanding of music was basic. Even G.H. Davidson, in his hagiographical preface to Dibdin's complete works, admits that Dibdin 'left us no accompaniments to his songs at all commensurate with their merit'.[268] In Davidson's collection, every song was rearranged by the likes of George Hogarth, as Dibdin's harmonic skills were simply not satisfactory. Dibdin was competent to accompany himself on a keyboard instrument while singing, but the arrangement of his songs appears to have been improvised, or at least incidental to his performance. Fortunately, this did not hinder the impact of his songs because his talent was as a *melodist*: he was able to fluently write melodies that were memorable and appealing to audiences. More details on this will follow later, but suffice it to say that his work adapted well to the broadside trade because melody was what mattered on the street—harmony was practically irrelevant as this could not be propagated by street singers. Just as his lyrics could be successfully removed from their dramatic contexts, his melodies could be divorced from their harmonic settings without losing their essential musical value. In a

[266] One of Dibdin's famous comic operas, *The Waterman; Or, the First of August,* was composed of separate songs that were subsequently woven together into a plot, much as ABBA's songs were in the 'jukebox musical' *Mamma Mia!*

[267] It was not until 1810 that copyright legislation was expanded to include broadside publication. Even updated, the law only protected works from being attributed to their authors in print without permission. There is evidence that Charles Dibdin Sr addressed broadside piracy, but was advised against pursuing it. For more information, see Oskar Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British song, 1797-1822* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 25 and 93, and *London Ballad Singer.*

[268] G.H. Davidson, *The Songs of Charles Dibdin, Chronologically Arranged* (London: G.H. Davidson, 1848), vi.

strange way, his inability to provide substantial or musically-engaging harmonic accompaniments worked in his favour on the street.

Dibdin was extremely influential in his day not only because of the pleasing aesthetic of his melodies, but because he represented Britain in the way it wanted to define itself around the Napoleonic Wars. In fact, Henry Addington's government granted a stipend to Dibdin in gratitude for the popular patriotic songs he had written—and in eager expectation that he would produce more. The stipend is the only evidence I have found of government propaganda in ballad songs of this period—though the arrangement did not specifically target the broadside trade: the songs were printed in 1803-4 as *British War Songs* and were incorporated into an unsuccessful nationalist-themed entertainment called *Britons Strike Home* over the same period.[269] The influence of the government's propagandistic efforts in the broadside trade was indirect, and Dibdin's pension was granted only after his most popular patriotic songs were written; the stipend was also short-lived—quickly repealed by Grenville's administration.

To Dibdin, performance and composition were almost indistinguishable: he once wrote 'I have never written down my composition till they were wanted either for the printer or for the engraver'.[270] But references on existing broadsides indicate that he was known as an author first and a performer second. He created many dramatic works and his music was popular, thus his songs were sung by many. The presence of authorial references on broadsides is significant because they do away with the historic anonymity of authors in the tradition. These references also indicate an increased respect and value for artistic authorship, a trend which can be linked to the broader

[269] Jon A. Gillaspie, 'Dibdin, Charles'.
[270] Charles Dibdin Sr, *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin* (London: author, 1803), 104.

musical climate of the eighteenth century, in which composers like Haydn and Handel were gaining and exercising newfound commercial control over their works—and their professional reputations. Additionally, the inclusion of composer references in the broadside ballads provides further evidence that broadside purchasers were familiar not only with a *performer* of a song, but also with its staged *production*.

Authors and Composers

At the premiere of Charles Dibdin Sr's comic opera *The Wedding Ring* at Drury Lane in 1772, the audience rioted because they assumed that the wordbook of the opera had been written by Dibdin's frequent collaborator Isaac Bickerstaffe, who had been accused of sodomy a few months before. The audience would not settle until Dibdin himself took the stage to assure them that the lyrics as well as the music were in fact his own.[271] London's operatic scene was entirely commercial throughout the eighteenth century, and in this public climate, the identities of opera authors and composers was of keen interest to audiences—and with the rise of theatrical broadsides in street literature, it became of interest to broadside buyers, too. Artistic recognition was a double-edged sword: authors who conducted their careers in the public sphere gained personal recognition, but equally, their personal decisions had the potential to destroy their public image.[272] British law had an unusual approach to the relationship between authors and works in street literature: as Oskar Cox Jensen explains, British copyright law was extended to the realm of street literature in 1810 in reaction to rampant piracy

[271] George Hogarth, 'Memoir of Charles Dibdin' in *The Songs of Charles Dibdin,* xvi.
[272] See also David Kennerly, 'Loyalism, Celebrity, and the Politics of Personality: Dibdin in the 1790s' in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*, 79-93.

in the industry, but the law only prohibited the unauthorised use of authors' names, while the use of their works remained un-impinged.[273] The law was more interested in protecting the *image* of the author than the *works* of the author.

Despite the prohibition this law placed on the unauthorised use of authors' and composers' names, authorial attributions increased in London's street literature in the nineteenth century. Cheap print was increasingly engaging with other forms of literature and popular culture, and authorial attributions were crucial in advertising these connections to buyers. We have already discussed how a name could contextualise the performance of a theatrical or operatic work, but street literature was not only in conversation with the theatre: it was also engaged with contemporaneous poetry and social issues. In fact, theatre authors and composers were mentioned far less often in the broadsides than poets and issue writers: I have found that at least 200 broadsides include author/composer references in the Bodleian's Collections, but only 35 of these referenced authors that were associated with the stage.

Poets like Robbie Burns (1759–1796) were frequently mentioned in London's street literature—his name was referenced at least 51 times in the Bodleian Collections, in fact. Burns' produced ideal broadside fodder: he wrote in verse, engaged with Britain's national identity, mined Scotland's 'folk music', and indulged the country's fascination with dialect songs.[274] Burns was very well-known throughout Britain during his lifetime, securing the approval of both the leisure and non-leisure classes; his work proved to be almost universally appealing, much as Dibdin's was—and as Davidson

[273] Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*, 25.

[274] Robert Crawford, 'Burns, Robert (1759–1796)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: University Press, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine.

was keen to point out. Burns was not the only poet whose work appeared in street literature: Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) is mentioned at least nine times in London broadsides in the Bodleian's Collections, and Lord Byron (1788-1824) is referenced at least five. By the end of the nineteenth century, these poets were established as luminaries of Romantic poetry and literature, but in their own lifetimes, they were—if I may use the term— 'popular'. The presence of works by Byron and Scott in the broadsides indicates that street literature was both musical and non-musical at this time: as literacy increased in England, cheap literature diversified to meet the growing demand for printed materials.

An important subgenre of the broadside at this time was issue or reform literature. The name of Hannah More (1745-1833), the eighteenth-century writer, playwright, reformer, and philanthropist, appears a remarkable thirty-three times in the Bodleian's Collections. More was a friend of Samuel Johnson and a second-generation bluestocking who wrote novels and books on the education of women; later in her career, she turned to stage plays with some success. As a staunch evangelical Christian, More led a charge against the irreligiosity and excesses of her own class before turning to the 'working' classes. She and her sisters wrote 114 tracts, printed as 'Cheap Repository Tracts', attacking the atheism of republicanism and Tom Paine while extolling Christian virtues. These tracts were funded by subscription and widely distributed in Britain, as well as in the newly-formed United States, and in the

colonies.[275] The tracts joined the mass of cheap publications that flooded the streets of London at the end of the eighteenth century, but I have not found any of her theatrical works that were published in broadside form.

The theatre authors and composers that I have found explicitly referenced on the broadsides in the Bodleian's Collections may be found in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2:
Authors (playwrights and/or musical composers) explicitly named on editions in the Bodleian's Collections, alphabetically listed, with their attribution indicated, and with the number of editions on which they are named.[276]

Author	Attribution	Editions
Braham, John (1774–1856)	Composer	1
Carey, George Saville (1743–1807)	Playwright	1
Colman, George Jr (1762–1836)	Playwright	1
Dibdin, Charles (*bap.* 1745, *d.* 1814)	Composer/playwright	20
Dibdin, Charles Isaac (1768–1833)	Playwright	4
Dibdin, Thomas (1771–1841)	Playwright	4
Emery, John (1777-1822)	Composer	2
Shield, William (*bap.* 1748/9, *d.* 1829)	Composer	1
Furniss, H. (n.d.)	Unknown	1

The list is quite short, featuring only nine composers on thirty-five broadside editions, though I doubt that its brevity is the result of the copyright amendments of 1810—such laws meant little to printers with unregistered presses. Rather, I would suggest that it was the result of advertising choices: broadside purchasers were more likely to be able to link a song to a particular performer—either from the theatre or pleasure garden—than to an author. The exceptions to this rule would be those few cases in which the author's name was as widely known as that of popular performers. Though my research

[275] S. J. Skedd, 'More, Hannah (1745–1833),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: University Press, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine.

[276] These numbers should be taken as indications only of popularity, and are the *least* possible numbers of authorial references in the Bodleian's Collections (there may be more). Some broadsides are not sufficiently legible to read performer references, and sometime it is unclear whether the attribution is for performance or authorship.

has linked London broadsides with the works of at least forty-one theatre composers and fifty-eight playwrights, the nine 'authors' who are explicitly referenced in the ballads are of particular interest in this discussion, because they represent a group of theatre composers that must have been generally known by name, trade, and output to broadside buyers.

Unsurprisingly, explicit references to Charles Dibdin Sr outnumber that of any other composer or playwright by a factor of five (I have found 20 references to him as author or composer in the Bodleian's Collections). These authorial references to Dibdin cannot, however, be divorced from his performer references, discussed above: many of his songs were popularised—at least initially—by his own performance of them in the theatres or in his table entertainments, and therefore the line between author and performer is particularly blurry in his case. Looking down the list of named authors and composers in the theatrical broadsides, we find that the majority of them had in fact performed on stage as well as having written for it (Charles Dibdin Sr, Charles Didbin Jr, John Emery, George Saville Carey, and of course John Braham). But at this time, the distinction between the two roles was not always clear: singers often composed a tune to set a playwright's words, or adapted an existing tune from another composer. Though the concepts of authorship and composition were hardening culturally and legally in the eighteenth century, they were still relatively fluid in practice—at least in the theatre. And this distinction was even more hazy from the perspective of the street trade; as we will see, accuracy in citing plays, theatres, and people was not a priority to broadside printers, and the ballads do, as we might expect, include some inaccurate attributions. The authors listed above all enjoyed considerable success in their theatrical endeavours, though Furniss is an exception: we find that he wrote the words to a song called 'The

Drummer Boy', printed on three editions in the Bodleian's Collections. He is explicitly credited on one of them, but little else is known about him.[277]

More playwrights than composers were explicitly mentioned in street literature, and other contemporaneous printed materials would suggest that playwrights enjoyed higher profiles in the public sphere than composers did. In wordbooks, it was not uncommon for the name of the musical composer(s) to be omitted from the frontispiece. Oftentimes, the playwright pulled musical materials from a variety of composers and adapted them to suit the work, or the performers themselves adapted tunes for the songs. In many wordbooks and printed scores of the 1770s-1790s, composers' names were only noted next to individual tunes—or not at all. Practically, the wordbook seemed to be considered of greater value than the music. Therefore, the use of a composer's name to identify a work was unusual, and such references indicate that the composer in question enjoyed a remarkable public reputation. Charles Dibdin Sr was one of very few figures who achieved sufficient notoriety as a *composer* to have his name appended to theatrical broadsides (Braham and Emery were both primarily performers)—William Shield (*bap.* 1748/9, *d.* 1829) is the other such composer, and he will be discussed more later in this chapter.

Both of Charles Dibdin Sr's sons, Charles Isaac and Thomas John Mungo, made notable contributions to the stage. Though Dibdin Sr abandoned his family while the boys were still young—and consequently was not held in high personal regard by either—both sons followed in his professional footsteps as playwrights. Many of their works were performed on the London stage, and subsequently pirated by broadside sellers (I have

[277] See 'The Drummer Boy', Roud Number: V5753, on Firth c.14(302) and Harding B 15(89a) at the Bodleian Library.

found that songs from ten of Thomas's theatrical works and twelve of Charles Isaac's appear in the Bodleian's Collections). The Dibdins, estranged as they were, formed their own dynasty in British theatre—and their family name was indeed a draw-card on and off the stage.

Apart from the younger Dibdins, two playwrights are noted in the ballads. The first is George Colman Jr (1762–1836), the illegitimate son of George Colman Sr (*bap.* 1732, d. 1794), the playwright and manager of the Little Theatre on the Haymarket (from 1777). The elder Colman tried to make a lawyer out of his son, first sending him to Christ Church, Oxford, and then to Aberdeen, but to no avail: his son was bewitched by the theatre. The younger Colman showed considerable talent as a playwright, and five of his musical plays were pirated by broadside publishers, though his name only appears explicitly on one edition in the Bodleian's Collections, a copy of the Epilogue to the *Maid of Bristol* (printed 1803). The second playwright explicitly mentioned in the ballads is George Saville Carey (the son of Henry Carey) who is an odd addition to the list, for though he was a performer and active playwright, few if any of his plays were produced in the London theatres.[278] There is only one broadside edition that explicitly mentions the younger Carey, and I have been unable to link it to any work that was actually produced.

A listing of all the (identified) playwrights whose theatrical works were pirated by the broadside trade may be found below in Table 2.3.

[278] Jennett Humphreys, and K. D. Reynolds, 'Carey, George Saville (1743–1807)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: University Press, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine.

Table 2.3:
Playwrights whose works were reprinted as broadsides that appear in the Bodleian's Collections, listed alphabetically, with numbers of relevant theatrical works.

Playwright	Theatrical Works
Almar, George (n.d.)	1
Andrews, Miles Peter (1742–1814)	1
Arnold, Samuel James (1774–1852)	1
Balfe, Michael William (1808-1870)	1
Benson, Robert (n.d.)	1
Bickerstaffe, Isaac (*b.* 1733, *d.* after 1808)	2
Birch, Samuel (1757–1841)	1
Boaden, James (1762-1839)	1
Braham, John (1774-1856)	1
Brandon, Isaac (n.d.)	1
Brooke, Frances (*bap.* 1724, *d.* 1789)	1
Brown, Charles Armitage (1787–1842)	1
Carey, Henry (1687–1743)	1
Cherry, Andrew (1762–1812)	1
Cibber, Colley (1671–1757)	1
Cobb, James (1756–1818)	3
Coffey, Charles (*d.* 1745)	1
Colman, George Jr (1762–1836)	6
Cooke, Thomas (n.d.)	2
Cross, James Cartwright (n.d.)	4
Dibdin, Charles (*bap.* 1745, *d.* 1814)	15
Dibdin, Charles Isaac (1768–1833)	13
Dibdin, Thomas (1771–1841)	10
Dimond, William (*c.*1784–1837?)	2
Dudley, Sir Henry Bate (1745–1824)	1
Fielding, Henry (1707–1754)	3
Garrick, David (1717-1779)	2
Gay, John (1685-1732)	1
Hoare, Prince (1755–1834)	3
Holcroft, Thomas (1745-1809)	1
Hook, Harriet Horncastle (n.d.)	1
Hook, Theodore Edward (1788–1841)	1
Jackman, Isaac (1752?–1831)	1
Kemble, James (n.d.)	1
Kenney, James (1780–1849)	2
Knight, Thomas (*d.* 1820)	1
Lonsdale, Mark (n.d.)	1
Macnally, Leonard (1752–1820)	1
Mallet, David (n.d.) and James Thomson (n.d.)	1
Mendez, Moses (1690?–1758)	2

Milton, John (1608–1674)	1
Moncrieff, William Thomas (1794–1857)	1
Moore, Thomas (1663–1735)	1
Morton, Thomas (1764-1838)	1
O'Hara, Kane (1711/12–1782)	1
O'Keeffe, John (1747–1833)	11
Peake, Richard Brinsley (n1792-1847)	1
Pearce, William (n.d.)	1
Phillips, Edward (n.d.)	1
Pilon, Frederick (1750-1788)	2
Reynolds, Frederick (1764–1841)	1
Scawen, John (n.d.)	1
Serle, T.J. (n.d.)	1
Shakespeare, William (1664-1616)	2
Shakespeare, William (1664-1616); Milton, John (1608-1674); Dryden, John (1631-1700); Waller, Mr (n.d.); Lansdown, Mr (n.d.); Hammond, Mr (n.d.)	1
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751–1816)	3
Theobold, Lewis (n.d.)	1
Unknown	9

There are a few surprises in this list. Moses Mendez (1690?–1758) and Henry Carey (1687–1743) were writing very early in the eighteenth century for their work to be found on broadsides as late as the nineteenth century: this reflects the ongoing popularity of their theatrical works on the stage, but also the ongoing popularity of their songs in the English sound-scape. There is one playwright who is notable in his relative absence from the broadside literature: the Irishman Isaac Bickerstaffe (*b.* 1733, *d.* after 1808) was tremendously successful as a playwright in London—and prolific.[279] However, songs from only two of his theatrical works appear in broadside form, accounting for only fifteen editions in the collections. His tainted reputation for sodomy

[279] Kurt Gänzl, 'Bickerstaff, Isaac John (*b.* 1733, *d.* after 1808)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: University Press, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine.

may have had an effect on the popularity of his work on the streets as well as on the stage.

But of the fifty-eight playwrights whose works I have found reproduced as street songs of this period, there are only four composers whose works were poached with particular assiduity by ballad printers: the three Dibdins and John O'Keeffe.[280] John O'Keeffe (1747–1833) was a Dubliner who worked as an actor at Smock Alley. In 1777, he sent an afterpiece to Colman at the Haymarket, which was a success. After further long-distance dealings with Colman from Dublin, O'Keeffe left for London in 1781. He principally wrote comedies, collaborating with composers like William Shield at Covent Garden and Samuel Arnold at the Haymarket. Among his most popular productions were *The Castle of Andalusia* (premiered 1782), *The Poor Soldier* (premiered 1783), *The Farmer* (premiered 1787), *Love in a Camp, or, Patrick in Prussia* (premiered 1785), and *Sprigs of Laurel* (premiered 1793), all of which appeared in street literature.[281]

Charles Isaac Mungo Dibdin (1768–1833) we have of course already mentioned: he was apprenticed to a pawnbroker but entered the theatrical profession at the Royalty Theatre with his one-man show *Sans Six Souci* in 1797, which was a pun on the name of his father's theatre. He wrote for Philip Astley before becoming manager of Sadler's Wells in 1800. He wrote many pantomimes for Sadler's Wells and later bought shares in the theatre, along with his younger brother Thomas. The playwright Thomas Dibdin (1771-

[280] This number includes Dryden, Waller, Lansdown, and Hammond, subsidiary playwrights who were involved in adapting Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* of 1595/6 to *The Fairies* of 1769.

[281] Olive Baldwin, 'O'Keeffe, John (1747–1833)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: University Press, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine.

1841) was the second son of Charles Dibdin Sr, and the Godson of David Garrick, who by all reports, became particularly involved with the boys and their mother Harriet Pitt after their father abandoned the family. Because his mother wished to keep him from the family business, Thomas had been apprenticed to an upholsterer as a boy, but he ran away to join the stage. He did not assume the last name Dibdin—using instead his mother's name Pitt—until he was established as a playwright in London, perhaps because he wanted to make his own way in the industry away from the shadow of his errant father. Thomas worked at Covent Garden and Drury Lane at various points in his career, and in various capacities: as a scene painter, actor, manager, and playwright.[282] By the height of his career, he had eschewed performance for writing, which is where his talents lay. His success rivalled that of his father: he wrote comic operas and pantomimes that proved extremely popular on stage and street. His notable works include *The Naval Pillar* (premiered 1799), *Family Quarrels*, *The Cabinet*, and *The English Fleet, in 1342*.

In Table 2.4 below, the reader will find a list of composers whose theatrical songs were reprinted for the street.

Table 2.4:
Musical composers whose works were reprinted as broadsides that appear in the Bodleian's Collections, listed alphabetically, with numbers of associated theatrical works
(regarding theatrical works with more than one composer, the number of relevant songs credited to each composer are indicated in square brackets, when known).

Musical Composer(s)	Theatrical Works
Arne, Thomas (1710–1778)	7
Arne, Thomas [1]; Dibdin, Charles (*bap.* 1745, *d.* 1814)	1

[282] See Thomas John Dibdin, *The Reminiscences of Thomas Dibdin* (London: Colburn, 1827), and John Russell Stephens, 'Dibdin, Thomas John (1771–1841)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: University Press, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine.

Arnold, Samuel (1740–1802)	11
Arnold, Samuel; Bishop, Henry (1786–1855) [1]	1
Arnold, Samuel; King, Matthew Peter (*c.*1773–1823) [1]; Braham, John (1774–1856) [2; but uncredited on title page]	1
Attwood, Thomas (1765–1838)	5
Barthélemon, François-Hippolyte (1741-1808)	1
Bishop, Henry (1786-1855) [2]; Condell, Henry (*bap.* 1757, *d.* 1824); Davy, John (1763–1824); Reeve, William (1757–1815); Welsh, Thomas (1781–1848)	1
Bishop, Henry (1786–1855) [1]; Reeve, William (1757–1815)	1
Boyce, William (*bap.* 1711, *d.* 1779)	2
Braham, John (1774–1856)	1
Braham, John [4]; Corri, Domenico	1
Braham, John [2]; Moorehead, John (d. 1804); Reeve, William (1757–1815) [2]; Davy, John (1763–1824) [2; but uncredited on title page]	1
Braham, John [2]; Reeve, William [1]	1
Bunn, Alfred (1796-1860)	1
Burney, Charles (1726-1814)	1
Callcott, John Wall (1766–1821); Moorehead, John (n.d.) [1]; Leveridge, Richard (1670-1758)[1; but uncredited in score]	1
Carter, Charles Thomas (1735-1804)	1
Corri, Domenico (1746-1825)	1
Davy, John (1763–1824)	2
Dibdin, Charles (*bap.* 1745, *d.* 1814)	17
Galliard, John Ernest (1687-1749)	1
Gluck, Christoph Willibald (1714-1787); Reeve, William (1757–1815) [1]	1
Hook, James (1746-1827)	2
Horn, Charles (1786–1849)	1
Kelly, Michael (1762–1826)	3
Kelly, Michael [1]; Reeve, William [1]	1
King, Matthew Peter (*c.*1773–1823)	2
Leveridge, Richard [1]; Clarke, Jeremiah [1] (c. 1674-1707)	1
Linley, Thomas (1756-1778)	2
Mazzinghi, Joseph (1765–1844)	1
Moncrieff, William Thomas (1794-1857)	1
Moorehead, John (d. 1804)	1
Pepusch, Johann Christoph (1667-1752); Leveridge, Richard (1670-1758)	1
Reeve, William (1757–1815)	17
Reeve, William; Shield, William (*bap.* 1748/9, *d.* 1829); Dibdin, Charles (*bap.* 1745, *d.* 1814); Ware, William (n.d.); Sanderson, Mr (n.d.); Myers, Mr (n.d.)	1
Rodwell, George Herbert (1800–1852)	1
Shield, William (*bap.* 1748/9, *d.* 1829)	14

Storace, Stephen (1762–1796)	5
Storace, Stephen [probably 1]; Cherubini, Luigi (1760-1842)	1
Storace, Stephen; Mazzinghi, Joseph (1765–1844)	1
Ware, William (n.d.)	1
Whitaker, John (n.d.)	1
Woodward, Henry (n.d.); Oswald, James (1710-1769)	1
(Unknown)	15

As we see from the table above, the works of Charles Dibdin, Samuel Arnold, William Shield, and William Reeve proved especially popular in the street trade, according to existing editions in the Bodleian's Collections. The Dibdins have been discussed at length—and will be discussed further in the following chapter—but Samuel Arnold (1710–1778), William Shield (*bap.* 1748/9, *d.* 1829), and William Reeve (1757–1815) deserve some consideration. The composer Samuel Arnold (not to be confused with his son Samuel James Arnold, a theatre manager and playwright) was one of the great musical figures of his day, who was associated with the Little Theatre in the Haymarket from 1777 until 1802, producing a hundred operas and other musical entertainments, as well as very successful oratorios, which were staged at both the Haymarket and Covent Garden. He was the lease-holder of Marylebone Gardens from 1769 to 1774 and composed musical entertainments for that venue, particularly short comic operas. He wrote music for plays by O'Keeffe, Bickerstaffe, and Colman, but his talents were not limited to the theatre: during his career, he was organist at Westminster Abbey, conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music, and director of the Anacreontic Society. He was a master of the English comic opera and its characteristic ensemble forms, but he innovated and developed it, eventually introducing complex instrumental writing and overtures, and incorporating Italianate arias and quotations from composers like Haydn and Mozart. Like Mozart, Arnold used diverse compositional styles within his comic

operas, depending on the characters, using folk and folk-like idioms for comic characters and more sophisticated, continental styles for the leads.[283]

The composer William Shield was also noted for his use of folk tunes, and in fact published a collection of them with Joseph Ritson.[284] Like Arnold, Shield was a very well-respected musician: he was the son of a music teacher, and came to London as a violinist to join the King's Theatre. He was eventually invited to join the Society of Musicians and the King's Musicians. Shield wrote many pastiche operas, incorporating music from other composers, folk materials, and songbooks. But he was a capable composer and arranger in his own right, and his music proved very popular on the stage—and subsequently on the street. He was criticised for his use of folk materials and folk idioms in theatre music—particularly in the music he composed for the plays of John O'Keeffe, in which he incorporated a lot of Irish melodies. Shield was also known for writing music with unusual instrumentations and exotic sounds; for O'Keefe's opera *Omai* (score printed 1786), he incorporated conch shells and a sea shanty in the score.[285] Shield is one of the four theatre composers that I have found explicitly referenced in the Broadside Collections, though only on one edition. Arnold and Shield are interesting figures in the enmeshed history of stage music and street song because both showed a predilection for ballad-like airs and character songs (which adapted easily to street literature) while also demonstrating notable musical skill as

[283] Robert Hoskins, 'Arnold, Samuel', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (Oxford: University Press), and Philip H. Highfill, Jr, Kalman Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol. I, 122-6.

[284] See William Shield and Joseph Ritson, editors, *A Select Collection of English Songs* (London: authors, 1783), and *Scotish Songs* (London: authors, 1794).

[285] Linda Troost, 'Shield, William', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (Oxford: University Press).

composers and arrangers, capable of adopting continental forms and engaging with styles beyond English national traditions.

William Reeve (1757–1815) was an organist by training who started composing music for the minor theatres—particularly Astley's—from 1783. His more popular works from the minors were adopted by the patent theatres, notably *Don Juan,* which had premiered at the Royalty Theatre in 1787. He acted at the Haymarket from 1789-91 in minor roles, and subsequently received a contract as a composer to Covent Garden for one year when William Shield left that theatre for the 1791-2 season. He was a member of the Royal Society of Musicians from 1787 and was a long-term stakeholder in Sadler's Wells Theatre. He composed about 80 scores for that theatre, many of which were pantomimes.[286]

There are few surprises in the list of composers whose works appeared in street literature: most of those listed worked for at least one of the major theatres in London during his career. There is just one composer that might be a slightly surprising addition to the list: Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842), an Italian composer and favourite of Beethoven who established himself in Paris in the early nineteenth century, writing religious music and operas. He travelled to London twice in his career and staged operas at the King's Theatre Haymarket, but his operas were quite definitely continental. As an ex-patriate Italian living in France during an era of nationalism, Cherubini was criticised for lacking a distinct national flavour; and in any case, he was certainly not *English*. Nevertheless, John Philip Kemble's English production of his opera *Ladoiska* (premiered in Paris in 1791 and then at Covent Garden in 1794, with music arranged by

[286] Linda Troost, 'Reeve, William', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford: University Press).

Stephen Storace) proved to be sufficiently popular with English audiences to warrant pirating by the street trade. We have eight broadside editions of songs from this opera, five printed in London. Cherubini's opera was the prototype of *comédie héroïque* operas, which combine heroic action and comedy, spoken dialogue and fleshed-out arias, effectively merging the *tragédie lyrique* and *opéra comique* traditions.[287] The English had a predilection for swashbuckling comedies during and after the country's conflict with France, which might explain the popularity of this decidedly international opera among English broadside buyers.

As far as I have been able to discover, none of these composers or playwrights had any official connections with the broadside trade—none of the performers discussed above did either, for that matter. It is a curious relationship then that existed between the theatre and the street: without the remuneration of copyrights from broadside printers to authors, it would seem that the use of theatre materials in street literature was entirely parasitic: Charles Dibdin certainly thought so.[288] However, I would suggest that the production of theatrical broadsides may not have been entirely disadvantageous to the theatres in London. Street literature functioned as a type of 'unlicensed merchandise' for the theatres, feeding off the popularity of theatrical productions, but also contributing to it. Ironically, street literature that featured references to authors, composers, or performers may have been the most effective form of publicity for theatres among the non-leisure classes (who could not generally afford newspapers due to the Stamp Act of 1712). With the volume and circulation of street literature in

[287] Stephen C. Willis, 'Lodoïska', *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera,* Oxford Music Online (Oxford: University Press).

[288] See Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song,* 90.

London being what it was, the theatre could not have found a wider-spread form of free advertising.

Theatres

After the passing of the Licensing Act of 1737—a brainchild of the then-Prime Minister, Robert Walpole (1676-1745)—London was left with only two theatres that could legally produce spoken drama (as opposed to musical entertainments or operas). Covent Garden and Drury Lane operated under Royal Patents—which the Act did not affect—and therefore a duopoly was created between them when the Act forced smaller, non-patent theatres out of the market. In 1747, Samuel Foote purchased the lease of the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, and in 1767, reopened it as the Royal Theatre, Haymarket, having obtained a third Royal Patent for the production of drama between May and September. Until the breaking of the monopoly in 1843, the constituents of this theatrical triumvirate had only each other for competition—in theory; in reality, however, smaller theatres were gaining market-share long before this, peppering their entertainments with music to circumvent the licensing laws. An unintended corollary of the Act was that London enjoyed a growing repertory of musical entertainments: music grew in importance on the English stage through musical main-pieces from the minors and musical 'afterpieces' at the patent theatres from the late 1770s.[289] The proliferation of musical entertainments in London had an unexpected effect on the patent theatres'

[289] Michael Burden, 'Opera in Eighteenth-Century England: English Opera, Masques, Ballad Operas', in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 202-213, here 204.

main-pieces, too: though they retained the exclusive right to produce spoken drama in the city, they became increasingly involved in comic operas as well.[290]

Table 2.5:
Numbers of theatrical works with songs appearing in the Bodleian Collections, by London producing theatre and in descending order (including subsequent productions of the same work at a different theatre, when known).

Theatre	Theatrical works printed as broadsides in the Bodleian's Collections
Covent Garden	50
Drury Lane	49
Haymarket (Little Theatre)	33
Sadler's Wells	19
Lyceum / English Opera House (1816-1830)	5
Royal Circus / Surrey Theatre (after 1816)	4
Lincoln's Inns Fields	1
Sans Souci	1
Adelphi	1

Interestingly, in Table 2.5 above, we find that songs from the patent theatres were poached by the broadside trade with far greater frequency than those of any of the minors. In fact, only six minors feature in the table: Sadler's Wells, the Lyceum, the Royal Circus (later the Surrey Theatre), Lincoln's Inns Fields, the Sans Souci, and the Adelphi.[291] There are several possible reasons why works from the patent theatres may have proved more popular in street literature than those of the minors. One might be an issue of capital: the patent theatres had an advantage over the minors in having the

[290] For more information on the role of music in the English theatre during the early-nineteenth century, see Christina Fuhrmann, 'Between Opera and Musical: Theatre Music in Early Nineteenth-Century London', in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Musical*, ed. Robert Gordon, Olaf Jubin, and Christina Fuhrmann (Oxford: University Press, 2017).

[291] The minor theatres were non-patent theatres that had often grown out of pleasure-garden venues, as happened at Sadler's Wells.

capital to afford the most popular performers, playwrights and composers of the day (this issue was touched upon earlier). Another reason could be relative seating capacities. In 1760, Covent Garden seated 2,180; by 1782, it had been expanded to a capacity of 2,500 people, and Henry Holland's renovations in 1792 pushed this to more than three thousand.[292] At Drury Lane, Garrick's remodelling brought the seating to 1,800, and by 1794, it was nearly four thousand. The patent theatres were designed to seat a range of social classes simultaneously and the seating was segregated and priced accordingly, with the upper classes in the boxes, the middle classes in the pit and the lower classes in the galleries. Like the pleasure gardens, the large patent theatres became venues for a wide cross-section of English society.[293] The audience make-up was not the same from one performance to the next—concerts were usually priced more highly than theatre performances, for example—but huge auditoriums had to be filled for the theatres to remain profitable and the seating design was not easily changed. Theatre managers made attempts to redesign their playhouses so that the lower classes of audience member need not be relied upon to fill the space—but their attempts were often notorious failures. After the Covent Garden fire of 1808, manager John Philip Kemble rebuilt the theatre, increasing the price of tickets in the pit from 3 shillings 6 to 4 shillings, and—to the public's dismay—converting the public tier into private boxes. His plan was to increase revenues to cover the rebuild, but this was not a satisfactory solution to audience members, who were outraged that there were no longer cheap tickets available. The result was the colourful—and at times violent—Old Price Riots,

[292] Madeline Smith Atkins, *The Beggar's 'Children': How John Gay Changed the Course of England's Musical Theatre* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006), 9 and Hugh Cunningham, *Time, Work and Leisure: Life Changes in England Since 1700* (Manchester: University Press, 2014), 82.

[293] See Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians: 1750-1850* (Cambridge: University Press, 2001), 53 and Cunningham, 7-8: 'Handel was reported to be popular among northern factory audiences as early as 1788'.

which lasted from the theatre's reopening in September 1809 until December of that year, and only concluding when an apology from Kemble himself was issued to the public.[294] Riots at the theatre were not infrequent, but 1809 audiences proved particularly immovable on the issue: the London public would not be denied its theatre. Deborah Rohr has questioned whether the patent theatres were truly affordable to the non-leisure classes even before the ticket price rose.[295] Street literature, however, would suggest that the non-leisure classes did interact meaningfully with staged entertainments, either personally by attending performances, or vicariously through other audience members' experiences and through the purchasing of theatre-related broadsides.

Comparing the number of productions at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in the table above, we find that the discrepancy between the two is very small: I would have expected it to be larger—favouring Covent Garden—for two reasons. The first is related to competition: Drury Lane was rebuilt twice in twenty years, initially from 1791-1794 while Sheridan expanded the theatre into a much larger—but thoroughly impractical—venue, and then again from 1809 to 1812 after a fire burnt it to the ground, leaving Sheridan bankrupt. With the Drury Lane Theatre out of commission from 24th February 1809 till October 10, 1812, Covent Garden enjoyed less competition (though of course Covent Garden itself was rebuilt once during this period). Another reason for expecting a greater discrepancy would be the performance biases of the two patent theatres: in the

[294] The Old Price Riots were briefly revived in 1810-11, prompting Kemble to remove even more boxes from Covent Garden. The Riots were politically complex and did not just include the non-leisure classes. The riots were provoked by the increased prices, but they were also a reaction to continental drama, continental singers, the alleged bastardisation of pure 'English' drama, and a perceived assault on English national identity. For more, see Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), particularly 48-79.

[295] Rohr, 53.

later-eighteenth century, Covent Garden developed something of a speciality in musical productions, associated as it was with the playwright John O'Keeffe and his musical collaborators, Charles Dibdin and William Shield.[296] Nevertheless, the two theatres remain almost equal in their presence in the broadside press—considerably outnumbering all other London theatres—suggesting that the location of the theatre in question was the determining factor in its representation in the broadside trade.

The strong presence of theatrical songs from Covent Garden and Drury Lane in the broadsides does not necessarily mean that they were the only theatres attended by the working classes, or even necessarily the most popular venues among potential broadside customers. It may be that a high proportion of songs from these theatrical venues *happened* to get printed because Seven Dials broadside printers could easily source them and/or because their local foot traffic included a high proportion of people who had themselves attended performances (or who knew of the performances being offered because they were in the neighbourhood). The proximity of the major broadside presses to the patent theatres could have meant that the productions of these theatres were emphasised in the ballads over those of the minors. Covent Garden Theatre was situated adjacent to the Covent Garden Market, which had been in existence since before 1670, when the Duke of Bedford received a license to hold a fruit and vegetable market on his land. The market was a centre of life in the West End throughout the Georgian and Victorian eras: it was a place where costermongers pedalled a dizzying array of wares, prostitutes plied their trade, flower girls sold their bunches, street urchins roamed, and

[296] After Alfred Bunn (1796–1860) took the leases on both Drury Lane and Covent Garden (in 1830 then 1833, respectively), he adjusted the offerings of the two theatres to limit competition between them. He decided that opera and ballet would be the speciality of Covent Garden—interestingly, this focus was retained when the theatre eventually became the Royal Opera House in 1892—and spoken theatre the speciality of Drury Lane. His decision to assign specific genres to the theatres was not arbitrary: it was in keeping with each house's already-established traditions.

where pickpocketing and crime was a constant problem. Geographically, the Seven Dials was a continuation of the market and its culture, located a five minutes' walk away from both Covent Garden Market and Theatre, and a seven-minute walk from Drury Lane Theatre (by current estimations). The Little Theatre in the Haymarket—like most of the minor theatres—was further from the market and the Seven Dials' presses than either Covent Garden or Drury Lane. Its location—and the fact that the theatre only operated in the summer months—may explain why the theatrical works of the Haymarket were the least well-represented in the broadside literature of the three patent theatres.[297]

This again brings up two crucial issues about the intersection of the theatre and the broadside in London: 1) the sound-world of London, and 2) the importance of oral transmission for broadside tunes. Surviving street literature indicates that the popularity of a song on the street was heavily influenced by geography, but how did this transmission actually occur? It could have happened through audience members themselves: people emerged from the theatre still humming tunes from the opera and the songs were then passed on to friends or overheard through re-performance. Audience members were themselves potential customers for broadside ballads (which would act as souvenirs of the performance), but they also created further demand among those who did *not* attend the performance through word-of-mouth. But theatre songs could have been 'pushed' by printers as well as 'pulled' by customers. According to Charles Mathews's testimony in front of a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, booksellers would sometimes send shorthand writers into the theatres to notate

[297] See William J. Burling, *Summer Theatre in London, 1661-1820, and the Rise of the Haymarket Theatre* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2000), 76-82.

popular productions; this method was likely used by broadside printers as well, especially by the successful, larger-scale operations in the Seven Dials, like Catnach's press.[298] Broadside customers did not *have* to be familiar with songs from the stage to want to buy them: after all, the typical, non-theatrical broadside of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was newly-composed and therefore unknown to its audience until the broadside sellers performed it. Theatre songs may have appeared in broadside form simply because the theatre was a convenient 'poaching ground' for new songs by the broadside press. Yet, if broadside printers had to pay for transcribers to note down tunes in the playhouses, the financial benefit of 'pirating' songs rather than simply commissioning them would be reduced, or even reversed. The theatrical associations of the songs were no doubt attractive to some buyers in and of themselves, as discussed above: many ballads advertised their associations with particular stage performers, theatres or productions. That said, the majority of theatrical broadsides I have found do not in fact indicate that they were from the theatre; thus, the association would be lost to all but those who were *familiar with the song already*. This leads me to ask: given the potential economic implications of actively pirating theatre songs, would broadside printers bother with them if there was not a corresponding 'pull' to their marketing 'push'? I would argue that the demand of customers in and around the theatres played a crucial part in determining what the broadside printers produced. Printing theatre songs would be a safe bet indeed for printers if potential customers had already determined the songs they liked from a new production and were on the street humming them. I believe the presence of theatre songs in broadside literature was most

[298] See Ann Mathews and Charles Mathews, *Memoirs of Charles Mathews Comedian, vol. 4*, (London: Bentley, 1839), 'Appendix A' on 472-89, particularly 481. Reproducing a play was legal if done from memory, but not from notes. See Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book, 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 78-9.

likely the result of *both* active piracy of theatrical works by broadside printers and customer demand.

Genre

As noted in the Introduction, the 521 theatrical works that were examined in the course of this project were from a variety of genres. Based on initial findings, I suggested that the majority of theatrical material that was printed in broadside form originated in English comic operas—a hypothesis that largely proved true; but the genre of 'comic opera' in England is not easy to define. English opera evolved rapidly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: variation was a theme rather than an exception. Even defining what 'opera' was in England proves a challenge: according to Michael Burden, 'the central truth of English opera in the eighteenth century – as opposed to opera in England during the same period – is that the genre is not recognizable to those contemporary scholars and aficionados who believe that only all-sung dramatic works can be thus described.'[299]

English composers were historically indifferent to recitative, or sung dialogue. After Davenant's prototypical English opera *The Siege of Rhodes* (premiered 1656), the next notable development in England's operatic tradition happened in the hands of Henry Purcell, who wrote the all-sung chamber opera *Dido and Aeneas,* premiered in 1689. This was his only all-sung opera, however: his other theatrical works were in the 'semi-opera' form (that is, they included spoken dialogue). From Purcell's day on, the all-sung musical entertainment was the exception rather than the rule in England. The most

[299] Michael Burden, 'Opera in Eighteenth-Century England', here 202.

successful all-sung English opera of the eighteenth century was Arne's *Artaxerxes* (premiered 1762), considered to be the first English *opera seria* and based on the libretto by Metastasio; but the form of this all-sung music drama was not widely imitated in England.[300] English audiences were never fully persuaded of the merits of it: the English language was considered less inherently musical than Italian and the stilted results of English recitative did not prove widely appealing. And as Roger Fiske observes, the silliness of opera plots was emphasised if the drama was in one's own tongue.[301] Interestingly, *Artaxerxes*, despite its wide popularity and frequent performance, did not feature in the broadsides: it was perhaps too bizarre for audience members who were unfamiliar with the conventions of Continental opera. The broadside trade drew songs almost exclusively from entertainments that included spoken dialogue.

But the task of defining English opera is further complicated by London's unique licensing laws, which required all venues, save the patent theatres, to include music or other special effects in their dramatic productions. The result of this was a proliferation of musical genres on the English stage that are difficult to define and distinguish. Playwrights and printers had no standard nomenclature for musical entertainments and so contemporaneous wordbooks and scores identify these musical dramas by a dizzying variety of terms. Some describe works by dramatic genre ('tragedy, 'comedy'), by function ('intermezzo', 'introduction', or 'afterpiece'), by moral ('loyal divertissement'), or by special effect ('grand aquatic drama', 'naval and military

[300] Arne himself introduced spoken dialogue into his popular masques *Comus* and *Alfred*, though masques did not usually include spoken dialogue. See Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 173.

[301] Fiske, *English Theatre Music,* 142 and 145.

spectacle', or 'Scotch ballet of action'). There are also a host of curious descriptors that leave the reader little the wiser as to the work's genre ('dramatic fable', 'fairy opera', 'grand ballet pantomime of action', or the ironic 'tragi-comi-operatic-pastoral farce'). For the sake of accuracy, I have listed the 'genres' as they were published in contemporaneous print editions in Appendix A, but I will subvert these descriptors in the discussion below. My own generic classification of these works can be found in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6:
Genres of theatrical works whose songs were reprinted in broadsides in the Bodleian's collections, with numbers of theatrical works for each, in descending order
(as classified by the author).

Comic opera	90
Opera	16
Pantomime	14
Ballad opera	6
Variety/table entertainment	5
Masque	2
(Unknown - no existing wordbooks)	2
TOTAL	135

Ballad opera has proven one of the most difficult genres to place in relation to this project: it was the most famous intersection of stage and street music in the eighteenth century, but by definition, it sits somewhat outside of the scope of this topic. Ballad opera is based on a musical transfusion from the street (or the contemporaneous popular sound-world, to be more accurate) to the stage: the movement of musical materials is thus in a direction exactly opposite to that which this project attempts to gauge. Of course, ballad operas nearly always provided new lyrics to popular songs, and so connections *can* be made from the stage back to the street through the examination of wordbooks and broadsides. But this project is interested in the *music* that migrated from

the theatres to the streets: the popular tunes of ballad operas—even with new lyrics—are themselves only street songs, twice removed.

True ballad opera predates—by nearly fifty years—the ballads with which this project is concerned; nevertheless, the influence of the genre was profound in English culture and of course in the development of later English operas. Though I have not focused particularly on the genre of ballad opera in this project for the reasons outlined above, in the course of research, I examined ballad operas from both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I found only a handful that featured on the streets: John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (premiered 1728), Charles Coffey's *The Devil to Pay* (premiered 1731), Henry Carey's 'ballad farce' *The Honest Yorkshireman* (premiered 1734), Henry Fielding's 'opera' *Don Quixote in England* (also premiered 1734) and 'comedy' *The Wedding Day* (premiered 1743), and William Thomas Moncrieff's 'comic opera' *Giovanni in London: or the Libertine* (premiered 1817). The first and second of these were the major hits of ballad opera and survived the decline of the genre after the 1730s; the third was by Henry Carey, whose works are also associated with the heyday of the ballad opera genre; the fourth and fifth were written by the literary author and dramatist Fielding, known—like John Gay—for his use of satire; the sixth and last was written nearly a hundred years after Gay's prototypical ballad opera was produced, including songs set to popular tunes by Moncrieff. There are two other works identified as 'ballad operas' in print: *The Waterman* (premiered 1774) and *The Broken Gold* (score printed 1806), both by Charles Dibdin. However, neither one is in fact a ballad opera in the generic sense. Though they use ballad-like melodies, the music for both was composed by Dibdin himself. According to Roger Fiske and Irena Cholij, the music for *The*

Waterman may have been composed of various songs he had originally written for Ranelagh.[302]

From the 1760s, both Covent Garden and Drury Lane became more musical under the management of John Beard and David Garrick, respectively; as the minor theatres had been forced, for most of the eighteenth century, to include music in all their entertainments, musical dramas had become popular with audiences.[303] The playhouses began producing English operas, English comic operas, and pantomimes, as well as masques (originally a genre of court performance) and pastorals. English opera was, in almost all its iterations, comic; however, there were more serious native 'operas' with spoken dialogue on offer too. In Appendix A, we will find that nine theatrical works associated with broadside literature are identified as 'operas'; some of these include comedic elements, but are not predominantly comic in nature. As shown in my own classification of these works in Table 2.6 above, I have found that in fact 16 theatrical works could be described as 'operas', including works of a non-comic nature that identify as 'musical dramas', 'melodramas', and 'historical plays'. Two of these more serious 'operas' stand out because of their popularity on the street: George Colman Jr's *The Surrender of Calais* (premiered 1791) and *Kais* (premiered 1808), with a wordbook by Brandon Isaac.[304] Both were reasonably successful on the stage and survived for subsequent London seasons, but they are not the usual comic fare of English opera—or of the broadside ballad. The presence of songs from these operas in the street literature might challenge our assumptions about the theatrical works with which broadside

[302] Roger Fiske and Irena Cholij, 'Dibdin, Charles', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (Oxford: University Press).

[303] Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music,* 205.

[304] Though identified as a 'comic opera', George Colman Jr's *The Mountaineers* (1794) could possibly be grouped with these curiously in-between 'operas' as well: it begins with a serious plot trajectory, lands in a bed of flowers, and lacks sufficient humour to aid the journey.

customers engaged. However, as will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, these songs may not have come to the street directly from their original operatic settings: they were popular as concert repertory and some were even reused in subsequent comic operas.

The term 'comic opera' was employed in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries to describe a full-length music drama for the English stage; these were dialogue-heavy comedies interspersed with music—often a blend of recycled and newly-composed songs. [305] They included ensemble casts, love triangles, disguises, deceptions, class interactions, comic servants, noble-hearted patriots, and hapless villains; all of these features will be discussed further in the next chapter. As we can see from Appendix A, works explicitly identified as 'comic operas' formed the majority of the theatrical works that were pirated by the street trade (47), but 'musical entertainments' were significant contributors as well (16). The theatrical works that fall into this category are largely akin to comic operas. 'Musical entertainments' were featured on the stages of the patent theatres along with comic operas, but were so named because they were shorter than a full opera (usually two acts or less), and were often performed as an afterpiece at the end of a full-length work; traditionally, audience members could come late and pay half-price to see them. Consequently, these 'musical entertainments' were some of the most affordable theatrical works available, and therefore, they were all the more likely to be viewed by broadside customers. The term 'musical entertainment' was also used, variously, to describe staged entertainments shown at the minor theatres (strategically emphasising the drama's musical nature) or dramas written for the pleasure gardens. The materials from musical entertainments were well suited for adaptation to the street and the best-respected English composers of

[305] Fiske, *English Theatre Music,* 171.

the day wrote for this shorter operatic form, including Charles Dibdin Sr, William Reeve, Thomas Arne, and Stephen Storace. In my own generic classifications in Table 2.6 above, I have grouped most 'musical entertainments' with 'comic operas', as the content of the two groups of theatrical works was nearly identical, though the latter was usually on a smaller scale.

One type of entertainment that I have parsed out from the broader 'comic opera' genre is the monologue or 'table entertainments' of Dibdin Sr, as well as the variety and one-man shows that he put on at the Lyceum, the Royal Circus (later known as the Surrey Theatre), and the Sans Souci. These entertainments were hybrids between concerts and operas: they do not exist as wordbooks but as a series of songs that Dibdin tied together with patter and dialogue. These entertainments provided Charles Dibdin Sr with another opportunity to air his character songs and display his talent for dialects after he had retired from the patent theatres. They did not have a unified dramatic, but the music we find in them was very similar to that of the comic opera. The music from five such entertainments can be found in the Bodleian's Collections.

The pantomime—which reached a zenith of popularity at John Rich's Covent Garden (from 1732-1761)—remained a regular on the theatre stage throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, becoming a particular feature of the Royal Circus (later the Surrey Theatre under Thomas Dibdin). Sixty-two pantomimes were reviewed for this project and fourteen of them appear in the ballads (as I have classified them in Table 2.6). These pantomimes featured the traditional characters from Italy's *commedia dell'arte* tradition (namely Harlequin, his love Columbine, her father Pantaloon and his servant Pierrot, as well as the clown, famously associated with Joseph Grimaldi of Covent Garden). The pantomime of the modern day, reappearing yearly in the

Christmas season, bears little similarity to the eighteenth- or nineteenth-century form, and rarely features the *commedia dell'arte* stock characters that defined the genre in earlier years. Many pantomimes of this era featured Harlequin's name in the title (resulting in the more specific term 'Harlequinade' for these entertainments). Pantomimes were sufficiently popular that composers of comic operas and other longer, more complex theatrical works also wrote for this genre.[306] However, they are not well-represented in the broadsides given their popularity on the stage, but then pantomime scores were largely instrumental, forming a musical backdrop for onstage action; depending on the work, songs could be in the minority of musical material for these entertainments.

Masques, which had originated as court entertainments, taking root in England under Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, were popularised on the public stage in the eighteenth century, with Handel and John Gay's *Acis and Galatea* (premiered 1718), and Arne's *Comus* (premiered 1738) and *Alfred* (premiered 1740). In its play-house iteration, the English masque would be a classical mythological drama that was all-sung but only half-length, with a plot that aggrandised the monarchy. The closely-related pastoral genre was also classical in setting (usually taking place in Arcadia) but featured invented rather than mythological characters. By the 1780s, these genres had faded in favour of theatrical works that were more openly comic, realistic, relatable, and modern (i.e. English comic operas and similar genres). Surprisingly, the two banner-bearers of this eighteenth-century tradition, *Alfred* and *Comus*—both by Arne—do feature in the broadsides. But then, once in the popular sound-world, a theatrical song could remain a cultural favourite long after its 'parent' theatrical work had been produced on the stage.

[306] Fiske, *English Theatre Music,* 67.

'Rule Britannia!' from *Alfred* experienced this 'second life', acquiring great cultural significance apart from its original dramatic setting.

Broadside Printers

There are significant trends to be explored concerning theatrical broadsides and broadside printers: just as certain theatres were more likely than others to be the 'poaching ground' of the broadside trade, certain printers were more likely than others to engage in such poaching.

Table 2.7:
Numbers of broadside editions from theatrical works in the Bodleian's Collections, listed by London printer active 1797-1844, in descending order.

London Broadside Printer[307]	Editions
Pitts, John (active 1797-1844)	188
Catnach, James (active 1813-1841)	73
Evans, John, Thomas, and C. (active 1789-1828)	35
Jennings, G. (active 1792-1809)	26
Birt, Thomas (active 1828-1851)	23
Batchelor (or Batchelar), Thomas and Ann (active 1828-1842)	12
Paul, J. and C. (active 1841-1847)	7
Pigott, G. (active 1803-1830)	6
Neesom, C. (active c. 1800-1855)	5
Taylor, Henry and W. (active c. 1810-1836)	5
Laurie and Whittle (active 1800-1825)	4
Fores, W., G.W., and S.W. (active 1790s till 1830s)	2
Hodgson, Oliver (active c. 1840s)	2
Sheppard, C. (active 1785; also overprinted by Pitts)	2

[307] For more information on the history of broadside printers, please see Robert Stark Thomson, 'Publisher's Introduction: Madden Ballads from Cambridge University Library', Gale Microform Guides (n.d.), and 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and Its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs' (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1974).

Bowley, M. (active c. 1790)	1
Hill, J. (active 1836-7; overprints of Taylor)	1
Hillat and Martin (active first half of 19th century)	1
Marshall (active 1790s)	1
Thompson, G. (active from 1789 to 1820)	1

As we see in Table 2.7 above, broadside printers engaged with theatre music to greatly varying degrees. The Seven Dials printer John Pitts, for example, has well over twice as many songs from the theatre in these collections as any other printer. Why was there such a variation in theatrical engagement between printers, and what does this say about individual printers' relationships with the theatres and the theatrical profession?

Like most broadside printers, John Pitts (ca. 1797-1844) was part of a long tradition of broadside printing. As Robert Stark Thomson showed in his landmark thesis in 1974 ('The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs'), most notable London broadside printers can be traced back to the original ballad patentee, Richard Jones, who entered 123 ballads onto the books of the Stationer's Company in 1586 (the relationship between the broadside press and the Stationer's Company became notoriously irregular thereafter). Pitts was in a distinguished broadside lineage, having been apprenticed to John Marshall at the Marshall Press in Aldermary Churchyard (active 1762-ca. 1795). He was also associated, in his early years, with the great Dicey Press of Bow Churchyard (active c. 1715-1792).[308] John Pitts himself was the son of a baker (his father), and after his apprenticeship at the Marshall Press (starting sometime before 1790), he set up his own press in 1797 in Great St Andrew's Street, Seven Dials. He had two addresses there

[308] Robert Stark Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', 38-9.

during his printing career, and there is some confusion about which he was at first: according to the print historian Gordon A.H. Brown, he was at No. 14 until 1819 before moving to No. 6.[309] Pitts firmly established himself in the Seven Dials in the early years of the nineteenth century with a little help from his friends: he was known for his great rivalry with James Catnach later in his career, but in his early years, he received support from George Jennings—who printed broadsides for him—as well as from the Marshall family.[310]

At the time that Pitts set up his press, the Dicey and Marshall families were well established in the London trade, as was the Evans family of Long Lane, West Smithfield, which variously issued broadsides from No. 42 and No. 79. Pitts was of a new generation, however, with his own views on what would appeal to the public in street literature—and he was proved right. He saw the broadside trade reach an all-time high in the nineteenth century, and was instrumental in renewing its popularity. A wide variety of materials can be found in Pitts' sheets, but foundational to his output were character ballads—songs that described characters rather than events—much like the material from Dibdin's one-man shows, for example. These ballads did not exclude action, but they contrasted sharply in focus from the objective, narrative style of earlier broadsides, and were important to the 'new' style of broadside that was popularised during Pitts' tenure in London. In the late-eighteenth century, slip ballads proliferated, and this form of street literature was best suited to songs that were in clearly-defined repetitive structures (i.e. in strophic form) with a limited number of verses. Some

[309] See Philip A.H. Brown, *London Publishers and Printers, c. 1800-1870* (London: British Library, 1982), 151, and also Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', 141.

[310] Both Catnach and Pitts bought stock from other printers throughout their careers, sometimes 'overprinting' their names onto them before sale. This allowed them to offer a broader selection of titles without overburdening their own presses. See Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', 131.

existing slip ballads feature long, dense columns of text, but the style of ballads at this time tended to be pithier, and songs with just four or five verses were preferred. This structure allowed for something of a storyline to develop within the song, but the ballad remained chiefly descriptive and character-orientated.

Pitts liked the character ballad, and so did his customers.[311] In the late-eighteenth century, many of his ballads—even those that cannot be directly traced back to the stage or the pleasure garden—were written in this mould. Pitt's character songs focused on patriotic figures: Jack Tar and John Bull feature prominently in existing collections, as do soldiers.[312] Consequently, Pitts has been classified as one of the more 'propagandist' broadside printers of his day by Oskar Cox Jensen.[313] His material was certainly quite nationalistic and patriotic, but propaganda implies government involvement, and evidence of wide-scale propaganda in street songs has not been found to date. Pitts himself had personal ties outside of London, and often reprinted songs from his native East Anglia—this possibly contributed to the 'folksy' flavour of his output.[314] Pitts demonstrated definite tastes in the ballads he printed, and they did not seem to change significantly during his career. Broadside printers functioned as editors, and their personal tastes and marketing approaches significantly affected the material they

[311] London audiences were fascinated by the performance of character songs in the pleasure gardens—particularly those that were sung about lower-class characters, with assumed mannerisms and dialects.

[312] The characters in these patriotic and character-style ballads mirrored theatrical conventions established earlier in the century by the likes of Henry Carey: for example, Dibdin's characterization of Jack Tar was arguably an extension and elaboration of the 'Heart of Oak' character, as identified and defined by Harold F. Watson in *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama, 1550-1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 3. See also Terrence M. Freeman, *Dramatic Representations of British Soldiers and Sailors on the London Stage, 1660-1800: Britons Strike Home* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen, 1995).

[313] Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song, 1797-1822*, 85.

[314] Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', 144.

produced. Pitts never eschewed the character ballad, even when Catnach and other more innovative printers had moved on to other things.

It should not be surprising then, that at least 188 editions of Pitts' theatrical songs appear in the Bodleian's Collections. The theatre provided a steady source of the character-based materials that he was fond of publishing. That is not to say that all of Pitts broadsides—or even a significant minority of them—were directly from the stage. The Bodleian holds 1,837 Pitts editions; many of these were by 'street bards', or poets hired by Pitts to write songs for his press. The sourcing of non-theatrical content appeared to be multifarious; according to Charles Hindley, Pitts had a strict rule that his in-house poets were not to sell their material to his competitor Catnach, and yet Hindley also notes a compelling group of anonymous poets called the 'seven bards of the Dials' who were apparently skilled enough at their art that they could freelance between printers, selling their materials to both Seven Dials giants.[315] Nevertheless, Pitts' tastes in bought or commissioned songs were influenced by theatrical traditions.

James Catnach (active 1813-1841) established his press at 2 Monmouth Court, Seven Dials, more than 15 years after Pitts did his, but he quickly made up for lost time. Catnach was an altogether different character from Pitts: he was continually innovating and his business prowess left him a comparatively wealthy man. He is variously described as ruthless, generous, and eccentric; for the most comprehensive description of James Catnach, I refer the reader to Hindley's two books on the topic.[316] Catnach's

[315] Charles Hindley, *Curiosities of Street Literature (1871)* (Cambridge: University Press, 2012), 'Introduction', i, and *The History of the Catnach Press, at Berwick-Upon-Tweed, Alnwick and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, in Northumberland, and Seven Dials, London (1886)* (Cambridge: University Press, 2009), 40.

[316] See Charles Hindley, *Life and Times of James Catnatch, Late of Seven Dials, Ballad Monger* (1878) (Cambridge: University Press, 2011), and *The History of the Catnach Press*.

personal influence on the trade was immense. Like Pitts, he had personal preferences that moulded his output. If Pitts' tastes could be said to have run to the theatrical, Catnach's ran to the visual and poetic. His father John had a particular interest in illustrations and acquired a collection of woodcuts by Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) while trading in Alnwick; James inherited his father's eye for illustration and both he and his sister Ann Ryle—who eventually took over the Catnach press with her husband—dabbled in carving woodcut illustrations for their sheets.[317] Catnach also had a great fondness for poetry, particularly Scottish poetry by the likes of Robbie Burns—the Bodleian alone has eighteen Catnach editions of Burns' poetry.

Ultimately though, Catnach was a businessman, and he is best-known for his use of sensationalism to sell stock. Along with poetry and songs, Catnach sold a lot of 'reading ballads' that were (supposedly) news-based and usually lurid. He specialised in gallows literature, including confessions from the condemned, and reports of hangings—some of which were published before the accused had actually met their ends. He was also famous for selling ballads with misleading titles, which were called 'catch-pennies'. He would fabricate stories, and was in fact taken to court on charges of libel for printing a sensational ballad about a sausage-maker.[318] As we see from the table above, theatre songs did feature in Catnach's ballads, but there are far fewer theatrical broadsides by Catnach in the Bodleian's Collections than there are by Pitts.

[317] Several broadsides by Catnach and other broadside printers based in the north (namely W. Jackson of Birmingham and Fordyce of Newcastle) used woodcuts by Bewick, or woodcuts based on engravings by him. A good example of this would be Harding B 7(6), which features a woodcut that is based on an engraving by Bewick, according to *Ballads Online.* It is possible Catnach or his sister made this imitation themselves, though Catnach also bought woodcuts from other printers to use for his broadsides. See Hindley, *The History of the Catnatch Press*, 9.

[318] Ibid., 42.

Collection is a crucial issue that must be considered when evaluating these figures—as with all the trends discussed in this chapter. Broadside collectors were effectively filters through which all we know about broadsides must pass. The collections are consciously or unconsciously curated, as even the most objective collector will have biases and methodologies that shape their collection as a whole; this project has examined the Bodleian's broadside collection because it is itself an amalgamation of 5 collections of relevant ballads, and therefore the risks of collection biases should be reduced. In the Bodleian's Collections, there are a total of 651 broadside editions by Catnach and 1,837 by Pitts—a considerable discrepancy, but one that is in line with the holdings of the Madden Broadside Collection of Cambridge. What was the cause of this discrepancy in broadside collections? Was it related to the respective volume of the printers' outputs? I have found no hard evidence of the relative commercial success of these two competitors, but given their fierce rivalry, one would assume they had approximately equivalent market shares. But as has been noted, Catnach had a very diverse output and it is possible that collectors found large portions of his material unappealing or unavailable—gallows literature and 'news' broadsides may have been less relevant or appealing to readers after the fact, and therefore less likely to survive in collections than ballad broadsides, for example. Proportionally, however, Catnach's output of theatre songs was remarkably similar to Pitts': 73/651 Catnach editions and 187/1,837 Pitts editions in the Bodleian Collections were from the theatre (11.2% and 10.2% respectively).

Far less is known about the other printers in Table 2.7. The Evans press was established in the 1780s at 42 Long Lane, on the other side of the Thames, and was one of the most prominent presses outside of the Seven Dials. The Evans family took over the property

after R. Coster left it, and, as was often the case, broadside printing became the family business: we have ballads with imprints for John, Thomas, and C. Evans from Long Lane up until 1812.[319] The table above indicates that 35 of the 370 Evans editions in the Bodleian's Collections were theatrical broadsides—this is substantially fewer than those of either Pitts or Catnach, but proportionally, it is comparable at 9.5%. The printer J. Jennings was based in Fleet Street, an area not far from the theatre district, but not a part of it culturally; nevertheless, of the 258 editions by J. Jennings in the Bodleian's Collections, 26 included theatrical broadsides (10.1%).[320] We see a considerable decrease in the number of theatrical broadsides produced by printers outside of the theatre district, but interestingly, the proportions of these London printers' outputs of theatrical broadsides remain comparable to that of Pitts and Catnach.[321]

T. Birt was the minor broadside printer of the Seven Dials: not much is known about him. He was not consistently in the trade, according to James Hepburn (a conclusion supported by his limited surviving output) and his ballads are notable for their crude manufactory (discussed above). He may have utilised his press primarily for job

[319] Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', 130.

[320] Fleet Street was developing its own printing culture in the nineteenth century, particularly leading up to the repeal of the Newspaper Act in 1855. Perhaps as a result of its newspaper-centric printing culture, the link between Jennings' ballads and the theatres is not as strong as that of the Seven Dials publishers. See Bob Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street: An Illustrated History of English Newspapers to 1899* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016). J. Jennings is not to be confused with the printer George Jennings of Upper Marylebone Street, mentioned above in connection to Pitts. There is one theatrical broadside in the Bodleian's Collections by George Jennings, printed under his name and Pitts' (this is likely a broadside that Jennings printed for Pitts to sell, early in the latter's career). I have not included this ballad as a separate entry in the table under George Jennings, but it is included in the total figure for Pitts' editions in the Bodleian's Collections.

[321] London ballad printers sold their stock to itinerant peddlers and so their broadsides did travel—around London and outside of it. But the particular relationship that the Seven Dials printers had with the theatre, contrasting with London printers that were not so closely situated to the West End, suggests that location was a factor in determining material that the printers produced. This may have been related to the accessibility of theatre songs by printers, or their relevance to nearby customers (and therefore peddlers). For instance, if Seven Dials printers functioned as unlicensed merchandisers for theatrical productions (as Cox Jensen suggests), their stock would have been in particular demand in the environs of the theatres. See Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song,* 125.

printing, or as a side business to another enterprise selling patent medicines or toys—as Pitts himself did. I have found that only 23 of the 359 Birt ballads in the Bodleian's Collections are theatrical broadsides (6.4%). Not much is known about the Batchelar Press either, which printed ballads by Thomas, Ann and D. Batchelar from at least 1828-32, though the press may have been established earlier than this. Located in Hackney Road, near Shoreditch, the press printed 12 theatrical broadsides from a total of 124 editions in the Bodleian's Collections (9.7%)—again, comparable to that of the Seven Dials giants.

The output of theatrical broadsides varied greatly from one broadside printer to the next in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Numerically and proportionally, Pitts and Catnach reprinted by far the most material from the theatres: this is as expected. But Birt—the third Seven Dials printer—printed relatively few theatrical broadsides, numerically and proportionally. Meanwhile, some printers outside of the Seven Dials had (relatively) high proportions of theatrical broadsides in their outputs (particularly Evans, J. Jennings, and Batchelar). There are three points to keep in mind when considering these numbers, however. Firstly, broadside printers pirated each *other's* materials as assiduously as they did poets' or playwrights' (this was discussed in Chapter 1): it is likely that the theatrical broadsides of Jennings and Batchelar, for example, were reproductions of ballads that had first been printed by the Seven Dials presses and had proven popular with customers. Secondly, presses were often linked through apprenticeship or partnership, and these associated presses may have exchanged or shared stock willingly. Thirdly, Birt, as a minor printer in the Seven Dials, may have been less willing than *other* London printers to issue stock that competed with that of his powerful neighbours—given his proximity to them.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on trends that are evident in the database regarding the relationship between street music and the theatre during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To reiterate, I make no claims about the comprehensiveness of the database—or the absolute authority of the conclusions I have drawn from it; it is necessarily incomplete, and subject to the vagaries of individual collectors (though I hope that this affect has been mitigated through the use of a diverse collection of broadsides). Nevertheless, I believe the sample size is sufficiently large to lend some credence to the trends we have found regarding performers, playwrights and composers, theatres, theatrical genres, and broadside printers. This chapter has been heavy on quantitative data and numerical comparisons, but only by looking at the statistics of the collection as a whole can we identify and meaningfully discuss some of the larger trends regarding the intersection of stage and street music in London. By presenting data overviews from the database, I hope to have further contextualised and illuminated the connection between the theatre and the street—showing *what* crossed over, and proposing theories about *why* and *how* it did so. The next chapter will spring from this database-driven discussion to focus on the content and characteristics of the theatrical works that were pirated by the street trade, and—finally—to examine the content and form of the songs themselves.

CHAPTER 3

The New Strains of the Street

The aim of this project is to find the music of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century broadside by examining its intersection with the theatre; the database has shown that 205 songs from 132 theatrical works performed in London were reprinted for the street from 1797-1844 on 724 broadside editions (print runs) and on 932 individual sheets in the Bodleian's Collections (an additional 3 theatre songs from three theatrical works were found to have been reprinted as broadsides, but outside the dates 1797-1844). A complete list of the theatrical songs that were reprinted as broadsides and the works from which they came may be found in Appendix C. This chapter will examine these theatrical songs, looking at their textual and musical contents as well as their structures and forms, exploring the general characteristics of songs that migrated from the stage to the street, and considering why these particular songs might have done so. The chapter will then briefly look at the theatrical works from which these songs came, and consider the part that they would have played in the crossover of music from the stage to the street.

Topic

At the risk of over-simplifying a diverse body of songs, I will start this discussion by proposing a possible topical typology of the theatrical songs that migrated to the street. Though I did not initially intend to categorise the songs I had found, I have concluded that flexible, descriptive categories may prove helpful as we consider not just *what*

songs came to the streets, but also *why* they may have come to the street. I have found that there are six main topical song types in the theatrical broadsides, which I have named thus: moralistic, character-narrative, patriotic/rousing, drinking, hunting, and love odes. The lines between these categories are often blurred, and several songs in the collection—one may argue—do not fit in any of them. But in understanding a collection of this size, it is important to recognise similarities between individual songs where they exist: these similarities are characteristics of the collection which tell us both about the original dramatic contexts from which these songs were taken and possibly also their end-use contexts on the street.

Narrative songs were by far the most common crossovers from the stage to the street. Interestingly, most of these narrative-style songs bore no direct relation to the characters or situation of the drama's plot. The popular song 'Gaffer Grist' is a good example of this and a transcription of it may be found below, reproduced from a broadside edition by Pitts dating from 1802-19. The song was originally from Thomas Dibdin and William Reeve's popular comic opera *Family Quarrels* (premiered 1802).

Gaffer Grist, Gaffer's son, and his little Jack Ass,
Trotting along the road,
Thro' a gossiping straggling village must pass,
Before they could reach their abode;
Master Johnny rode Jacky which old Gaffer led,
The villagers thought the boy monstrous ill bred,
So they made honest Gaffer get up in his stead,
Trotting along the road, trotting, &c.

They didn't go far e'er they heard people talk,
Trotting along the road,
As how it was stupid for either to walk,
Before they could reach their abode,
So they both rose, when proud of his horse and his self,
A farmer cries down would you kill the poor elf
If you was an ass, would you like it yourself,
Trotting along the road, trotting, &c.

Next they carried the jack ass who never said nay
Trotting along the road,
But all changes endured like the Vicar of Bray,
Before he would quit his abode;
Yet e'en this wou'dn't please ev'ry ill natur'd tyke
And therefore this moral must forcibly strike,
We should manage our jack ass just as we like
Trotting along the road, trotting, trotting along the road.[322]

In this case, the song's plot and characters bear no relation at all to the drama during which it was originally performed; rather, the narrative is used to make a moralistic point for the benefit of its on-stage listeners. Songs like that above form a sort of subset of narrative songs that I term 'moralistic' songs because of their function within the dramatic plot. They tended to have a general topical link to something unfolding in the drama (along the lines of 'love', 'marriage', 'honesty', etc.), but did not relate to the specifics of the plot itself. Ballads very often had a didactic role in dramas: they were used as vehicles for cautionary tales that were intended to affect the actions of an on-stage listener. These tales were sung by characters as stories (though it is not always clear that they were sung diegetically as *songs* within the plot). Oskar Cox Jensen has talked about the perceived power of ballad singing in British culture, and the 'threat' it posed as an influential medium which could be used for moral evil or good. The role of these moralistic ballads in comic operas and music dramas appears to reflect a cultural assumption that the broadside was a tool of morality as well as entertainment.[323] Another typical example of a moralistic song would be 'Young Love Once Liv'd' from

[322] 'Trotting Along the Road', Johnson Ballads 1036 (London: Pitts, 1802-19), at the Bodleian Library. See also Thomas Dibdin (wordbook) and William Reeve (music), *Family Quarrels* (London: Longman, 1805).

[323] Oskar Cox Jensen, *London Ballad Singer* (Cambridge: University Press, forthcoming). Other good examples of moralistic theatre songs include 'Young Lobski' and 'A Youth Took a Wife' from *The Exile* (premiered 1808), and 'A Traveller Stopped at a Widow's Gate' from *The Iron Chest* (premiered 1796).

M.P. or the Blue-Stocking (wordbook printed 1811), sung by the character Susan to illustrate the nature of love:

> Young Love liv'd once in an humble shed,
> Where roses Breathing and woodbines wreathing
> Around the lattice their tendrils spread,
> As wild and as sweet as the life he led.
> His garden flourish'd for young Hope nourish'd
> The Infant Buds with beams and showers;
> But lips tho' blooming, must still be fed
> And not even love can live on flowers
>
> Alas! that Poverty's evil eye,
> Should e'er come hither such sweets to wither!
> The flowers laid down their heads to die
> And hope fell sick as the witch drew nigh.
> He came one morning e'er Love had warning,
> And rais'd the latch where the young god lay;
> Ah! He said, Love, is it you, good bye
> So he opened the window & flew away[324]

Another type of narrative-style song is what I refer to as the 'character-narrative' song, which describes events in a partially narrative form, but centres on a single character and his/her defining experiences. The events themselves do not always follow each other neatly, or progress to a conclusion; rather, they provide vignettes through which a character is depicted. These sorts of songs had become popular in the late-eighteenth century on the pleasure garden stage, and some of the theatrical songs that were reprinted as broadsides probably originated in such entertainments—this was the case for Charles Dibdin Sr's 'ballad opera' *The Waterman* of 1774, for example, which consisted of songs he had written for performance at the pleasure gardens.[325] These

[324] 'Young Love', Harding B 25(2138) (London: Pitts, 1819-44), at the Bodleian Library. The original song was by Thomas Moore (wordbook and melodies) and Charles Horn (overture and orchestral arrangements), *M.P. or the Blue-Stocking* (London: Clowes, 1811), 18.

[325] See Roger Fiske and Irena Cholij, 'Dibdin, Charles', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (Oxford: University Press).

songs might also simply be called ‘character songs’—a term used by one of Henry Mayhew’s interviewees—but most of the character songs I have found in the theatrical ballads have a strong narrative element, which I believe is important to note because the historic broadside tradition was associated with this style of song (I must qualify here that narrative songs do not always equate to strophic songs, but the poetic/musical structures of the theatrical broadsides will be discussed later in this chapter).[326] Character-narrative songs took several forms within the drama, even being used diegetically within the plot. The song ‘With Lowly Suit’ in *No Song No Supper* (premiered 1790), starts with a short autobiographical narrative sung by Margaretta (a character created by Nancy Storace), which then becomes a sales pitch for the wares she carries in her arms—broadsides. Here we see that the verse of the song describes events in Margaretta’s past not as chronological events, but as experiences that define her life and story. This song introduces her character as a ballad singer within the drama and so her act of singing the song is crucial to the plot. The words are reprinted below, as found in Pitts’ broadside edition, dating from 1802-19:

> With lowly suit and plaintive ditty,
> I call the tender mind to pity,
> My friends are gone, my heart is breaking,
> And chilling poverty's my lot,
> From passing strangers aid intreating,
> I wander thus alone, forgot.
>
> CHORUS
>
> Relieve my woes, my wants distressing,
> And Heav’n reward you with its blessing.
> Here's tales of love and maids forsaken,
> Of battles fought, and captures taken,
> The jovial tar so boldly sailing,
> Or cast upon some desert shore.

[326] Henry Mayhew, *London and the London Poor,* vol. III (1861; London: Chatto & Windus, 1966), 195.

The hapless bride his loss bewailing,
And fearing ne'er to see him more.[327]

The diegetic use of character-narrative songs in stage dramas was not the norm, though. More common was a sort of 'story within a story' song about someone or something related to the plot. A good example of this sort of character-narrative ballad would be 'Jolly Young Waterman' from *The Waterman* (premiered 1774):

AND did you not hear of a jolly young waterman,
Who at Blackfriars bridge used to ply,
Who feather'd his oars with such skill and dexterity
Winning each heart and delighting each eye,
He looked so neat and he rowed so steadily,
The ladies all flock'd to his boat so readily,
And he ey'd the young rogues with so charming an air,
That this waterman ne'er was in want of a fare.
What freights of fine folk he row's in his wherry,
'Twas clean'd out so nice and new painted all.
He was always first oars when the fine city ladies
In a party to Ranelagh went or Vauxhall.
And oftimes they would be gibbing and leering,
But 'twas all one to Tom their giggling and jeering
For loving or liking he little did care.
For this waterman ne'er was in want of a fare.
And yet to see how strangely things happen,
As he rowed along thinking nothing at all,
he was spy'd by a damsel so lovely and charming
That she smil'd and so straightway in love he did fall,
And would this young damsel but banish her sorrow,
And wed her to night before to morrow,
And how should this waterman e'er know care,
When he's marry'd and never in want of a fare.[328]

The song is sung in the opera by Tom Tug to his love, Wilhelmina, in which he describes himself and retells the story of how he fell in love with her. As noted above,

[327] 'With Lowly Suit', Harding B 17(342b) (London: Pitts, 1802-19), at the Bodleian Library. See also Prince Hoare (wordbook) and Stephen Storace (music), *No Song, No Supper* (Dublin: Byrne, 1792), 11.

[328] See 'Jolly Waterman', Harding B 16(119d) (London: Pitts, 1819-44), at the Bodleian Library. Note that the third-last line should begin with 'he'd' but is printed in this edition as 'and'.

this song was probably not originally composed for the opera and so functions well as a stand-alone song, but it does knit remarkably with the plot in which it was reused. Most narrative theatre songs had looser connections with the drama's plot—as did the moralistic songs discussed above. A good example of this sort of character-narrative ballad would be 'When I Was Young,' sung by the soldier O'Carrol in *The Surrender of Calais* (premiered 1791). The song describes some events to illustrate the singer's past and sketch the character of the eponymous Colonel Casey. Casey, however, plays no part whatsoever in the play, nor do the events the song describes. The song is a story within a story, and its only connection to the plot of the opera is the narrator himself.

> When I was at home, I was merry and frisky;
> My dad kept a pig, and my mother sold whisky:
> My uncle was rich, but would never be easy,
> Till I was enlisted by Corporal Casey.
> Oh! rub a dub, row de dow, Corporal Casey!
> My dear little Sheelah I thought would run crazy,
> When I trudged away with tough Corporal Casey.
>
> I march'd from Kilkenny, and as I was thinking
> On Sheelah, my heart in my bosom was sinking;
> But soon I was forced to look fresh as a daisy,
> For fear of a drubbing from Corporal Casey.
> Och! rub a dub, row de dow, Corporal Casey!
> The devil go with him, I ne'er could be lazy,
> He stuck in my skirts so, would Corporal Casey.
>
> We went into battle; I took the blows fairly,
> That fell on my pate, but they bother'd me rarely:
> And who should the first be that dropp'd? why, and please ye,
> It was my good friend, honest Corporal Casey.
> Och! rub a dub, row de dow, Corporal Casey!
> Thinks I, you are quiet, and I shall be easy;
> So eight years I fought, without Corporal Casey.[329]

[329] George Colman the Younger (wordbook) and Samuel Arnold (music), *The Surrender of Calais* (London: Longman, 1792), 99-100. See also the broadsides 'When I was at home' at Harding B 15(62b), Harding B 25(422), Harding B 15(63a), Harding B 11(3683), and Johnson Ballads 3113, all at the Bodleian Library.

Many of these 'character-narrative' songs concerned the British naval sailor—or 'Jack Tar' as he was often named in popular culture. I argued in my Master's thesis that Charles Dibdin Sr's popular songs were instrumental in the development of a modernised image of the British sailor that became iconic in national culture in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries—a blend of moral strength and endearing weakness that made him relevant and relatable to a nation at war, and to a public that was heavily reliant on the Royal Navy.[330] The ennobling of the commoner, and particularly the maritime/naval commoner, was an important cultural movement in Britain around the turn of the nineteenth century. As Mary T. Bennet explains, 'the epithets once reserved only for officers of the army and navy were applied to ordinary fighting men. They were ennobled not only in their military role, but given credit for excellent, albeit rough, intelligence, and sensitivity as well.'[331] Jack was ungenteel, formerly (or still occasionally) dissolute, and even impolite; but he was fundamentally good, compassionate (even to his enemies), honest, morally discerning, immensely courageous in battle, ultimately faithful to his country, and passionate about the 'freedom' offered by his constitutional monarchy. In other words, he was a rounded character and a willing, thoughtful participant in his country and its war. This image of Jack Tar was of course an instrument of nationalism—but the character reflected Dibdin's 'warts and all' approach to patriotism, which David Kennerly describes thus in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*:

> Indeed, while he was keen to exploit the loyalist mood for commercial gain, for Dibdin this did not entail a servile kowtowing to the government. His language of loyalty was continually underpinned by assertions of independence—of

[330] Georgina Prineppi, 'Sailors in British Broadside Ballads, 1800-1850' (Master's Thesis, University of Miami, 2015).

[331] Betty T. Bennett, *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793-1815* (New York: Garland, 1976), 66.

> independent judgement and feelings leading naturally to loyalist sympathies—rather than simply following what the government instructed people to think.'[332]

As Oskar Cox Jensen has phrased it, 'his [Dibdin's] patriotism was sentimental, introverted, and inclusive, focusing on the heroism of the ordinary British sailor.'[333] Dibdin, as we have already found, was responsible for many of the theatrical songs that transitioned to the street, and his sailor characters were propagated and widely imitated in the broadside trade; the development and depiction of the Jack Tar figure in British popular culture is too broad a topic to cover here, but I refer the reader to Isaac Land's *War, Nationalism and the British Sailor, 1750-1850*, Harold F. Watson's *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama, 1550-1800,* Terrence M. Freeman's *Dramatic Representations of British Soldiers and Sailors on the London Stage, 1660-1800,* and my own Master's thesis.[334] Suffice it to say that Jack Tar appeared in a host of cartoons, dramas, songs, and print culture during and after the Napoleonic Wars, and was the subject of a goodly proportion of the 'character-narrative' theatrical broadsides that came from the stage. Sometimes, the songs related to a naval theme or character in the plot of the drama; but they were also thrown in to operas with little pretext at all: 'Jack Ratlin' from *Liberty Hall* (wordbook printed 1785) would be such an example.[335] A fine example of a Jack Tar character-narrative song is 'When at War on the Ocean' from *The Glorious First of June* (premiered 1794), produced below from a broadside edition by

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[332] David Kennerly, 'Loyalism, Celebrity, and the Politics of Personality: Dibdin in the 1790s', in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*, ed. Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley, and Ian Newman (Oxford: University Press, 2018), 78-93, here 78.

[333] Oskar Cox Jensen, '"True Courage": A Song in History', in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*, 115-136, here 129.

[334] Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), Harold F. Watson, *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama, 1550-1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), and Terrence M. Freeman, *Dramatic Representations of British Soldiers and Sailors on the London Stage, 1660-1800: Britons Strike Home* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen, 1995).

[335] See Charles Dibdin Sr, *Liberty-Hall: Or, a Test of Good Fellowship* (London: author, 1785). This song was printed on 4 broadside editions in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections: see Firth b.25(89), Firth c.12(218), 2806 c.18(167), and Harding B 25(941).

Pitts (printed between 1802 and 19). In it, we are shown Jack's courage and patriotism, but also his compelling sympathy towards his enemy:

> When in war on the ocean we meet the proud foe,
> Tho' with ardour for conquest our bosoms may glow,
> Let us see on their vessels Old England's flag wave,
> They shall find British sailors only conquer to save.
>
> And now their pale ensigns we view from afar,
> With three cheers they are welcome by each British tar,
> Whilst the genius of Britain still bids us advance,
> And the guns hurl in thunder defiance to France.
>
> Now yard-arm and yard-arm we've come along side,
> See our guns are well pointed we'll soon lower their pride,
> While the blood from the scuppers began for to run,
> See their fire is slackened the fight is just done.
>
> But mark our last broadside she sinks down she does,
> Quickly man all your boats they no longer are foes,
> To snatch a brave fellow from a watery grave,
> Is worthy a Britain who conquers to save.[336]

We see here that the focus of the song is on the character of the British sailor(s), but the song incorporates a great deal of narrative to describe 'the Britain who conquers to save'.

Related to these 'character-narrative' songs is what I have termed the patriotic/rousing song. These songs are calls to action or calls to arms: inspiring nationalistic pledges to country and king that were frequently included in comic operas and—interestingly—were often reprinted on the street. Many of these songs have overlapping subjects with the narrative or character-narrative songs about Jack Tar that were discussed above. The boundary between the two is blurry, but the patriotic/rousing song differs from the

[336] 'When at War on the Ocean', Firth c.13(144) (London: Pitts, 1802-19), at the Bodleian Library.

character-narrative song in its focus on *action*: not action in the past, but either in the present or in the future—especially focusing on what Britain's soldiers/sailors will achieve for their country. These songs were intended not so much to characterise as to call their listeners to arms (perhaps literally within the context of the drama, but figuratively to audiences). As such, these songs were usually in strong simple duple or common time, and were oftentimes sung at the ends of theatrical works, acting as joyous, nationalistic choruses with which to end the drama and farewell the audience. A good example of this sort of song would be 'True Blue', originally from *Liverpool Prize* (premiered 1779); the transcription below has been reproduced from an unmarked and undated eighteenth-century broadside edition.

Behold upon the swelling wave,
  Where streaming pendants gay;
We gallant tars invite the brave,
  Whilst glory leads the way.

CHORUS

With chearful hearts to war,
  We jolly seamen go:
For George to fight for Britain's right,
  To die or crush the foe.

No faction separates our love,
  From Britain and her laws;
For with our lives we strive to prove;
  The justice of our cause.
        With chearful hearts, &c.

No ins or outs perplex our bands,
  But fearless we advance,
To curb the pride we'll all join hands,
  Of the Dutch, Spain, and France.
        With chearful hearts, &c.

Each gallant Son from sea returns,
  Auspicious victory smiles;
Each beauteous fair with ardour burns
  With love rewards our toils.

With chearful hearts, &c.

Britons yourselves but cease to oppose,
Like us free tars unite;
Defiance bid to all your foes,
And still maintain your right.
With chearful hearts, &c.[337]

These overtly nationalistic songs do not seem to be the most likely candidates for adoption by the broadside trade because they often had quite complex musical constructions and were frequently melodically challenging and heavily reliant on instrumental accompaniments (with which the melody interacted). The musical idiosyncrasies of these songs will be discussed in greater detail further on, but their number includes songs such as 'Rule Britannia' (from *Alfred* in 1740), 'Stand to Your Guns' (or 'Hearts of Oak' from *Harlequin's Invasion* in 1760), 'The Signal to Engage' (from *The Seraglio* in 1776), 'Behold upon the Swelling Wave' (from *The Liverpool Prize* in 1779), 'How Stands the Glass Around' (adopted for use in *The Siege of Gibraltar* in 1780), 'Come All You Jolly Sailors Bold' (or 'The Arethusa', from *The Lock and Key* in 1796), and 'The Blast of War May Loudly Blow' (from *Two Faces under a Hood* in 1807). The number of patriotic/rousing songs that were adopted into street literature was not great. However, several of them proved exceptionally popular there: 'Rule Britannia' was printed on fourteen editions in the Bodleian's Collections dating from 1797-1844 (appearing on nineteen individual sheets), 'Come All You Jolly Sailors Bold' ('The Arethusa') was printed on eleven editions from the same period (on

[337] 'A New Song Called True Blue', Harding B 6(10) (n.p., n.d.), at the Bodleian Library. This song used the melody originally from 'The dusky night rides down the sky' (commonly called 'A Hunting We Will Go') from *'Squire Badger* (printed 1772), with music by Thomas Arne. This bold hunting tune adapted well to a military context.

thirteen individual sheets), and 'Stand to Your Guns' was printed on eight editions (on twelve broadside sheets).

These patriotic songs were—in a way—enthusiastic odes to country; but the theatrical broadsides also included odes to less hallowed subjects—notably alcohol. Some of these drinking songs were integrated into the plot of the theatrical work, whilst the inclusion of others is incidental or contrived. In any case, the topic of alcohol was as applicable off the stage as on, and this subject was perhaps particularly appropriate for the contexts in which broadside customers would be singing their printed broadsides. The first verse of 'The Wanton God' from Arne's *Comus* (premiered 1738) may be found below, as transcribed from an eighteenth-century edition in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections (unmarked and undated).

> The wanton god that pierces hearts,
> Dips in gall his pointed darts;
> But the nymph disdains to pine,
> Who bathes the wounds with rosy-wine,
> *Rosy-wine, rosy-wine, who bathes the wounds with rosy-wine.*[338]

Some of these drinking included strong narrative elements—perhaps because social drinking is often associated with stories and 'tall tales' such as this one, found in the *Poor Soldier* (premiered 1783) and reprinted on a broadside by Birt dated 1828-9:

> DEAR Tom, this brown jug, that now foams with mild ale,
> (Of which I will drink to sweet Nan of the vale)
> Was once Toby Philpot, as thirsty a soul,
> As e'er crack'd a bottle, or fathom'd a bowl,
> In boozing about 'twas his pride to excel,
> And among jolly topers he bore off the bell.
>
> It chanced in the dog days, as he sat at his ease,

[338] 'Rosy-Wine. A New Song', Firth c.22(6) (n.p., n.d.), at the Bodleian Library. See also John Milton and George Colman (wordbook) and Thomas Arne (music), *Comus; a Masque* (London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1780).

In his flow'r woven arbour, as gay as you please
With a friend and a pipe, quaffing sorrow away,
And with honest old stingo was smoaking his clay,
His breath-doors of life on a sudden were shut
And he died full as big as a dorchester butt.

When long in the ground his old carcass had lain,
And time into earth had resolv'd it again,
A potter found out, in his covert so snug,
And with part of fat toby he form'd this brown jug;
Now sacred to friendship, to mirth, and mild ale,
So here's to my lovely sweet nan of the vale.[339]

There were a good handful of drinking songs included in the theatrical broadsides, including 'Taste, O Taste This Spicy Wine' (from *Brother & Sister,* score printed 1814), 'The Wealthy Fool with Gold in Store' (from *The Poor Soldier,* premiered 1783), and 'Flow, Thou Regal Purple Stream' (originally from *The Banditti* in 1781, and then used again in the more popular, derivative work *The Castle of Andalusia,* premiered in 1782). Another identifiable type of 'ode' was to the hunt: these songs set forth the picture of a decidedly rural England, simple in its pleasures and secure in its identity. Below is the song 'The Early Horn' from *The Royal Chase* (premiered 1736), as reproduced in an 1825 sheet by Catnach.

With early horn,
  Salute the morn,
That gilds this charming place;
  With cheerful cries,
  Bid echo rise,
And join the jovial chase.

  The vocal hills around,
  the waving woods,
  The chrystal floods,

[339] 'Brown Jug', Harding B 17(40b), (London: Birt, 1828-9), at the Bodleian Library. See also John O'Keeffe (wordbook), *Poor Soldier* (London: Harrison Cluse, 1783).

Return th'enlivening sound.[340]

We find that hunting songs also included strong narrative elements, but like patriotic/rousing songs, they tended to be framed in the present tense, calling listeners to action or making the story seem immediate—as if the events were currently happening rather than being recalled from the past. The first two verses of 'A Hunting We Will Go' is reproduced below, transcribed from an edition by Catnach (1813-38).

The dusky night rides down the sky
  And ushers in the morn,
The hounds all make a jovial cry,
  The huntsman winds his horn
        Then a hunting we will go, &c

The wife around her husband throws,
  Her arms to make him stay,
My dear, it hails, it rains, it blows,
  You cannot hunt to day.
        But a hunting we will go, &c.[341]

Interestingly, these songs were often from theatrical works that were premiered much earlier in the century than the broadsides on which they were printed, and their melodies could be quite challenging, like those of the patriotic/rousing odes (discussed further later in this chapter). Why these hunting songs came to be on the street is up for conjecture: I would suggest that they had appealing and rhythmic tunes (usually in 6/8) and their subjects engaged with positive national definitions of Britain. This period also

[340] 'The Early Horn', Johnson Ballads fol. 16 (London: Catnach, 1825), at the Bodleian Library. See also the score: John Ernest Galliard (music) and Edward Phillips (wordbook), *The Early Horn* (London: n.p.,1736).

[341] 'The Dusky Night', Firth c.19(112) and Harding B 16(79a) (London: Catnach, 1813-38), at the Bodleian Library. This popular song was used in two theatrical works: *'Squire Badger* (n.d.) and *Don Quixote in England.*(1734). Popular theatre songs were frequently reused in subsequent productions; this issue is discussed more later in this chapter.

saw massive population growth in London, and these songs might have appealed to newcomers from the country who were nostalgic of the lives they left behind.[342] Theatrical broadsides also included love odes. Quite a few moralistic and character-narrative songs addressed themes of love, but the love ode was unique in that it addressed love from a personal perspective—rather than in the retelling of a love story or cautionary tale, for example. Though they focused on a perennially popular subject, love odes are relatively (and surprisingly) rare in the theatrical broadsides, probably because they are not well suited to street performance: they lack the potential for action and comedy. Love odes often featured a 'high' mode of speech and stilted poetry, which made them hard to approach and understand outside of their theatrical contexts (like Italianate opera buffa, there could be a range of lexicons used by various characters within a plot, according to rank and role, but more on that later in this chapter). A typical example of a love ode might be 'Whither Art My Love Gone' from James Cobb's *The Haunted Tower* (premiered 1789): the transcription below is a reproduction from a ballad by Jennings, dating between 1790 and 1840.

> Whither, my love! ah! whither art thou gone!
> Let not thy absence cloud this happy dawn.
> Say---by thy heart, can falsehood e'er be known?
> Ah! no, no, I judge it by my own.
>
> The heart he gave with so much care,
> Which treasur'd in my breast I wear;
> Still for its master beats alone,
> I'm sure the selfish thing's his own.[343]

[342] The song 'No More I'll Court the Town Bred Fair' from *The Farmer* (1787) juxtaposes city and country folk, flattering the latter at the expense of the former.

[343] 'Whither My Love', Harding B 25(2044) (London: Jennings, 1790-1840), at Bodleian Library. See also James Cobb (words, composer unknown), *The Haunted Tower* (London: Lowndes, 1819), 12.

Many—though not all—of the love odes among the theatrical broadsides were originally performed by women on the stage, as sentiment/emotion was their chief domain: the song above is one such example. In total, female characters were responsible for a notably small minority of all the theatrical broadsides: I have found only 17 songs that were originally performed by female characters (including a couple that were duets with men). I would suggest this was because women's topical range was very limited. On the stage, women provided the emotional centre-points of the plot and their songs tended to favour feeling over action or characterisation. The majority of theatrical broadsides included significant narrative elements and/or characterisation which gave them the structure to function well as little 'dramas' on their own—as this is how they would be performed on the street. Songs that were intended to be sung by female characters on the stage generally lacked these elements and were therefore not as well-suited to independent performance. Even those songs that were not strictly 'love odes' leaned heavily towards emotion rather than action. 'The Hardy Sailor', which might be a typical character-narrative song about Jack Tar, focuses on the *love* the sailor left behind rather than his courage or action, adapting the subject of the song to the character who sung it: a woman. Similarly, moralistic ballads sung by women tended to revolve around the topic of love too: the song 'Young Lubin Lov'd the Fair Lisette' from *The Farmer's Wife* (performed 1814) is sung in the drama to provide an example of a case in which a woman was pressed or cajoled by a man into marriage. The words are reproduced below, transcribed from an edition by Evans dating between 1780 and 1812.

Young Lubin lov'd the fair Lisette,
  And tapping at her window came;
The sun had barely risen yet---
  She peep'd and cried, O, fie, for shame!

Sweet maid, says he, 'tis smiling May,
  Come, let us rove.—Indeed, said she,
So soon—What will the neighbours say?
  Fi donc! fi donc! ah, mon ami.

Still Lubin soft persuasion tried,
  And fair Lisette at last, content,
Forgot the neighbours, ceas'd to chide,
  Stole out, and with him Maying went.
And oft a stolen kiss he caught;
  Lisette no doubt displeas'd would be,
Yet only said, whate'er she thought,
  Fi donc! fi donc! ah, mon ami.

He talk'd of love, Come let's away,
  She cried, yet loiter'd; silly thing;
He press'd her, too, to fix the day,
  And on her finger plac'd a ring.
She started, blush'd, and hung her head,
  Yet very angry tried to be,
But only sigh'd, and softly said,
  Fi donc! fi donc! ah, mon ami.[344]

Women sang about love. But there was one exception in the theatrical broadsides, worth noting if only for its uniqueness. 'Come Buy Little Sally's Wares' from *The Shipwreck* (performed 1796) is a saucy ballad sung by the eponymous character Sally. This song is not about men or relationships, nor is it an expression of sexual experience or a commentary on the realities of relationships between the sexes; nevertheless, it exhibits some of the life, lightness, and spirit found in contadina arias on the opera buffa stage, establishing Sally's identity as independent from love and men (this song is also notable

[344] 'Lubin & Lisette', Harding B 16(135a) (London: Evans, 1780-1812), at the Bodleian Library. See also Charles Isaac Dibdin (words; music by Henry Bishop, Henry Condell, John Davy, William Reeve, and Thomas Welsh), *The Farmer's Wife* (London: Robinson, 1814), 73. The French tagline of the song strongly suggests a French origin for this song, but I have not yet been able to trace it.

for being integral to the plot—the character described in the song is one that actually appears on stage in the drama, which is not often the case with theatrical broadsides).[345]

Come buy poor Sally's wooden ware,
  Who all for money barters
My pins, my toys, and shoe-knots rare,
  My bodkins, lace, and garters;
Full cheap my various goods I sell,
  Thro' village, street, and alley;
In London, where I'm known full well,
  They call me little Sally.

Now thus from town to town I stray,
  Light-hearted---free from sorrow,
And when I eat my meal to-day,
  I care not for to-morrow:
So ne'er again I'll London see,
  But range each hill and valley;
Come, buy a trifle, Sir, of me,
  And think of little Sally.[346]

The typology outlined above is not intended to be comprehensive, and as has been noted, the six topical categories often overlap. But they do provide some indication of the sorts of songs that the broadside industry was interested in reprinting—and therefore, what broadside purchasers liked to sing. We have found moralistic songs and character-narrative ballads; we have found odes to love or alcohol; we have also found songs that call listeners to action (patriotic/rousing songs and hunting songs). At least the first two of these categories, which present a large portion of the overall collection, have strong narrative elements in them, reflecting the historic broadside tradition, which focused largely on story sequences in ballad form. But there is another significant similarity to be found among these various types of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century theatrical broadsides: the vast majority of them sit very 'lightly' within their

[345] See Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999).
[346] Samuel James Arnold, *The Shipwreck* (London: Lawthorn, 1797), 16.

dramas—that is to say, they were easily *removed* from them. What I have termed character-narrative and moralistic songs often had no direct bearing on the plot and did not concern themselves with the characters in it; even in cases when there was an intersection between the plot of the song and that of the drama, the song could usually function well without the broader dramatic context nonetheless. Patriotic/rousing, hunting, and drinking songs had topics that were largely non-specific to the plot, and therefore were also easily extricated from dramatic frameworks. Though these theatrical songs often made awkward additions to on-stage dramas, they made brilliant broadside ballads that were musically and textually independent and easily adapted to the street. In fact, there are but a few theatre songs I have found in the broadside collections that are not self-contained and self-explanatory. Most of the relatively rare love odes might fall into this category: though they are relatable and generally applicable in their topic, they usually focus on feeling without providing context or characters to frame the emotion. The broadside tradition always did favour narrative.[347]

Form

There are other helpful approaches to understanding this collection; moving on from a topical typography, we might turn to the formal structures of the ballads. Of the 205 theatrical ballads I have identified, I have found that at least 120 of these were in strophic form (not all of the 205 from this period still exist in score form, so this number will in fact be higher).[348] The preponderance of strophic theatrical broadsides seems to

[347] Apart from the love odes, I might include 'Pray Goody' from *Midas* of 1770, and 'Oh! Tell Me, Memory, No More' from *The Woodman,* 1791 in this category.

[348] The musical form of the song is not always discernible from the text or broadside alone, as songs that are divided or edited down into 'neat' stanzas on a broadside may actually be through-

reflect the conventional form of the historic broadside tradition, suggesting that strophic songs were particularly chosen for reprinting on the street. I do not doubt that strophic songs were preferred by broadside printers (more on this later); but the presence of so many strophic songs in the theatrical broadsides may have been a factor of availability as well as choice: songs in comic operas were very often in strophic (ballad) form. English comic operas were patchwork affairs: up to the end of the eighteenth century, the practice of using existing songs and tunes (in the manner of ballad operas) and even borrowing songs from other comic operas, was still common.[349] There were often multiple composers who contributed to a given work, and even when only one composer was credited for the score of a theatrical work, he often acted as much as a musical arranger as a composer, adapting materials from other sources and adding material where necessary. And as songs were broken up by spoken dialogue, they were not expected to integrate into a continuous musical fabric as arias might in an all-sung work—or even to relate directly to the drama, as previously discussed. Therefore, songs could adopt whatever formal structure the composer and audience favoured—and strophic forms made songs very easy for performers and audiences to learn.

The ballad opera had cast a long shadow on the English stage: John Gay and his successors had established a place for ballads (or 'ballad-style' songs) on the stage that had never quite disappeared. Strophic songs had been present on the English stage before this of course, but *The Beggar's Opera* (premiered 1728) grafted the ballad into

composed or in ABA form (see discussion below). And the first stanza of a song is sometimes used as a chorus according to the broadside edition, but without the music, it can be difficult to tell if this is a true chorus sung to a different melody, or if it is simply the first verse (and music) repeated.

[349] See Michael Burden, 'Opera in Eighteenth-Century England: English Opera, Masques, Ballad Operas', in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 202-213, here 206. See also Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), here 274.

theatrical music as a nationalised and politicised musical form; later in the century, the broadside trade merely reaped the musical fruits of this. Critics associated the strophic ballad with 'Englishness' at a time when the country felt besieged by the French geopolitically and by Italy musically. According to Cox Jensen: 'A plain, unadorned melody was "British", and a composition modulating through keys and experimenting with discords was "foreign" (if not necessarily French).'[350] As well as the positive nationalist feeling attached to the strophic form—as opposed to the *da capo* form so much associated with Italianate opera—the ballad was straightforward and allowed a little music to go a long way. The dominance of music in comic opera was thus pruned and trained, suiting the tastes of the English, who determined it was 'English' to disfavour all-sung operas and music-dominated dramas.[351]

Of course, there were other musical/poetic structures to be found in the theatrical broadsides, but they were in the minority. The second most-common song form was verse-chorus form (I have found eleven examples of verse-chorus songs in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections). Most of these songs were in verse-chorus form originally, but in some cases, the 'chorus' was in fact fashioned from a repetition of the first stanza, meaning it was strophic melodically but verse-chorus textually. Such is the case with 'The Signal to Engage Shall Be' from Charles Dibdin Sr's *The Seraglio* (1776), printed as follows in a late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth century broadside edition (printer unknown):

> The signal to engage shall be
> A whistle and a halloo;

[350] Oskar Cox Jensen, '"True Courage": A Song in History', in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*, 117.

[351] See Michael Burden, 'The Lure of Aria, Procession and Spectacle: Opera in Eighteenth-Century London', in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe, 385–401, here 400, and also 'Opera in Eighteenth-Century England: English Opera, Masques, Ballad Operas'.

Be one and all but firm like me,
  And conquest soon will follow.

You, Gunnel, keep the helm in hand,
  Thus, thus, boys, steady, steady!
Till right a-head you see the land,
  Then soon as we are ready,
                The signal to, &c.

Keep, boys, a good look out, d'ye hear?
  'Tis for old England's honour;
Just as you've brought your lower tied
  Broadside to hear upon her,
                The signal to, &c.

All lands then, lads, the ship to clear,
  Lord all our guns and mortars;
Silent as death th'attack prepare,
  And when you're all at quarters,
                The signal to, &c.[352]

Verse-chorus songs had one conceivable advantage over strophic songs in broadside performance. A repeating chorus lent the song to interactive group singing: a verse could be sung from a sheet by one or a small handful of people, and the chorus—which would more easily be learnt through listening and repetition than would be a string of verses—could be sung by a larger group without the need for multiple print copies of the ballad. This was especially the case when the 'chorus' was only a one- or two-line tag that was appended to each verse, as was the case in 'The World's a Great Ocean' from *The Maniac; Or Swiss Banditti* (score printed 1810), which uses the repeating tag 'Fishermen all, tol de rol.'[353].

[352] 'The Signal to Engage', Firth b.27(32), Firth c.13(249), and Harding B 11(4225), (s.n., n.d.), at the Bodleian Library. See also Charles Dibdin Sr, *The Seraglio,* (London: Evans, 1776).

[353] 'Fishermen All', Harding B 25(658) (London: Evans, 1790-1813), at the Bodleian Library. For the full score, see Samuel Arnold and Henry Bishop (music) and (wordbook), *The Maniac; Or Swiss Banditti* (London: Goulding and D'Almaine, 1810). Tag lines often featured nonsense lyrics, though these could also be found in the verses of strophic songs and some verse-chorus songs—an example would be

I have found just four theatrical broadsides that were in through-composed form. There were two performance-related factors that made the through-composed form less-suited to the street than that of either strophic or verse-chorus: the first was that the melody allowed for no repetition, which was a natural reinforcement aid in learning it; the second—relatedly—was that the songs were often quite long, and therefore the length of the melody that had to be memorised by street performers (and subsequently purchasers) was considerable. 'Stand to Your Guns' was a very popular through-composed song, with eleven broadside editions in the Bodleian's collections, yet it had a remarkably lengthy melody. The lyrics are reproduced below, as written in a wordbook of the comic opera *The Milesian* (1777), published by J. Wilkie of London:

> Stand to your guns my hearts of oak,
> Let not a word on board be spoke,
> Victory soon will end the joke;
> Be silent and be ready.
> Ram home the guns and sponge them well,
> Let us be sure the balls will tell,
> The cannons roar shall sound their knell,
> Be steady boys, be steady—
> Not yet, not yet, not yet,
> Reserve your fire,
> I still desire,
> Not yet, not yet, not yet—
> FIRE!
> Now the elements do rattle,
> The gods amaz'd behold the Battle.
> A BROADSIDE MY BOYS!
> See the Blood in the purple tide,
> Trickle down her batter'd side;
> Wing'd with fate the bullets fly,
> Conquer Boys or bravely die.
> Hurl Destruction on your foes, hurl destruction on your Foes:
> She sinks, she sinks, Huzza!
> Huzza to the bottom,
> To the bottom down she goes.—[354]

'When I Was a Boy in My Father's Mud Edifice', Samuel Arnold (music) and James Boaden (wordbook), *Cambro-Britons* (London: Robinson, 1798), 16.

[354] Isaac Jackman (wordbook) and Thomas Carter (music) *The Milesian* (London: J. Wilkie, 1777), 22.

As we can see, the memorization requirements for this song's through-composed melody—compared to that of a strophic song with four or eight-line verses—would be considerable. And we might observe yet another difficulty posed by through-composed songs for broadside ballads: they are difficult to set on paper. The song above, for example, was arranged in a variety of ways for printing on broadside editions, as divisions in the verse and melody are much more subjective than they would be in a strophic or verse-chorus song. Some printers, like Pitts, printed the song without stanza breaks, as it appears in the wordbook. His version (1819-44) is reproduced below:

> Stand to your guns my hearts of oak,
> Let not a word on board be spoke,
> Victory soon will end the joke,
> Be silent and be ready
> Ram home your guns and spong [sic] em well,
> Let us be sure the balls will tell,
> The cannon's roar shall sound their knell,
> Be steady, boys, be steady!
> Not yet not yet, reserve your fire
> I do desire,
> Now the elements do rattle,
> The gods amazed behold the battle.
> A broadside, my boys;
> See the blood in purple tides,
> Trickle down her batter'd side—
> Wing'd by fate the bullets fly,
> Conquer boys or bravely die.
> Hurl destruction on your foes
> She sinks, she sinks huzza
> To the bottom down she goes.[355]

However, we find that Pitts made significant alterations to the song. Notably, he omitted the climactic call for 'FIRE!' from the original—perhaps because it did not fit on the

[355] See 'Stand to Your Guns', Harding B 11(3005) and Johnson Ballads 945 (London: Pitts, 1819-44) and Firth b.26(122), Harding B 11(3004), and Johnson Ballads 944 (London: Pitts, 1819-44). T. Birt printed a similar version of the song on Harding B 11(2432) and Johnson Ballads 35 (London: T. Birt, 1818-19). All are found at the Bodleian Library.

page (interestingly, Birt did the same on one edition of the song, but included the crucial call on a later second edition).[356] Other printers made similar alterations in their reproductions of the song, paring it down to fit their layouts. Below is the transcription of John Harkness's version of it, printed in Preston (1828-29):

> Stand to your guns my hearts of oak,
> Let not a word on board be spoke,
> Victory soon will crown the joke,
> Be silent and be ready!
> Ram home your Guns and sponge them well,
> Let us be sure the balls will tell—
> Be steady boys, boys, be steady!
>
> Now the elements to rattle,
> The Gods amaz'd behold the Battle,
> A broadside, my boys;
> See the blood in the purple tide,
> Trickle down her batter'd side;
> Wing'd with fate the bullets fly,
> Hurl destruction on your foes—
> She sinks!—Huzza!—To the bottom,
> Down she goes.[357]

We can see that Harkness chiselled the unwieldy song into two neat stanzas: but to do this, he left out two phrases ('The cannons roar shall sound their knell' and 'Conquer Boys or bravely die') as well as the entire middle section ('Not yet, not yet, not yet, / Reserve your fire / I still desire, / Not yet, not yet, not yet--- / FIRE!'). He then divided the abridged version of the song into fairly equal stanzas that could easily be mistaken for a strophic song on paper. We see the difficulty printers had in reprinting these materials: without stanza breaks, long songs looked like monologues rather than

[356] See 'Stand to Your Guns', Johnson Ballads 36 (London: Birt, 1828-9) and Harding B 11(2432) and Johnson Ballads 35 (London: Birt, 1828-9), at the Bodleian Library.

[357] See 'Stand to Your Guns', Harding B 11(687) (Preston: Harness, 1840-1866), at the Bodleian Library.

broadside ballads, and their musical/poetic structures were unclear.[358] In the alterations and edits made to through-composed songs by broadside printers, we note a preference for repetitive structures—and particularly strophic forms.

But, as in most cases, there was already an immense difference between the version of the song as printed in the wordbook, and the actual setting of the song to music, which used a great deal of lyric repetition to marry to the melody. According to a 1777 music score by Thompson of London, the text of 'Stand to Your Guns' is actually thus:

> Stand to your guns my hearts of Oak,
> Let not a word on board be spoke,
> Victory soon will crown the joke, be silent and be ready.
> Be silent, be silent, be silent and be ready be ready
> be silent and be ready, be ready be silent and be ready.
>
> Ram home the guns and sponge them well,
> Let us be sure the balls will tell,
> the cannons roar shall sound their knell,
> Ram home the guns and sponge them well,
> Let us be sure the balls will tell,
> The cannons roar shall sound their knell,
> be steady be steady, be steady, boys be steady,
> be steady, be steady, be steady boys be steady,
> be steady, boys, be steady, be steady, Boys be steady.
>
> Not yet, nor yet, nor yet, reserve your fire, I do desire,
> not yet, nor yet, nor yet, not yet, nor yet, nor yet,
> reserve your fire, I do desire not yet, nor yet, nor yet, Fire!
>
> Now the elements to rattle, the Gods amaz'd behold the Battle,
> now the Elements to rattle, the God's amaz'd behold the Battle,
> the Battle, the Battle, the Battle, the Battle, the Battle, the Battle,
> A Broadside my Boys, a Broadside my boys.

[358] Even short through-composed songs posed a bit of a problem for broadside printers: as they were not long enough to break into two 'stanzas', they were often used as filler material on multi-song broadsides, sandwiched between other songs rather than printed singly on slip ballads. Such is the case with 'The Blast of War May Loudly Blow' from *Two Faces Under a Hood* (performed 1807) and 'By My Shield and My Sword' from *A Christmass Tale* (score printed 1773). These songs were also included on slip ballads beneath more substantial songs—a sort of 'bonus' song appended to a main-piece. The attempts to make through-composed songs conform to standard stanza divisions suggests that strophic songs were still in vogue in the broadside press, despite changing times. See 'The Blast of War', Firth b.27(32), Firth c.13(249, and Harding B 11(4225) (n.p., n.d.) and 'By My Shield and My Sword', Harding B 11(2815) (n.p., n.d) and Harding B 11(3538) (n.p., n.d), all at the Bodleian Library.

See the Blood in the purple tide trickle down the batter'd side
See the Blood in the purple tide trickle down her batter'd side
Wing'd with fate the Bullets fly,
conquer Boys or bravely die, or bravely die, or bravely die,
hurl Destruction on your foes, hurl destruction on your Foes,
She sinks, she sinks, she sinks, Huzza!
she sinks, she sinks, she sinks,Huzza!
to the bottom, to the bottom, to the Bottom down she goes,
to the Bottom, to the Bottom to the bottom down she goes.[359]

We see that even in 'faithful' reprints of the wordbook's (poetic) lyrics, a good deal of elaboration was needed on the part of the performer to match the printed words with the music that existed for it. 'Arise, Sweet Messenger of Morn' from Arne's *Alfred* (1740), for example, consists of three four-line strophes in its poetic original and on broadside editions, as reproduced below from an edition by Catnach (1813-38):

ARISE sweet messenger of morn,
  With thy mild beams this Isle adorn;
For long as shepherds pipe & play,
'Tis this shall be a holiday.

  Each nymph be like the blushing morn,
That gaily lightens o'er the lawn;
Each shepherd like the sun be gay,
And grateful keep this holiday.

  See, morn appears, a rosy hue,
Steals soft o'er yonder Eastern blue;
Come, let us dance in trim array,
And frolic out this holiday.

  Come all ye honest British souls,
Let love and honour crowns your bowls
Rejoice, rejoice and sport and play,
This source of many a holiday.[360]

[359] Isaac Jackman (wordbook) and Thomas Carter (music), *The Milesian* (London: Thompson, 1777), 24-28. The capitalisation here is inconsistent, but the transcription is intended to be a faithful, unaltered reproduction of the score's version of the lyrics.

[360] 'Arise, Sweet Messenger of Morn', Harding B 36(19) and Johnson Ballads fol. 36, (London: Catnach: 1813-1838), at the Bodleian Library.

However, these lyrics do not follow the musical setting of the song, failing to indicate the necessary verbatim repetition of lines 2, 3, and 4 of each strophe to fit the melody. The practice of omitting repetitions in songs like these is only natural from the perspective of a printer: repetition is redundant when the words are fixed on paper rather than in the evanescent temporal space of performance. But then the transition from text to performance required arrangement by the performer to reknit through-composed, verse-chorus, or even strophic songs back to their melodies (this will be discussed more later in this chapter).

Because there was no need to reprint verbatim lyrics on paper, songs in ABA form could look very similar on paper to verse-chorus songs—or even strophic songs. Only six theatrical broadsides were in ABA form, but their presence on the street is notable because of the form's association with 'foreign' opera—with which the broadside trade historically had very little to do. Their unusual formal structures were consequently altered in various ways by broadside printers—much as through-composed songs were. The song 'The Hardy Sailor' provides a good example of this, as printed in a wordbook for *The Castle of Andalusia* (1782):

> The hardy sailor braves the ocean,
> Fearless of the roaring wind;
> Yet his heart, with soft emmotion [sic],
> Throbs to leave his love behind.
>
> To dread of foreign foes a stranger,
> Tho' the youth can dauntless roam,
> Alarming fears paint every danger
> In a rival, left at home.[361]

[361] John O'Keeffe (wordbook) and Samuel Arnold (music), *The Castle of Andalusia* (London: Longman, 1784).

Here we see that the repeat of the A section is not indicated, and printed thus, the song looks rather like it is in a two-verse strophic form. In a slip-ballad version of this song by O. Hodgson of London (c. 1840s), 'The Hardy Sailor' was printed in two stanzas, faithful to the original, even with an indication for the repetition of the A section. However, the print layout makes it look like the B section is actually a second verse to the same tune, as the tagline of the first stanza indicates a repeat of the previous line, whereas the tagline of the second stanza actually indicates a repetition of the first stanza, as shown below.

The hardy sailor braves the ocean,
Fearless of the roaring wind;
[Y]et his heart with soft emotion,
Throbs to leave his love behind.
Throbs, &c.

The dread of foreign foe's a stranger,
Though the youth may dauntless roam;
Alarming fears paint ev'ry danger,
In a revival left at home.
The hardy sailor, &c. [362]

Pitts provided a different solution to this problem, keeping the A section, jettisoning the B section entirely (lyrics, and consequently music), and adding two new 'verses' to fit the tune for the A section melody. These verses cannibalise the original A verse to constitute enough textual material for the two additional stanzas.

The hardy sailor ploughs the ocean,
Fearless of the roaring winds,
Yet his heart with soft emotion,
Throbs for her he left behind,
Throbs, Throbs, &c.
Yet his heart with soft emotion,
Throbs for her he left behind.

[362] 'The Hardy Sailor', Johnson Ballads 1283 (London: O. Hodgson, c. 1840s) at the Bodleian Library.

His manly spirit swells his bosom,
With love and honor both combin'd,
Undaunted boldly rushes forward,
And returns with laurels crown'd.
  Yet, yet, &c.
Still his heart with soft emotion,
throbs for her he left behind.

The storm is o'er, the battle ended,
Meek as the bleating lamb him find,
In Death he views the dreadful carnage,
Yet sighs for her he left behind.
  Yet, yet, &c.
Still his heart with soft emotion,
Throbs for her he left behind.[363]

Other songs in ABA form, like 'The Early Horn', were printed in two stanzas that looked either like two strophic verses, or a verse and chorus (to the astute observer who notes that the stanzas are structurally dissimilar). Like short through-composed songs, these two-stanza ballads were often stacked into the middle of long-song sheets or garlands because they were not long enough to warrant being published alone.[364] Such was the case with Catnach's version of 'The Early Horn' (1825), printed thus:

  With early horn,
  Salute the morn,
That gilds this charming place;
  With cheerful cries,
  Bid echo rise,
And join the jovial chase.

  The vocal hills around,
  the waving woods,
  The chrystal floods,

[363] 'The Hardy Sailor', Firth c.13(33) (London: Pitts, 1802-1819), at the Bodleian Library. Note the use of lamb imagery used to describe the sailor in the added verse 3: this imagery was most memorably applied to the sailor in the song 'True Courage' by Charles Dibdin—whose influence was great on the broadside trade both through his own work and through imitation, as already noted. See Charles Dibdin Sr, *True Courage* (London: author, 1798).

[364] See 'The Early Horn', Johnson Ballads fol. 16 (London: Catnach, 1825) and Johnson Ballads fol. 19 (London: Catnach, 1825), both at the Bodleian Library.

Return th'enlivening sound.[365]

There remains one song in ABA form that should be noted, if only for its rarity: 'They Mourn Me Dead' from *The Bottle Imp* (wordbook printed 1828) is not only in *da capo* form, but it is printed with a titled recitative. The song could have easily been printed as two stanzas (A and B sections) without the recitative, so the inclusion of it in the broadside version, and the use of its opening line as the song's title, would suggest that it was considered to be an integral—and musically performable—part of the song that should not be severed from the air (by consulting the score, we find that the recitative was in fact very melodic in nature). I have found only one other theatrical song printed with an opening recitative: 'O'er Nelson's Tomb' from *The Americans* (premiered 1811) is actually a strophic song, but it opens with a labelled recitative. The English preferred spoken dialogue to recitative, even—perhaps especially—when the performance language was their native tongue—and the broadside industry was even less welcoming of 'foreign' musical idioms than was the stage; thus, I would argue that the inclusion of these recitatives in broadside editions suggests that stage performances were very influential in the popularization of these songs. For, if broadside purchasers did not associate the verses with their opening recitatives as performed on the *stage*, why would broadside printers include such an unorthodox (and dispensable) feature in their printed versions? And why would they assume street singers would bother including them in performance? Later in this chapter, we will more closely consider the importance of the performance of theatrical works in the migration of theatre songs from the stage to the street.

[365] Transcribed from Johnson Ballads fol. 16.

The Music of Theatrical Broadsides

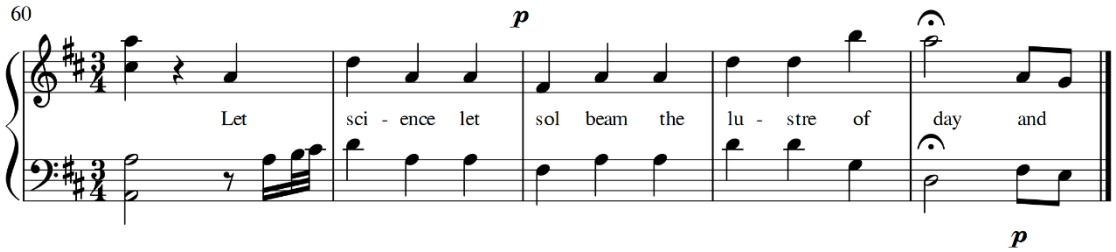
The music of the English opera was quite different from that of the Italianate opera, but it was nevertheless written for professional performers and included what we might vaguely term 'operatic' features. Mark Philp has suggested that some theatrical songs by Dibdin and other theatrical composers around the turn of the nineteenth century would have been 'too difficult' to cross over to the street.[366] This was also my assumption when starting this project, but I was frequently surprised by the musical complexity and technical demands of the songs that *did* cross over to the street. To begin, there was the issue of range. Most of the theatrical broadsides had a range of an octave, a tenth, an 11^{th} or a 12^{th}: none had a range less than an octave. In their theatrical scores, they are usually pitched in the keys of C, G, or F, so their ranges would fall somewhere between B^b below middle C (B^b_4) and D an octave above it (D_5)—though many melodies spanned up to the F or A below soprano C (F_5 or A_6). This made for a rather high-pitched collection of ballads for both men and women, but the range would naturally be transposed down a third or fourth by street singers (who either accompanied themselves, typically on a stringed instrument, or sung *a capella*), according to their own vocal ranges. Some songs had larger ranges, however, that would prove demanding for performers in whatever key they were sung: 'Taste, O Taste This Spicy Wine', for example, extends from D_4 to B_6 (an interval of a 13^{th}). And range was the least of the challenges that theatrical ballads posed to performers: their melodies often featured leaps of fourths or fifths—the inclusion of sixth or octave leaps were not uncommon either. The significant minority of patriotic/rousing, naval, and military-

[366] See Mark Philp, *Reforming Ideas in Britain: Politics and Language in the Shadow of the French Revolution, 1789-1815* (Cambridge: University Press, 2017), 240.

themed songs often had melodies built around leaps of a fourth and fifth, alluding to trumpets: an excerpt of 'Let Fame Sound the Trumpet' from *Fontainbleau; Or, Our Way in France* (performed 1784?) may be found in Example 3.1 below.[367]

Example 3.1:

'Let Fame Sound the Trumpet', bars 60-64.



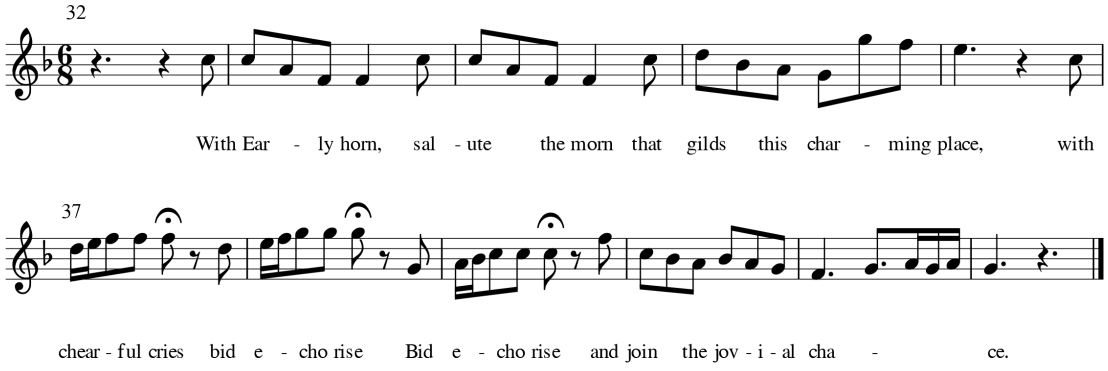
Similarly, the hunting theme of 'The Early Horn' from *The Royal Chase* (premiered 1736) is musically manifested in a consistently jumpy melody, featuring frequent fourth and fifth leaps. See Example 3.2.[368]

[367] See William Shield (music) and John O'Keeffe (wordbook), 'Let Fame Sound the Trumpet' in *Fontainbleau; Or, Our Way in France* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1784), 50-52.

[368] For a version of the score, see John Ernest Galliard (music) and Edward Phillips (wordbook), 'The Early Horn' (London: s.n, c.1780). The above song was sung by Beard, but interestingly, the hunting theme might be manifested differently in songs that were to be sung by female performers. 'When Ruddy Aurora' from *Robin Hood: Or, Sherwood Forest* (1784) is sung by the character Clorinda (originally created by Mrs. Martyr): in this hunting-themed song, the rising fourths and fifths are primarily relegated to the horn accompaniment, so that the singer's melody line may be mellifluous and largely step-wise in motion.

Example 3.2:
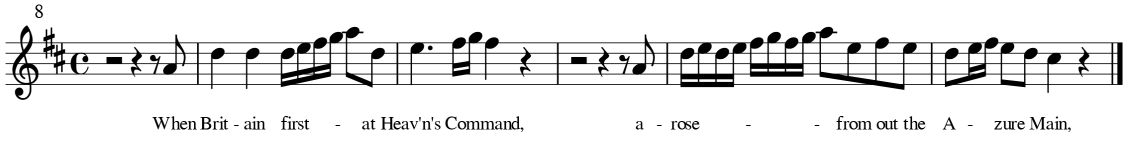
'The Early Horn', bars 32-42.



But trickier than either the range or leaps of these songs was their frequent—and often extensive—melismatic passages. Patriotic/rousing songs could be demanding in terms of technique, as we can see in the following excerpt from Arne's 'Rule Britannia', originally written for *Alfred* (premiered 1740), in Example 3.3.[369] Though familiar and widely popular, the melody's passagework actually places notable demands on the performer regarding vocal accuracy and control.

Example 3.3:

'Rule, Britannia', bars 8-13.
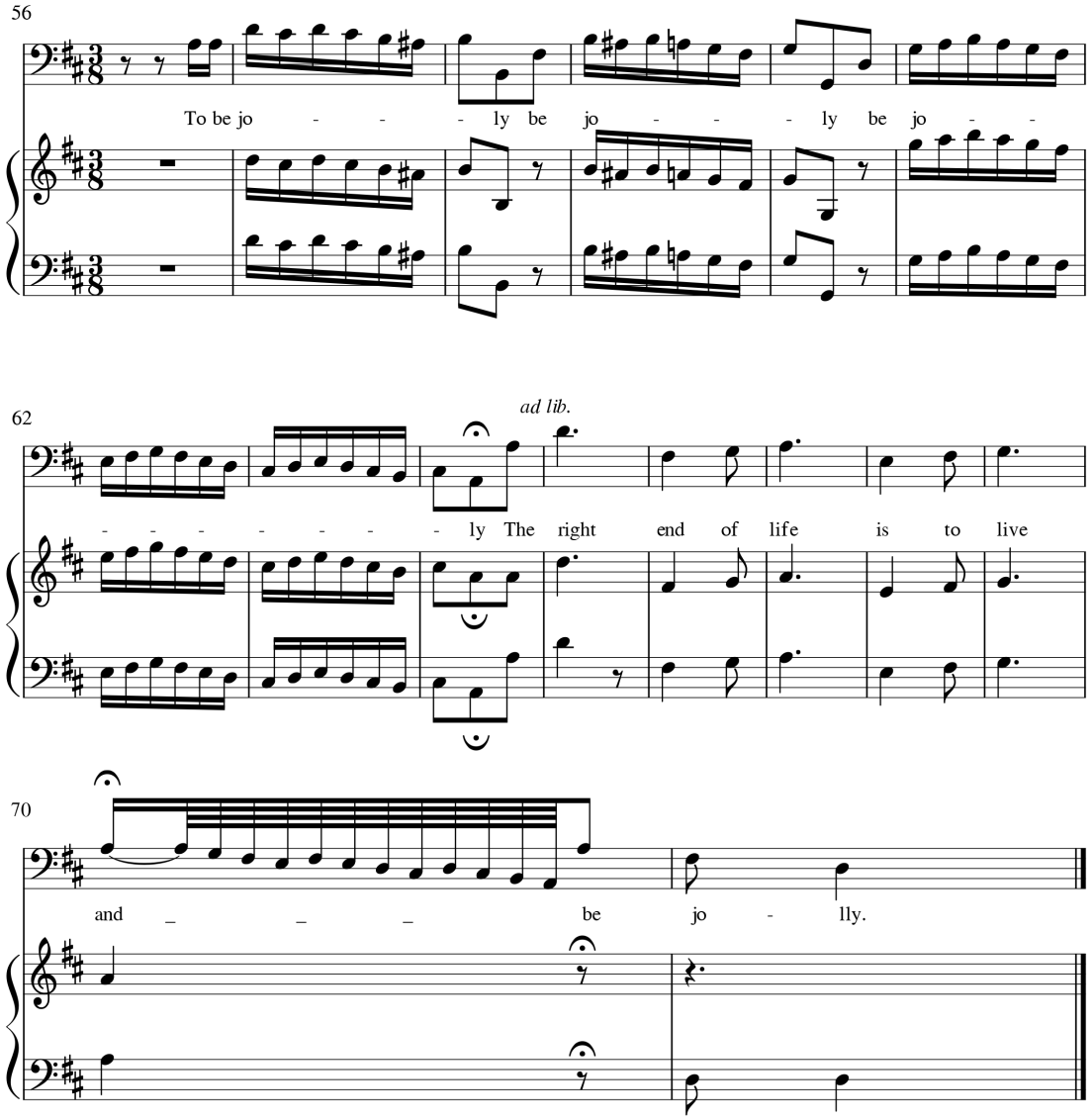


The melodies contained in the theatrical broadsides could be much more challenging than the ornaments found in this notated score (which would no doubt have been altered

[369] See Thomas Arne (composer) *Rule Britannia* (London: n.p., 1755?).

or further embellished for on-stage performance in any case). An example from 'Thro' Desserts We Roam' from *Kais* (premiered 1808) may be found below in Example 3.4:[370]

Example 3.4:

'Thro' Deserts We Roam', bars 56-71.
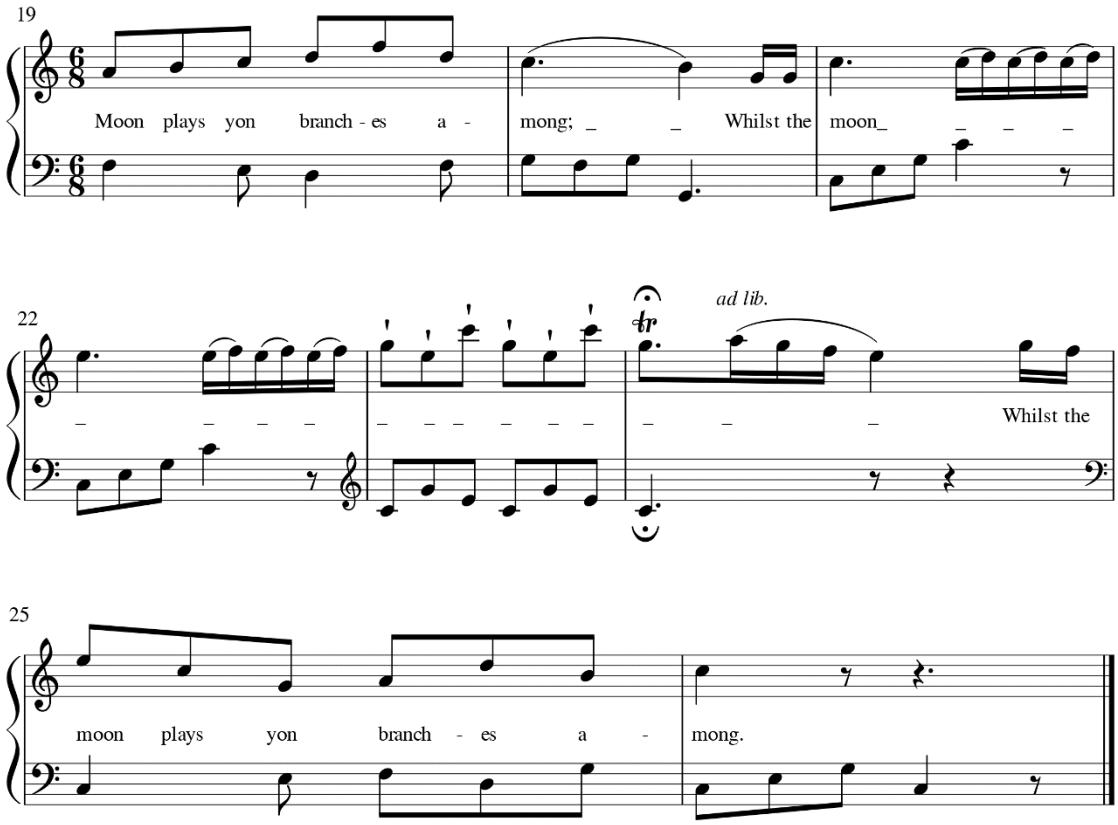


[370] Isaac Brandon (wordbook), and John Braham and William Reeve (music), *Kais, or Love in the Deserts* (London: Goulding, 1808), 108.

Some of the most challenging vocal writing in the theatrical broadsides may be found in sentimental songs for female leads and heroic/sentimental songs for male leads (songs that are roughly analogous to the *aria cantabile* and *aria di portamento* of Italianate opera, respectively). 'When William at Eve' is an example of the former, and 'They Mourn Me Dead' an example of the latter (this song, as noted above, has a recitative that is included even on broadside versions of it). Excerpts of challenging passages from both songs may be found below in Examples 3.5 and 3.6, respectively; the first is particularly notable for its range, the second for the breath control needed to perform it.[371]

[371] William Shield (music) and Frances Brooke (wordbook), 'When William at Eve' (London: I. Diether, c.1800-1850), and George Herbert Rodwell (music) and Edward Fitz Ball (wordbook), 'They Mourn Me Dead in My Father's Hall' (London: Goulding & D'Almaine, n.d.), 7.

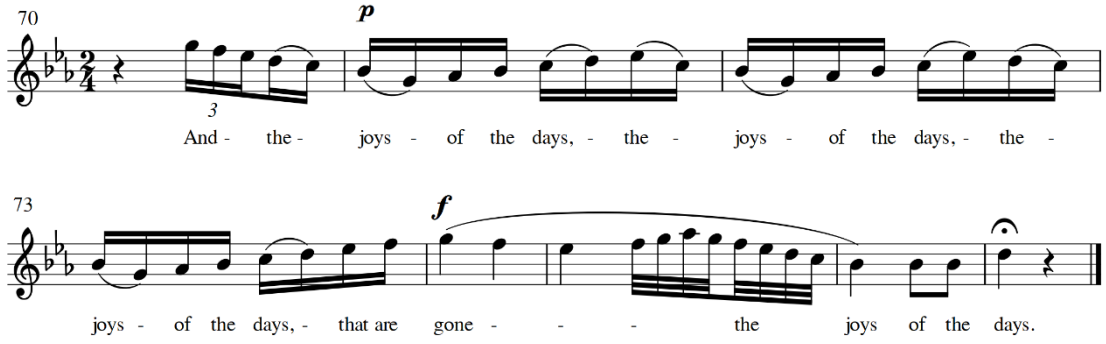
Example 3.5:

'When William at Eve', bars 19-26.



Example 3.6:

'They Mourn Me Dead', bars 70-77.



Metre is an interesting feature of the theatrical broadsides: I have found that very nearly 40% of the theatrical ballads with existing scores are in triple time or compound duple time (3/8, 6/8, 9/8, 6/4) and a little over 60% are in common or simple duple time (2/4, 4/4, 2/2). Though they do not form the majority of the ballads in the collection, triple or compound-metered songs form a significant minority of it, and this is interesting because historically, the broadside very much favoured these meters—a phenomenon which has not received sufficient consideration from broadside historians. If we take, for example, Claude Simpson's immense collection of English broadside ballad tunes from c.1550-c.1700 and analyse the meters of the melodies, we find that approximately 60% of the 540 tunes he notated are in triple or compound duple meter, with 40% in common or simple duple time.[372] The high proportion of compound and triple-metered songs would have contributed meaningfully to the musical constitution of the broadside tradition, and it also poses interesting questions about the end-use purpose of theatrical broadsides (and broadsides in general). Historians tend to point to the pub or home as the end-use location of the broadside ballad: it travelled from the public sphere (the street; but in the case of theatrical broadsides, it had previously come from a proprietary public space) into the private, domestic sphere (the home) or another proprietary public space like the public house. But we often neglect to consider what it did when it got to these end-use spaces. Many—if not most—broadsides of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were sung: the database has found the music to several hundred of them. But *why* were they sung, and what else was happening *while* they were being sung?

[372] See Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1966).

The relatively high proportion of triple and compound meters could suggest that, historically, broadside performance had a connection with social dancing. Common and simple duple meters were also used to accompany social dancing (as such, we may remember the marked common and duple-time meters of the patriotic/rousing songs discussed above). But triple-metered dances from Germany had become particularly popular in England by the 1790s (these were sometimes called *allemande* dances) and of course one of Britain's popular native social dances—the jig—was accompanied by compound metres of 6/8 or 9/8.[373] Dance historians are well aware of the connection between the broadside and social dancing. According to Hugh Rippon:

> …nearly all the tunes to the first edition [of Playford's *Dancing Master*] were song or ballad tunes, many of a much earlier date than the book since it was the habit (so Chappel tells us in *Popular Music of the Olden Times*) to make dances out of such song and ballad tunes as were of a sufficiently cheerful character.[374]

Social dancing had, since the seventeenth century, been closely associated with ballad song. The vocal performance of ballads, particularly strophic ballads, was not always easily communal—as discussed above: while memorisation skills in general may well have been better in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries than they are today, the fact that printed copies of ballads were so much in demand from the seventeenth through to the twentieth centuries would suggest that printed texts for songs were nevertheless welcome memory aids for performance (particularly for long songs or those with little/no textual and musical repetition). The melody must have been memorised for performance of a broadside song (though not necessarily rigidly), but the lyrics need not have been. And if the sheet was wanted as a memory aid, then a single

[373] Margaret Dean-Smith, 'Jig', *Grove Music Online.*

[374] Hugh Rippon, *Discovering English Folk Dance* (Aylesbury: Shire, 1981), 31. See also Gordon Hall Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition* (Oxford: University Press, 195), 237.

broadside would have been of limited use in social situations when a group wanted to casually participate in the singing (excepting, perhaps, the cases of verse-chorus songs, which lend themselves to quicker memorisation and group performance). What a single broadside would have allowed, however, was for one or a small handful of people to sing the song (with the help of the sheet) and for the others to *dance* to it. As dancers need steady rhythms, it is likely that this is a situation in which ballad singing might have been accompanied by a fiddle or other stringed instrument.

The metrical makeup of the theatrical broadsides is not identical to that of the earlier broadside tunes as notated by Simpson: the proportions have been inverted. Perhaps this was because many of the naval and patriotic songs that were popular on stage and off were in duple rather than time. In any case, the significant proportion of triple and compound meters in *both* Simpson's collection and the theatrical broadsides found in this project suggests that these meters were an important feature of broadside music; I think it likely that it indicates a connection between broadside singing and social dancing, but this remains something of a supposition, as the interaction between the two traditions has not been fully explored.[375]

Performance

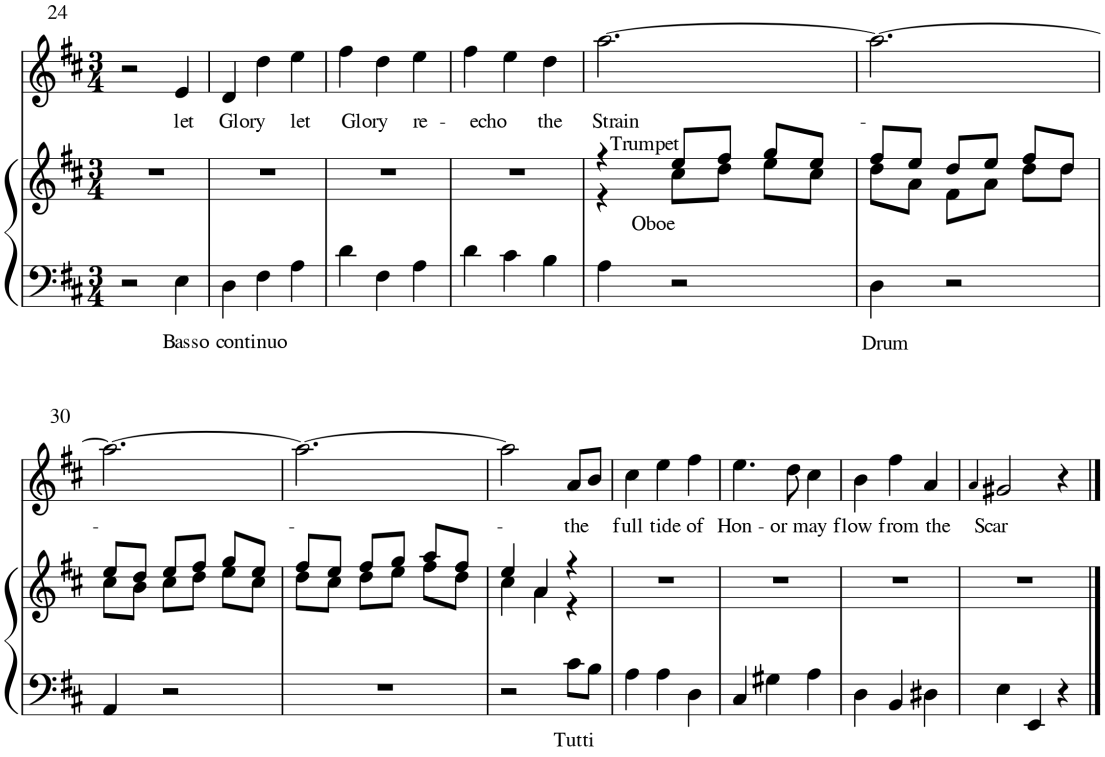
The music to many of the theatrical broadsides found in this project was strophic and fairly simple; but as noted above, this was certainly not always the case. Theatrical broadsides could pose multiple challenges for the street singer: firstly, their structures

[375] Frank Kidson and Mary Neal's book *English Folk-Song and Dance* is neatly divided into halves, with the two topics being considered in nearly complete isolation from each other (and by different authors), with no integrated discussion on the interaction between the two. See Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance* (Cambridge: University Press, 1915).

were not always easy to understand; secondly, their tunes could be long, without repetition; thirdly, they could be awkward for *a capella* performance, as several of the melodies were written to interact with various accompanying instruments, creating strange breaks in the vocal line.[376] An excerpt from the patriotic/rousing song 'Stand to You Guns' may be found in Example 3.7, in which the vocal line integrates as a duet with the trumpet, demonstrating the last of these challenges.[377]

Example 3.7:

'Stand to Your Guns', bars 24-36.



[376] It is helpful to compare the melodies of the theatrical broadsides with the relatively simple tunes collected and notated by Claude M. Simpson in *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*.

[377] Thomas Carter (music) and Isaac Jackman (wordbook), *The Milesian* (London: Thompson, 1777), 50.

Like Mark Philp, we might approach these theatrical broadsides with the assumption that the average street singer and broadside purchaser would not have been accustomed—or even capable—of singing challenging songs written for stage professionals. Nevertheless, they were printed for the street trade. It is possible that some street singers had received musical training, or had even been associated with the theatres at some point; but many of these songs were musical showcases for star theatrical leads, and would have been challenging even for trained voices. And then there are the broadside customers to consider: how did *they* engage with these challenging songs once purchased?
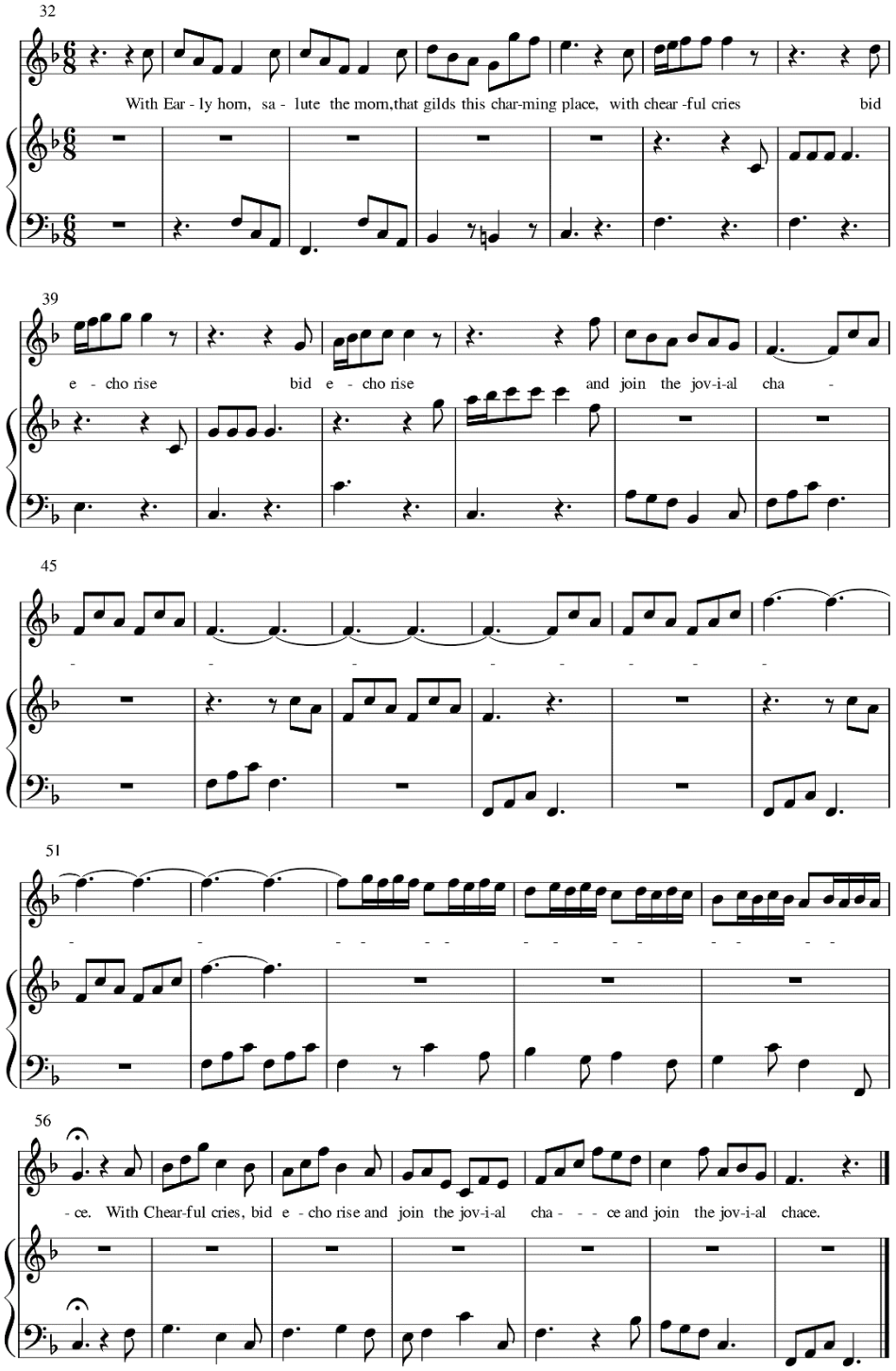
The music we have found to the theatrical broadsides challenges our assumptions about the musical sophistication of the broadside singer and purchaser—sophistication in technique, but probably also in arrangement. Broadsides of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries did not provide musical instructions for the performance of the songs they included: they (almost) never included tune references, and—as already discussed—broadside printers often made small or large edits to the texts, either to eliminate repetition (and therefore unnecessary ink and space) or to fashion the songs into desirable stanza structures. To perform songs from these sheets, then, the ballad singer and/or end-use purchaser had—at the very least—to 1) remember the melody, and 2) exercise a degree of creative license and judgment in fitting the words on the page to the melody, either cutting bits of the melody when the lyrics for it were not provided, or else elaborating and repeating textual phrases to fit the melody they had heard. I would posit that the role of the performer as 'editor' or 'arranger' went beyond this, however: in cases where a great degree of skill would be required to execute a passage of the melody to one of these songs, I believe that the performer would

probably have amended the passage to something more manageable. Take, for example, a passage from 'The Early Horn' in Example 3.8 and 3.9 below.[378] This music example has been transcribed from a 1736 version of the song, which scores the vocal and accompanying lines on just two staves; for clarity, I have split the treble accompanying line from the vocal line in the example below.

[378] John Ernest Galliard (music) and Edward Phillips (wordbook), *The Early Horn* (London: n.p., 1736).

Example 3.8:

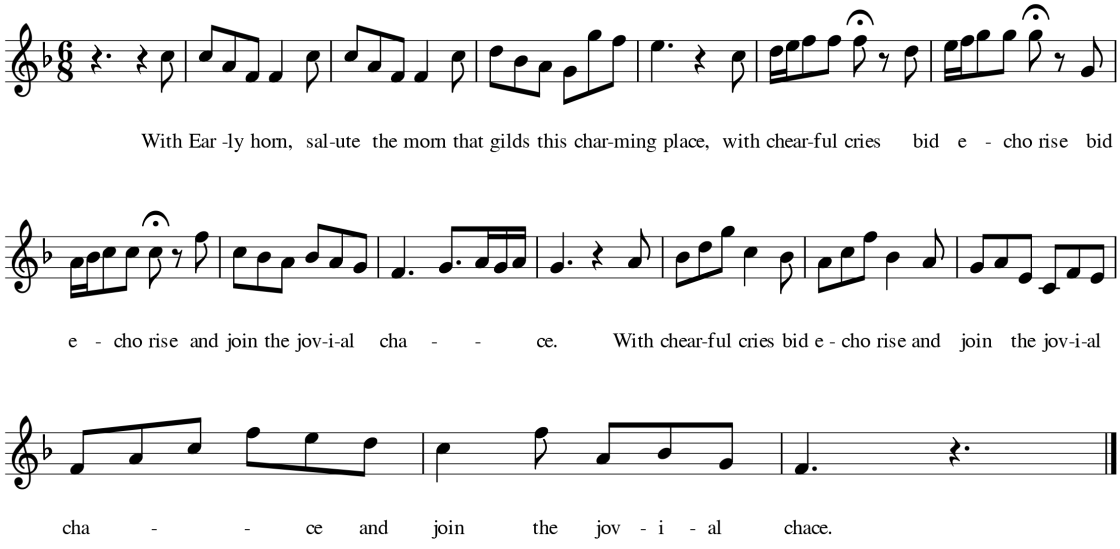
‘The Early Horn’, bars 32-62, transcribed from the score.



This is a challenging melody to perform, even without its extensive melismatic passages: the passagework starting in bar 44 alone lasts for twelve bars. I am quite convinced from this collection of theatrical broadsides that street singers were more musically ambitious than we—like Mark Philp—would assume; yet melismas, as well as being very difficult to execute technically, were not—all historical evidence would suggest—part of the musical idiom or sound of English street singing.[379] However, if we look closely, we find it would be very simple for a performer to make some practical edits to this song. In Example 3.9 below, I have suggested some possible modifications to the tune that would simplify it for performance.

Example 3.9:

'The Early Horn', with melody adjusted but corresponding with bars 32-62 in the original (as shown in Example 3.8).



[379] We remember the emphasis placed on the 'simplicity' of ballad-type music in England through to the nineteenth century, and the socio-political importance of this simple musical form. Also, see Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* to compare theatrical broadside melodies of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries with the broadside music of earlier decades.

Here we see that the extended melismatic passagework from the original could be entirely elided, along with the eleven measures in which it takes place: the performer could hold the F for a bar, perhaps with a trill or turn for effect, and simply step up to the G of the dominant chord in the next bar. As originally written in the score, these passages would be so challenging to a street singer (especially if reproduced from memory), and their omission so simple, that it would be surprising to find that street singers did *not* edit them out for performance. The metrical integrity of the song need not be affected by the edits: in my version, for example, the meter remains untouched, with only the addition of three fermatas to provide extra time for the singer to breathe. But of course the meter of the song *could* have been changed: folk music collectors know that metrical alterations and elisions were often made in orally transmitted music in England, both within bars and within phrases (the broadside ballad can be classed within England's orally transmitted song tradition in this context as, though the words were printed, the music was still disseminated through performance rather than through notation). Thus, the theatrical songs that were reprinted on broadside sheets provided musical materials for street performers who might then arrange or modify them to suit their own needs and abilities. Though they were tangible and textually fixed (seemingly), broadside ballads were musical processes as well as products.

Plot and Characters

We have now considered some of the theatrical broadsides' textual and musical characteristics, but we have yet to consider their dramatic contexts. What were the characteristics of the theatrical works from which these songs came? And specifically,

what part did the 'parent' theatrical work play in the movement of theatre music to the street? I have identified 132 theatrical works whose songs were reprinted in street literature from 1797-1844 and, as the reader will remember from Chapter 2, they are a generically diverse collection of staged works. However, there are some notable characteristics of this body of musical entertainments; I will briefly highlight some of the pertinent ones here as we consider why these *particular* theatrical songs were reprinted in street literature when so many others were not.

Comedy was of course a keystone of this varied collection of stage works (as noted in Chapter 2): most English operas of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries included strong comic elements and nearly all of those I have found whose songs were reprinted as broadsides are in fact comedies.[380] Like opera buffa, English comic opera featured main characters from a range of social classes and social satire provided much of the comedy. A good example of class-based satire would be Thomas Dibdin's *Family Quarrels* (premiered 1802), from which five songs appear in the Bodleian's Broadside

[380] There is one theatrical work associated with the broadside tradition that is definitively not a comedy. The self-styled 'opera' *Kais* by Isaac Brandon, premiered at Drury Lane in 1808, had loftier pretensions than the works of O'Keeffe, Thomas Dibdin, and the other playwrights discussed above. The plot was based on the partially historical Persian love story Majnun and Layla, as retold by poet Nizami Ganjavi (1141 to 1209), and was translated into English by Isaac D'Israeli, the father of the Prime Minister Benjamin D'Israeli. Brandon adapted D'Israeli's work into a wordbook that centres around a young poet Qais who falls in obsessive love with his childhood friend Layla. Her father refuses to give him her hand because of his unstable behaviour and both eventually die in grief (Lord Byron drew parallels between this story and that of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet). Isaac Brandon made some notable alterations to D'Israeli's literary original. Firstly, Kais is not insane or obsessed (though perhaps over-enthusiastic in his love for Leila); secondly, an additional love story (between Rozella and Almanzor) is added to the original to fill out the plot; and thirdly, the ending of the story is changed from tragedy to triumphant victory for all lovers involved. These three changes bring the story into line (largely) with the conventions of English musical drama of the time. Kais, as the protagonist of the piece, could not be mad: if he was mad and lived, he would be a comic character rather than a heroic one; and if he was mad and died, the story would be a tragedy. The added love story between Rozella and Almanzor echoes the 'rescue operas' of the 1780s, discussed below. Despite the changes Brandon made, *Kais* is a dense, unleavened drama. It is such an outlier in the collection of theatrical works associated with the broadside trade that I find it likely that the connection between the traditions may have been formed through the 'borrowing' of several songs from *Kais* for use in other popular comic operas, or even in concerts (this is discussed later in this chapter).

Collections in fifteen editions.[381] In this comic opera, neighbouring families who had once intended their children to marry subsequently fall out with each other, suddenly taking issue with their mismatched social classes. Mrs. Supplejack sees great value in her family's distantly 'noble' blood and is mortified that Sir Peppercorn Crabstick, a successful merchant, does not do so as well; Sir Crabstick is proud of coming from 'working-class' stock and derides Mrs. Suppejack's (far-fetched) aristocratic pretensions. Their disagreement is as much one of values as actual class position: Mrs Supplejack is not truly aristocratic, just as the knighted Sir Peppercorn is no longer part of the working classes. Both characters are satirised in the comic opera: Mrs Supplejack is depicted as socially grasping and Sir Peppercorn is presented as an ill-bred boor. At its core, this comic opera satirises England's national obsession with social distinctions: after all, this is what both Mrs Supplejack and Sir Peppercorn have in common. At the end of the opera, Mrs Supplejack and Sir Peppercorn's respective children, Charles and Caroline, succeed in their parents' original design—that is for the two houses to be joined by marriage. Does the opera's social satire undermine England's social system? By no means, for Charles and Caroline are wiser than their parents in recognising that there is no relevant social distinction between them and therefore they are a suitable match; Mary Hunter has argued that in opera buffa, social order usually only *seems* to be contravened within a comic carnival that actually reaffirms the institutions it satirises: we find a similar phenomenon in the English comic opera.[382]

All of the musical entertainments associated with the broadside trade had ensemble casts—often featuring more than a dozen named characters. As in opera buffa, non-

[381] Thomas Dibdin (wordbook), *Family Quarrels.*
[382] Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, 74.

aristocratic characters played an important part in English opera of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. But 'commoners' rarely took the leading roles in these dramas—as they had in *The Beggar's Opera* (premiered 1728), for example—for English comic operas typically affirmed the country's monarchical social structure. The honourable commoner—whether soldier, sailor, or civilian—usually embraced his place in society willingly in these dramas, gaining a form of (moral) equality with his noble counterparts through his devotion to country and his willing subscription to its hierarchical system of governance. As such, he usually played a supporting role to noble-born characters; and even when the plot did centre around a non-aristocratic character—as in *Poor Soldier* (premiered 1783), for example—he/she was still located within a social hierarchy, in a suitably subservient relationship to social superiors.

Theatrical works that proved particularly popular on the street featured a wide range of these 'noble' commoners, who contributed to the development and depiction of Britain's national identity during the wars. A good example of these characters may be found in Thomas Dibdin's *The English Fleet of 1342* (premiered 1803), an extremely popular work on the street, with 25 editions of four songs in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections.[383] In this comic opera, the main characters are predominantly non-aristocratic, consisting of a French soldier Philip, his wife Jeanetta, his grown son Valentine, and the latter's English bride Katherine. The agency these characters exercise in the plot is considerable as the noble 'hero' of the piece—the deposed but rightful ruler De Montfort, Count of Brittany—is powerless throughout the course of the opera; he first depends on concealment from his enemies by Jeanetta before he is carried off by

[383] Thomas Dibdin (wordbook) and William Reeve (music), *The English Fleet of 1342* (London: Longman, 1805).

two buffoonish French betrayers, only to be later saved by Philip, Valentine, and their English allies. This work could be described as an English version of the so-called 'rescue dramas' popular in Italianate and continental opera of the period, and—significantly—the commoners were in fact the 'rescuers'.[384]

As in opera buffa, commoners were frequently personal servants to lovestruck aristocrats and were responsible for much of the comedy in the drama; but this comedy was rarely degrading. Servants very often had more rounded characters than their noble counterparts in these dramas, exercising intelligence and initiative—as well as agency (which we have seen above in *The English Fleet)*. In *The Cabinet* (premiered 1802), the happy conclusion of the opera is a direct result of the intelligence and loyalty of the lead's servant, who acts as a veritable 'Jeeves', setting all to rights for his master, country, and king—all while adding comedy to the story with witticisms and schemes.[385] The knitting of comedy and dignity yielded a very likeable—if enthusiastically monarchical—set of 'common' characters, depicted with a complexity that eluded the stereotypical definitions of either the buffoon or the noble.

We have already discussed the martial commoner at some length as a subject of theatrical broadsides; but Jack Tar and the red coat appeared on stage in the flesh, too.

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[384] The so-called 'rescue opera' was popular in Italianate and continental operatic traditions in the late-eighteenth century—particularly associated with France during the Revolutionary Era. R. Morgan Longyear defines the genre based on the following five characteristics: 1) the confinement of the protagonist at some point during the plot, 2) the limitation or exclusion of comic elements (even in French *opera comique),* 3) an engagement with contemporaneous social issues within the plot of the drama, 4) realism in the location and setting of the drama (so historical rather than mythological settings), and 5) a focus on emotion, as in Romantic melodrama. The genre of 'rescue operas' remains problematic because it is a genre invented by historians to understand a wide range of operas from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. *The English Fleet,* though it includes notable comic elements, largely conforms to the definition of this constructed genre, as defined by Longyear. See R. Morgan Longyear, 'Notes on the Rescue Opera', *The Musical Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1959): 49-66, here 50-54. See also David Charlton, 'Rescue opera', *Grove Music Online*.

[385] See Thomas Dibdin (wordbook) and William Reeve (composer), *The Cabinet* (London: Longman, 1805).

The Dibdin-esque martial commoner was a frequent stock character in the theatrical works associated with the street: a particularly notable example would be the sailor Matt Mainmast from *The English Fleet*—a tar by profession but a hero by nature, who is a prime example of a non-noble character who is both dignified and comic. His relationship with alcohol is an ongoing joke throughout the opera, lending both humour to the plot and an endearing weakness to his character. When the now-imprisoned French betrayer Maurice sarcastically suggests that Mainmast will 'drink the ocean, at the rate you go on,' his English captor replies 'Now, how the devil came I not to think of that toast before! Drink the Ocean! That I will—it's one of the best friends Old England has to her back.'[386] Mainmast recites odes to alcohol even more frequently—though perhaps less eloquently—than those to his king. He sings the following patriotic song, which also appears in the Bodleian's Broadside Collection:

> The universe well may be jealous
> Of England, where Liberty sings;
> Her king is the king of good fellows,
> And all her good fellows are kings;
> Her girls of her lads are the pride, too;
> For beauty, the palm is their own;
> And they who don't love 'em, as I do,
> Like blockheads, may let 'em alone.
> The universe, etc.
>
> Our merchants, what port does without 'em,
> Her nobles, for honour are high;
> Her soldiers and sailors, who doubt 'em,
> Are welcome their valour to try.
> To his birth ev'ry Briton's a debtor,
> And he who don't relish the spot,
> May easier look for a better,
> Than better the luck of his lot,
> The universe, etc.[387]

[386] Thomas Dibdin, *The English Fleet,* 40.
[387] Ibid., 41. See also 'Old England', Harding B 28(4) (n.p., n.d.), at the Bodleian Library.

Mainmast is a compelling blend of human foible, bravery, and national pride.[388] His final act in the drama is to accept the surrender of the Spanish Captain Carlos (in the historic conflict in 1342, the Spanish had thrown their lot in with the French, paralleling contemporaneous events in the Napoleonic Wars). Mainmast, upon learning the identity of his captive, phlegmatically notes 'So much the better. When I take a prisoner, I wouldn't grumble, even if he were a general.'[389]

Aristocrats, on the other hand, were not always flattered in theatrical works associated with the broadside trade: O'Keeffe's 1787 comic opera *The Farmer* provides a good example. Set initially in Kent, the story revolves around a young gentleman named Valentine who is heir to his uncle, the rich Colonel Dormont, and married to Louisa, the daughter of a lawyer named Fairly. Having been corrupted by the fortune his uncle has settled on him during his life, Valentine leaves his wife in Canada, where they had settled, and returns alone to England to pursue his own enjoyment—and other women. His uncle, hearing of his profligacy, chooses to teach him a lesson, and finds another distant relation upon whom he may settle his fortune (or threaten to do so). The alternate heir he finds is the reluctant Farmer Blackberry, whom he brings to London with his daughter. Valentine, also in London, discovers his uncle's plans to disinherit him when he finds himself without funds; in something of a financial bind, he is rescued by his adoring, long-suffering wife. Having miraculously learned his lesson by this brief reversal of fortune, and subsequently amended his ways, Valentine is reinstated by his

[388] Other depictions of English sailors in these theatrical works include Frederic and his off-sider Robin in Hoare Prince's *No Song, No Supper* (1790). A quote from Robin sums-up their shared patriotic fervour, delivered in response to Frederic's declaration that Robin had risked his life to save his own, 'That's no concern to a British sailor; he holds his life in keeping for his king, his country, and his friend, and for them he will cheerfully lay it down, whether scorching beneath the Line, or freezing under the North Pole'. See Prince Hoare, *No Song No Supper* (Dublin: Byrne, 1792), 5.

[389] Thomas Dibdin, *The English Fleet*, 60.

uncle, and all ends happily. The depiction of Valentine—who is the romantic lead of the piece—is pointedly unflattering: the moral of the story is that money without work and without restraint is an evil, resulting in dissolute behaviour. The structure of the plot is unusual in that the true hero of the piece is the honest lawyer Fairly (not the romantic lead) and the love story—if it may be called that—takes place *after* the marriage of the couple. Additionally, Valentine's wife is not won by him or saved by him, but in fact graciously rescues him from bad financial straits and demonstrates unfailing compassion towards a man who has shown her little (interestingly, the plot of the opera mirrors the narrative of William Hogarth's influential series of paintings entitled *The Rake's Progress* of the 1730s, but with a happier ending).

The Farmer draws clear distinctions between the characters of élite vs. professional or wage-earning Englishmen (the 'working classes'), depicting one to the disadvantage of the other. But most aristocrats in theatrical works associated with the broadside trade fared somewhat better. *The English Fleet, No Song No Supper,* and *Poor Soldier* all boast some aristocrats of exceptional moral characters, and there are many other theatrical works associated with the broadside trade that do likewise. Even in cases when aristocrats played antagonists, as in *The Farmer,* they were almost always reconciled with the rest of the characters by the end of the work (as was usually the case in opera seria and opera buffa, too). Unlikely reconciliations were usually justified by familial relationships—literal or metaphorical. In *The Farmer,* for example, the wealthy Colonel Dormont finds he is literally related to the rough Kentish farmer Blackberry. Here the connections between social ranks and situations was literal. Similarly, the prodigal Valentine is taken back by his long-suffering wife and relations because of literal family connection: he was forgiven because he was one of them. In the *English*

Fleet, the Count is—somewhat inexplicably—introduced as the 'godson' of the soldier Philip and his wife Jeanetta, and the loyal rhetoric of the couple centres on their 'familial' bonds with their social superior. This familial relationship is subsequently expanded to *all* of the Count's subjects in a speech by his wife:

> The *lawful* master of *this* government tenders his people's safety as his own. His *subjects* are his *children,* and his *friends;* friends, who will ne'er forsake him; but wou'd sooner die, ere, for their dear-bought ease, they'd sacrifice their charter'd freedom to a base usurper.[390]

The familial nature of inter-social relationships, as depicted in many of the theatrical works associated with the broadside trade, resonates with a 'hierarchical' model of social structure, which David Cannadine has identified as the most prevalent contemporaneous concept for British society during this period. In this model, each person has his/her rank on a continuous ladder of social hierarchy that is not divided into general groupings ('upper', 'middle', 'lower', etc.), but which remains contiguous from the lowest to the highest. Everyone was on the same social ladder, and therefore remained connected to everyone else on it.[391] This model has some natural parallels with a traditional familial structure: parents, for example, exercise authority over children, but they also enjoy close personal relationships with them. Thus, a hierarchical concept of social structure justified the familiarity that existed between characters of different social 'ranks' within these dramas, allowing them to interact with some intimacy without suggesting that any character was forfeiting or abandoning his/her place in society. Once again, social institution is almost always affirmed within these dramatic works.

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[390] Thomas Dibin, *The English Fleet,* 57.
[391] See David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London: Penguin, 2000), 187 and 192 particularly.

Exoticism was another common feature of the theatrical works associated with broadsides. As Locke has shown, exoticism has had a rich history in opera, entrenched as it was in Italianate and other continental operatic traditions by the eighteenth century.[392] In English comic opera, exotic settings lent colour and excitement while allowing plots to indirectly engage with contemporaneous social and political issues. *The Castle of Andalusia* (premiered 1782) would be a good example of this; though it has a romanticised Spanish setting, the opera clearly alludes to contemporaneous British politics, not least with the inclusion of a minor character called Spado, a bandit who forms part of a group of highwaymen led by the protagonist, Don Caesar—a nobleman who has turned to crime after falling out with his father. [393] As one of the opera's antagonists, Spado bears some striking similarities to Napoleon. Firstly, he was (originally) a member of a band of democratically ruled rebels (the highwaymen headed by Don Caesar); secondly, he shows a desire to usurp this democratic group to his own advantage; and thirdly, he is of a particularly small stature—often remarked upon in the drama. He even sings a song in which he compares himself to Alexander the Great, whose Eastern kingdom Napoleon aspired to replicate:

> Tho' born to be little's my fate,
> Why so was the great Alexander;
> And when I march under a gate,
> I've no need to stoop like a gander;
> I'm no linkum long hoddy-doddy,
> Whose paper kite sails in the sky;
> If two feet I want in my body,
> In soul I am thirty feet high![394]

[392] See Ralph P. Locke's book *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart* (Cambridge: University Press, 2015).
[393] John O'Keeffe (wordbook), *The Castle of Andalusia* (London: Longman, 1784).
[394] Ibid., 71.

Exoticism features, to varying degrees, in several theatrical works associated with the broadsides: notable among them are *The Poor Soldier, The English Fleet of 1342,* and *The Surrender of Calais*—all of which had songs that proved immensely popular in the broadside trade.

This collection of theatrical works exhibits some commonalities in character types which relate to the songs adopted from them by the street trade. The typology of arias in Italian opera buffa of the eighteenth century was the subject of contemporaneous consideration (by John Brown, among others) and the associated typology of opera buffa characters has since been explored by modern musicologists, notably Mary Hunter in *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*.[395] Opera buffa was performed internationally and exercised considerable influence over the development of other countries' national comic opera traditions, including those of Germany and England; as such, we can perceive some similarities of plot construction and character types between opera buffa and English comic opera. For example, like in opera buffa, we find a host of unreasonable guardians in English comic opera, whose ambitions for their female charges are overthrown by some young suitor (usually of aristocratic birth, as the undermining of familial power relations is acceptable if it is done by a social equal/superior, thus maintaining the order of social hierarchy, as explained by Mary Hunter).[396] We also find a clear divide between female leads and female servants, typical of opera buffa; the former are usually of some noble birth and are incapable of

[395] See John Brown, *Letters upon the Poetry and Music of the Italian Opera; Addressed to a Friend* (Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute; London: C. Elliot and T. Kay, 1789) and Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton: University Press, 1999).

[396] Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna,* 74.

effectually exercising their own will in the plot—though they remain the centre points of it. Hunter describes the role of female leads in opera buffa thus:

> Her [the female lead's] passivity is thus an integral part of her relational identity. She herself engineers no action, but she is the focal point of almost everything engineered by the other characters. She is usually desired by essentially every male in the cast and is therefore the focus of every female's jealous concern, although she has made advances to no one. When she flees, the other characters all hunt her down; when she is courted by importunate noblemen, she produces jealousy and spite in everyone from her proper lover to servants who think they themselves should have been the objects of the nobleman's desires. Thus she occupies only the space imagined for her by the other characters; she is in a sense the blank eye of the dramatic storm.[397]

In opera buffa, sentimental heroines were often introduced with a song, establishing them outside the action of the plot, for as Hunter has also suggested, songs—and strophic songs in particular—were 'almost always used to suggest a separation from immediate circumstances in opera buffa', as the diegetic act of singing embodies personal, absentminded musings that exist outside of the plot.[398] We have seen that in English comic operas, songs also provided 'distance' from plot circumstances, as they were often unrelated to the story, and provided something of a comma in the plot—a musical aside. And as in opera buffa, we find that songs were also used to introduce sentimental females into the story: an example of this from the theatrical broadsides would be Margaretta's diegetic song 'With Lowly Suit' (discussed above) sung during her first entrance in *No Song No Supper* (premiered 1790).[399] And these sentimental songs need not be sung at the beginning: the following *aria cantabile*-type song 'While Pensive I Thought on My Love' is an introverted musing that is sung in Act I, Scene 4

[397] Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna,* 85.
[398] See Hunter, 88-9.
[399] See Hunter, 88-89 and Prince Hoare, *No Song, No Supper* (Dublin: Byrne, 1792), 11.

of *Blue Beard* (premiered 1798) by the lead female, Fatima. It is transcribed below from a broadside edition by Pigott (1803-1830):

> WHILE pensive I thought on my love,
> The moon on the mountains was bright,
> And Philomel down in the grove,
> Broke sweetly the sweet silence of night.
>
> I wish that the tear drop would flow
> But I felt too much anguish to weep,
> Till worn by the weight of my woe,
> I sunk on my pillow to sleep.
>
> Methought, that my Love, as I lay,
> His ringlets all clotted with gore,
> In the paleness of Death seem'd to say,
> Alas! we must never meet more.
>
> Yes, yes, my belov'd, we must part,
> The steel of my Rival was true,
> The assassin had struck on that heart,
> Which beat with such fervor for you.[400]

The other common female character type in opera buffa is the servant or 'contadina' character: we find some similar characters in the English comic opera (though as noted above, I found comparatively few theatrical broadsides sung by women, and almost all of these were sentimental in nature). We also find dupable adversaries, similar to those common in opera buffa: these adversaries are often uncooperative father figures, but might also include unwelcome suitors, such as Mushroom in *Family Quarrels*; in some cases, the adversary may be both an uncooperative father-figure *and* a suitor, as was the unpalatable Vigil in *Love Laughs and Locksmiths* (premiered 1803). These characters

[400] 'While Pensive I Thought on My Love', Firth b.27(39), Firth c.18(46), Harding B 16(305b), Harding B 17(335a), and Johnson Ballads 3017 (London: G. Piggott, 1803-1830), at the Bodleian Library. See also, George Colman Jr (wordbook) and Michael Kelly (music), *Blue-Beard; Or, Female Curiosity* (London: Cawthorne, 1808), 24. Again, this song does not scan properly and contains several errors, but it is reproduced here faithfully from the broadside version.

could be comic as well as adversarial, but most of the comedy in the plot was provided by comic underlings (martial commoners, servants, or subjects). As previously discussed, the comic underling in English opera provided comedy by singing moralistic or amusing narrative songs, claiming unwarranted social pretensions, offering unwelcome advice, or expressing a confirmed disapproval of women. They also provided situational comedy by executing schemes to resolve plot conflicts. These comic underlings shared much with their Italianate *buffo* counterparts, but as already noted, they tended not to be strictly buffoonish (increasingly, this was the case in Italianate opera too, with the rise of the *mezzo carattere*). Matt Mainmast from *The English Fleet* would be a prime example: he is a hero in the drama and a key ally to the opera's protagonist, but he is also made to look slightly ridiculous by his perpetual drunkenness. Both comic underlings and comic adversaries were played by actors that specialised in comedy: Joseph Shepherd Munden was particularly successful in such comic roles, playing both servant/martial underlings (he created the role of Matt Mainmmast in *The English Fleet*, for example) and comic adversaries (Sir Peppercorn Crabstick in *Family Quarrels*). But there were fairly clear divisions in English Comic Operas between comic and non-comic roles, and in a handful of works associated with the broadside trade—including *Cambro-Britons* (premiered 1798) and *The Castle of Andalusia* (premiered 1782)—there was even a stylistic difference between the musical/textual materials of the noble and common characters in the plot—but in most cases, this difference was not maintained consistently throughout the opera. Unlike in Italianate opera, there was significant flexibility in troupes regarding roles in English Comic Opera: actors had to be versatile. We find that there was an interchange of actors between leading men and non-comic supporting tenor parts: John Braham was fairly

consistently cast as the male lead in comic operas in the patent theatres, yet Charles Incledon, another popular tenor, switched between character types, playing the male aristocratic lead in the premiere of *The Cabinet* at Covent Garden in 1802, but then taking the part of the benevolent, sage-like neighbour Foxglove in the premiere of *Family Quarrels* in the same year, and the supporting character Captain Fitzwalter in the premiere of *The English Fleet of 1342* at Covent Garden in 1803. As in opera buffa, there were not clear distinctions between female leads and female servants in terms of voice parts (both were usually played by sopranos), but there was a distinction in acting abilities and vocal technique. We find some movement of actresses between these character types—Anna Storace played the female lead in *Family Quarrels* and *The English Fleet*, but plays servants in *The Cabinet* and in the premiere of *Kais* at Drury Lane in 1808—but there was not as much interchange as there was among male actors.

Did these character types have any bearing on the movement of songs from the stage to the street? In other words, were the songs of certain *types* of on-stage characters favoured by the broadside trade? I have found that there was perhaps a slight preference for songs sung by dignified (but comic) underlings like Matt Mainmast: this is not surprising, as these characters had the widest range of song types available to them (moralistic, character-narrative, drinking songs, patriotic songs, etc.), including those types most popular in the theatrical broadsides (moralistic and character-narrative). However, I have found representative songs from all the character types described above in the theatrical broadsides—including villains. The songs of villains, when removed from their dramatic contexts, could in fact make very good street songs. An excellent example of this would be 'Our Country is Our Ship', originally from James Cobb's *The Cherokee* (premiered 1794) and then reused for the more successful

abolitionist opera *Paul and Virginia* (premiered 1800).[401] It is sung ironically in the latter work by the slave-owning villain, but out of context, it reads as a straightforward patriotic ballad.

But it is this very adaptability that made a good theatrical broadside. The very fact that English comic opera included so much musical material in ballad form that did not attempt to relate to the plot meant that the songs, by nature, were but loosely related to the characters who sung them. Even when a pretext was given for the inclusion of a song in the plot, it was often cursory and nonsensical. The song 'Young Lobski' from *The Exile* (performed 1808) is a good example: it is sung to Servitz by the Count, who wants to convince the former to marry; the song itself, however, is about an unfaithful man who marries an ugly wife, and whose indiscretions are subsequently discovered by her. Even though the song ends with a stanza entitled 'MORAL', the audience is none the wiser as to how the song or its moral relates to the count's goal of convincing Servitz to marry (perhaps the song is metadiegetic, serving the author's ends but not the character's). In any case, this moralistic song could just as well have been sung by any other character at any other point in the drama. It is not surprising then that we do not find consistent character-related trends in the theatrical ballads: the musical materials themselves do not show sufficient or consistent distinction to warrant it.

In fact, the songs of the English comic opera were generally so easily removed from their dramatic contexts that they were often pilfered from old operas for insertion in new ones. The song 'Our Country is Our Ship', discussed above, is one such example. Another would be the music of the opera *Kais* (premiered 1808): this long, weighty

[401] James Cobb (wordbook) and Joseph Mazzinghi and William Reeve (music), *Paul and Virginia* (London: T. Rickaby, 1800), and *The Cherokee* (London: Cox, 1794). The song in question was written by Reeve.

opera was not long-lived on the stage, but three of its most popular songs ('Sad, Sad is My Breast', 'Slow Broke the Light', and 'Bewildered Maid') were subsequently inserted in later productions of *The Cabinet* (premiered 1802, restaged in 1808), *The Haunted Tower* (premiered 1789, but restaged in 1810), and *The Castle of Andalusia* (premiered 1782, but restaged many times in the early nineteenth century), and were—perhaps as a result of their reuse—reprinted on many broadside editions.[402] The practice of reusing songs was sharply criticised by some reviewers; nevertheless, it would seem that managers were undeterred from the practice, which was of course standard in Italian opera: if a song was good, it was worth keeping, with plot or without.[403] Additionally, from 1809 until as late as 1827, we see individual songs from *Kais*

[402] According to *Morning Advertiser*, Saturday 17 December 1808, the song 'Sad, Sad is My Breast' was inserted into a subsequent performance of Thomas Dibdin's *The Cabinet* (premiered 1802). Similarly, Braham is advertised as singing 'Slow Broke the Light' from *Kais* in *The Haunted Tower* (premiered 1789) by James Cobb, according to *Morning Advertiser,* Thursday 16 August 1810. I also found that the song 'Bewildered Maid' was inserted into a performance of *The Castle of Andalusia* at Drury Lane in 1817, according to *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser,* Friday 21 November 1817. A perusal of the advertisements for these concerts reveals that there is a complete overlap between the songs performed in concerts or other operas and those that feature on broadsides; all three songs that appear in the broadside collection were performed in concert or another opera in at least one instance (and for Roud V8141, possibly two)—though the concert favourite 'Ye Gloomy Caves' interestingly does not appear in the broadside collection at all. See *Morning Advertiser*, Friday 30 March 1810, advertising 'Ye Gloomy Caves' and 'On This Cold, Flinty Rock' at Covent Garden; *Morning Chronicle*, Monday 12 November 1827, advertising a performance at Drury Lane of the 'Quintette' from *Kais,* which is presumably one of the two quartets from the work ('To Death 'Mid Burning Sands' or 'Pretty Girls, Unveil Your Faces'), as no quintet in fact exists in it; *London Courier and Evening Gazette*, Monday 26 March 1810, advertising 'Ye Gloomy Caves' and 'On this Cold, Flinty Rock' at Covent Garden; *Morning Chronicle*, Saturday 4 February 1809, advertising a concert with 'Sad, Sad is My Breast' at Drury Lane; *Morning Post*, Wednesday 9 November 1808, in which a duet from *Kais* was noted as having been included as an encore at Drury Lane (there are many duets in the opera); *Morning Chronicle*, Monday 24 July 1820, in which the 'Arab Song' (probably 'O'er the Tents', 'What's the Desert's Dreary Sand', or 'Thro' Deserts we Roam') is advertised as an inter-act entertainment at Sadler's Wells; *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser*, Wednesday 28 March 1810, advertising 'On This Cold, Flinty Rock' at Covent Garden; and lastly, *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser,* Monday 24 June 1822, advertising 'Live and Be Jolly' from *Kais* at Covent Garden, to be performed 'in the course of the evening, (by particular desire)'.

[403] See Morning Post, Friday 10 February 1837, review of a performance of *The Castle of Andalusia* at St James's Theatre, performed Thursday 9th February: 'We hope that the revival of old pieces answers the views of the management, but we are free to confess we doubt very much the policy of giving such hackneyed operas. If, however, we are to have the dramas so familiar to us for years it would be as well to be more careful in the selection of introduced pieces. Nothing could be more ridiculous or out of place than the interpolations made in *The Castle of Andalusia*, and there was the less excuse for this want of taste as the original music is unexceptionable.'

appearing in concerts given by Braham and other singers at Covent Garden and Drury Lane.[404] Songs in English comic operas were easily unpicked from their dramatic settings.

Performance

In my examination of theatrical broadsides, I have found no definitive connection between character types in operas and the songs that were reprinted for the streets—nothing that would explain why some songs were chosen from theatrical works while others were left behind: it appears that the songs were chosen more for type/topic than for the characters who sung them. But what about the theatrical works themselves? Can they provide any clues about the migration of theatre songs from the stage to the street? This collection of theatrical works do show commonalities in theme and plot: above, we discussed their common focus on comedy, social interactions, common-man heroes (servants, comic underlings, etc.), and exoticism. But these were all typical traits of English theatrical works of the time: none of these characteristics are *exclusive* to theatrical works associated with the broadside trade, nor do *all* of the relevant theatrical works share all of the common characteristics described above. Therefore, the qualities of the theatrical works themselves do little to explain why 132 musical entertainments became associated with the broadside trade from 1797-1844 when so many similar works did not. But could the *circumstances* of these performances tell us anything more about the migration of theatre music from the stage to the street? To answer this

[404] *Morning Chronicle*, Monday 12 November 1827, review of a performance on Saturday 10 November.

question, we will briefly return to the question of how theatrical songs were brought to the streets, and who might have brought them.

In Chapter 1, the suggestion was entertained that broadside printers may have actively 'poached' songs from the theatres. If songs were primarily taken from the playhouses by printers (or their employees) and subsequently taught to ballad sellers on the street, then the selection of songs from the theatre might have been somewhat arbitrary—dependent on which shows transcribers happened to attend, and then which songs they personally enjoyed. But broadside printers or hired transcribers would not have wanted to regurgitate theatrical materials onto the street without due consideration: they were in the business of selling broadside sheets and so they were incentivised to choose songs that they thought would do well there (after all, their jobs depended on the saleability of their goods). Thus, the songs' printers would have done well to find material to which their target market had already been exposed, or at least material that their target market was likely to enjoy. I have already suggested the possibility of a 'feedback loop' for theatrical songs: music was very much a part of street life in London, particularly around the Seven Dials, and there is every reason to believe that popular hits from Drury Lane's or Covent Garden's latest operas and comedies would have become a part of the area's soundscape (as well as printing culture). The broadside singer then played an important part in informing printers of which songs were likely to be popular: one of Mayhew's interviewees (a ballad singer) notes that 'we looked at the bill of fare for the different concert-rooms, and then went round the neighbourhood where these songs were being sung, because the airs being well known, you see it eased the way for us.' [405] Theatre-goers would have played an important part in this 'feedback loop' too. If

[405] See Mayhew, *London and the London Poor,* vol. III*,* 196.

audiences were bringing songs out of the theatres, sellers and printers could have been cognisant of the songs on the stage without setting foot in the theatres. With current sources, it is difficult to determine whether broadside transcribers/printers, ballad sellers, or audience members were the primary transporters of music from the stage to the street. Realistically, it could have been any; it was probably all. I think it likely that printers did attend performances (or even used wordbooks or scores) to transcribe songs for publication, but from a marketing perspective, it would be far more effective for them to publish what was already known and popular than to take a risk on a playhouse tune whose cultural (and therefore economic) value was unproven.

In either case, how did broadside stakeholders decide which entertainments to attend (for entertainment or transcription)? A natural answer might be that they attended 'popular' ones: if theatrical works were well received and highly patronised, more people would be familiar with them, and so they would have made attractive prospects for broadside printers and their transcribers. There are many ways to determine popularity: critical reception and performance frequency would be the obvious ones. Might critical reception illuminate the winnowing process through which the songs of some theatrical works came to be on the street while those of others did not? In fact, critical reviews of theatrical works rarely align with their popularity on the street. In the *Morning Post* edition Monday 20th December 1802, we find a review of a performance of Thomas Dibdin's comic opera *Family Quarrels,* staged at Covent Garden on Saturday 18th December. The critic starts by claiming that 'it is an ungrateful task to be constantly declaiming against the want of plot, interest, and novelty, in modern pieces of this class'; ramming his point home, he concludes by confirming that in *Family Quarrels,* 'we find poor and vulgar writing, no interest, no plot, and no pretensions to

originality.[406] Many reviews of English comic operas echo these complaints. *Family Quarrels* was indeed formulaic, as this critic alleges, consisting of love triangles, unreasonable guardians, intelligent (but sometimes comic) servants, and mistaken identities; it was weighed down with un unwieldy cast, including fourteen named characters, and enough sub-plots to involve them all. But this was the very stuff of the English comic opera tradition. This entertainment, despite its mixed critical reception, was performed frequently at Covent Garden from 1802-4 according to newspaper advertisements, and it proved very popular on the street, judging by the presence of six of its songs in eighteen editions in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections. It may have had little plot, but that did not appear to prevent audiences from attending it—or, significantly, singing the tunes from it.

We might then turn to performance frequency. Regarding the theatrical works associated with the broadside trade, there *was* a strong relationship between the performance frequency of a theatrical work and the number of songs (or at least the number of editions) from that work that appears in the street literature; however, this was not a predictable correlation. Some theatrical works that have many songs in the street literature, like *The Farmer* (premiered 1787), elude mention in contemporaneous London newspapers almost entirely—in either advertisement or review. A similar example would be *The Whim of the Moment* (premiered 1788), a show written for the Sans Souci by Charles Dibdin Sr after he left the patent theatres. It was a one-man show without elaborate sets or staging, and its exposure could not have been equal to that of many of the other entertainments that feature prominently in the broadsides, judging by 1) the size of its London venue (The King Street Auction Rooms, with reportedly an

[406] *Morning Post*, Monday 20 December 1802.

initial audience of a dozen), 2) the show's brief run-time in London (less than a year, as Dibdin had taken it on tour in the provinces by 1789), and 3) its scarce advertising in the city.[407] Nevertheless, its material was very popular on the street; 5 of its songs appear in 15 editions of the Bodleian's Broadside Collections dating from 1797-1844. Thomas Dibdin's *Family Quarrels* (premiered 1802) had an exactly equivalent presence on the street, according to the Bodleian's Collections; but as noted above, this comic opera was performed at Covent Garden (with far greater capacity) and was liberally advertised in newspapers.[408] Similarly, John O'Keeffe's *The Castle of Andalusia* was premiered in 1782 at Covent Garden and was reprised variously at Drury Lane, Covent Garden, Haymarket, and the Lyceum theatres in 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1818, 1819, 1823, 1825, and 1836. Given its sustained popularity on the stage, we may not be surprised to find that three songs from this work appear in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections in eleven editions from the period in question. However, if we turn to another of O'Keeffe's comic operas, *The Poor Soldier* (premiered 1783), we find that although there is almost no evidence of its performance in contemporaneous newspaper advertisements or reviews, it was one of the most popular theatrical work on the street (according to the Bodleian's Collections), boasting five songs in thirty-six editions.[409] The performance frequency of a theatrical work on the stage was related to its

[407] Fiske and Cholij, 'Dibdin, Charles', *Grove Music Online.*

[408] I did not find advertisements for the initial London performances of Dibdin's work, but he subsequently took it on tour through the country the following year (1789). *The Chester Chronicle* (Friday 6 November 1789) advertises the performance of Dibdin's *Whim of the Moment* at the Chester Assembly Rooms, to be performed that evening and the following, which would be its last showing at that venue.

[409] The date of one of the wordbooks I examined was 1783 (London: Harrison Cluse, Fleet Street; Harding Mus. D249 in the Bodleian's archive), but the only performance advertisements I have found were *Morning Post*, Friday 6 October 1809 (Covent Garden), *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser*, Saturday 11 May 1816 (Drury Lane), *Morning Advertiser*, Tuesday 27 May 1828 (Drury Lane).

popularity on the street, but there are nuances it does not account for: there were other factors at work.

One such factor is audience constitution. A perusal of newspaper advertisements indicates that the theatrical works that were popular among broadside printers very often had showings on Tuesdays or Wednesdays and Saturdays.[410] As noted briefly in the previous chapter, these days were typically 'opera nights' for the upper classes in this century—'opera' here referring not to the native comic tradition, but rather the imported opera of the King's Theatre Haymarket, London's venue for Italian opera. On these nights, according to Roger Fiske, the upper classes were drawn away from the playhouses to enjoy foreign spectacles.[411] This phenomenon naturally had its effect on the playhouses' audiences—and their entertainment offerings. On these nights, performances were probably attended by a higher proportion of broadside-buying (working class) audience members, and were therefore more likely to appear in the street literature. Additionally, theatrical works whose songs were reprinted for the broadside trade were often quite short—some 'musical entertainments' were only two acts; this would indicate that they functioned not as main-pieces but as afterpieces or 'farces', which could be attended at half-price. Theatrical works that were particularly accessible to the non-elite classes were more likely to be reprinted on the street.[412]

[410] This followed an extensive survey of theatrical works advertised and reviewed in contemporaneous newspapers through the *British Newspaper Archive.*

[411] Fiske, *English Theatre Music,* 156.

[412] These works were not shown only on 'opera nights', and were certainly not exclusively intended for non-elite audiences. See *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser*, Friday 21 November 1817 for a review of a performance of *Castle of Andalusia* at Drury Lane on Thursday 20, in which the critic says: 'The audience was more select than numerous: and the sable costume universally adopted, threw over the whole a very sombre appearance.'

CONCLUSION

The Broadside as Theatre

'Ballads are like plays in performance.'
Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*[413]

This project has offered a valuable—if limited—glimpse into the music of the street in the nineteenth century. By firmly connecting stage music with street songs through the database, it has demonstrated that the two traditions were indeed actively engaged with one another in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in England, and it has given some idea of the extent and nature of this engagement. From the perspective of social history, this is a matter of interest because it shows that the patent theatres shared a portion of musical repertory with the street, indicating that staged entertainments were—or became through subsequent performance and printing—common to a range of social classes or ranks. From the perspective of music history, the project has been important because it has found the music to a considerable number of broadsides through the identification of 205 theatre songs that were reprinted for the street in 724 editions (print runs) on 932 individual broadside sheets that still exist in the Bodleian's Collections (not including three songs from another three theatrical works that were printed as broadsides but outside the dates of this project). This is valuable information because it reveals what the 'new' style ballads of the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries actually would have sounded like. However, when considering the number of broadsides that this project examined (11, 432), the proportion of the 'new'

[413] Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1999), 201.

style broadsides that were from the theatre is still relatively small. Of course, there will be broadsides in the Bodleian's Collections and outside of them that were not identified through this project: those songs from concert or pleasure garden entertainments, for example, which could not be included in this project. But what is truly interesting from the perspective of England's musical history is the very real possibility that the majority of broadside songs in the nineteenth century—however many of them were in fact sung rather than read—were sung to newly-composed melodies, created by ballad singers or the in-house composers of the Seven Dials printers. This would indicate that the musical culture of the street in the nineteenth century was not merely reflective of theatre-based musical traditions (though of course it *was*), but it was also a fecund, living musical tradition of its own. Street song had an independent musical identity, and one which we have encountered repeatedly in this exploration of the broadside's engagement with theatre music.

This project has approached the theatrical broadsides from many angles to understand their musical and textual characteristics, as well as their migration from the stage to the street. It started by exploring the contemporaneous sound-world of London, and examining the role of geography in the intersection of stage and street song in the city during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: by identifying the theatres which were strongly associated with the broadside trade, as well as the London broadside printers who engaged in the 'poaching' of theatrical songs, the project has shown that geography and proximity appear to have been important factors in the crossover of music from the theatre to the broadside trade. In brief: printers near the Seven Dials were the most frequent 'poachers' of theatre music; conversely, the theatres near the Seven Dials were the most likely to have their music 'poached'.

The project then considered the songs' subjects, poetic-musical forms, meters, melodies, and also the theatrical genres and contexts from which they came. These examinations showed that the theatrical broadsides could be very diverse in constitution and content, but the collection as a whole exhibits some revealing characteristics: the theatrical songs that were reprinted on the street assimilated remarkably well to the historic broadside tradition. In Chapter 3, we discussed the similarities between the meters found in this collection of theatrical songs and those in collections of earlier broadside tunes, particularly noting the inclusion of so many danceable tunes in triple and compound-duple meter, as well as the strongly rhythmic nature of many of the duple-metered songs. Hugh Rippon and Gordon Gerould Hall have suggested that the broadside was, historically, associated with social dancing, and it would appear that the theatrical songs chosen for reprinting in the broadside trade were those that would adapt well to the traditional end-use purposes of the broadside. But of course, not all the theatrical broadsides originally looked or sounded like street songs: in many cases, the melodies of the songs were much more challenging than I would have expected to find in the broadside tradition. But as discussed in Chapter 3, songs that did not quite 'fit' broadside conventions in their original forms were textually edited by printers—and almost certainly melodically altered by performers—to suit the broadside trade.

Interestingly, we have found that the majority of these theatrical broadsides were in fact strophic, the conventional musical-poetic form of broadside balladry. And most also reflect the historic broadside tradition through their inclusion of strong narrative components—whether they are character-narrative Jack Tar ballads or drinking songs. If we consider the collection's metrical, formal, and narrative qualities, we find that the majority of these songs would have assimilated remarkably well to their receiving

musical culture—or could be made to do so. The theatre certainly impacted the broadside ballad of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, but the findings of this project would suggest that it did not change the sound of the street nearly as much as I had expected.

One of the key characteristics of this collection of songs was textual and melodic independence: almost all of the theatre songs reprinted as broadsides could 'stand alone' outside of their original dramatic frameworks. Many songs from the English operatic stage were not relevant to the plot or characters of the drama to start with; but even when they were integral to the drama, theatrical songs later printed as broadsides functioned well without their dramatic contexts nonetheless, remaining both intelligible and entertaining. These songs were effectively 'dramas within dramas'; this made them adaptable to street performance because historically, the performed broadside was a stand-alone song that functioned as its own self-contained narrative drama-in-song. The song 'The English Padlock' provides a particularly pertinent case in which the broadside functions *as drama*: this song was originally sung by Mr Vernon at Vauxhall Gardens (according to the existing broadside edition), outlining the plot and concluding moral of Isaac Bickerstaffe and Charles Dibdin Sr's comic opera *The Padlock* of the same year (1768). Interestingly, Vernon himself performed in the premier of this comic opera at Drury Lane; as such, the song was likely written especially for him to perform at Vauxhall—perhaps even by Dibdin himself. This song did not feature on stage *within* the dramatic work; rather, the song substituted *for* the dramatic work—for both pleasure garden audiences and, later, broadside customers.[414]

[414] *The Padlock* is a fascinating song and unlike any other broadside with which I am familiar. Though this song was not originally sung on the theatrical stage in the drama, I have included it in this project because it is a direct result of the influence of the theatre in the broadside trade (via the pleasure

The dramatic nature of the broadside was reflected in its visual elements and composition; this brings us back to discussions from the Introduction and Chapter 1 concerning the complex form of the broadside as material culture, text, music, visuality, and performance. The visual theatricality of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century broadside is perhaps best demonstrated in the collection of highly illustrated ballads by Pitts and Evans, which—I would argue—are some of the most exquisite broadsides to be found in the entire tradition.[415] An excellent example of one such broadside would be Pitts' edition of Charles Dibdin Sr's song 'Lovely Nan', reproduced below.[416]

garden). See 'The English Padlock', Harding B 22(369) at the Bodleian Library (n.l., n.p., 1768?), and also Isaac Bickerstaffe (wordbook) and Charles Dibdin Sr (music), *The Padlock* (London: Griffin, 1768). Conversely, there are examples of theatrical works whose plots were based on ballads: a good example would be *The Cabinet* (1802) which was originally based on the ballad 'The Golden Bull'. See 'The Golden Bull', Roud Number: V3420 in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections (7 editions, 11 prints) and Thomas Dibdin (wordbook), *The Cabinet* (London: Longman, 1805).

[415] Interestingly, though the printer James Catnach was known to collect and produce woodcut illustrations himself, he did not tend to produce visually-dominated broadsides like that shown here. These broadsides of Pitts and Evans contrasted with the very simple slip ballads that also proliferated during this period, and it is likely that their end-use purpose was thus quite different (suggested below); nevertheless, visually-dominated broadsides were an established 'type' of broadside during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[416] Charles Dibdin Sr, 'Lovely Nan', Harding B 12(56) (London: Pitts, 1802-19) at the Bodleian Library.

Figure 4.1
A Pitts edition of ‘Lovely Nan’. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library.

[The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. The image was sourced at the Bodleian Library, Harding B 12(56).]

As we can see, this is a predominantly *visual* print: a cheap, street-literature version of the more luxurious, high-art mezzotints discussed by Nicholas Grindle in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*.[417] Though it includes all the elements of a

[417] Nicholas Grindle, ‘Dibdin and John Raphael Smith: Print Culture and Fine Art’, in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*, ed. Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley, and Ian Newman (Oxford: University Press, 2018), 158-168, here 158.

'conventional' broadside—paper, verse, illustration—its format heavily emphasises the last of these. The importance of visuality in the broadside of the nineteenth century may easily be underestimated. The woodcut illustrations on broadsides of the seventeenth century were relatively bold and vulgar—and often comic or ironic because they had little or nothing to do with the ballads they accompanied. Compared with their late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century counterparts, these illustrations tended also to be larger and more dominant on the broadside page. With the advent of the 'new' style broadside, featuring white-letter type and slip ballads, the size—or even the inclusion—of illustrations on broadsides diminished notably.

Nevertheless, these elaborate prints by Pitts and Evans—forming an important minority of late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century broadsides—demonstrate the ongoing importance of visuality and illustration in the broadside tradition. In the example above, we find that the central image is not only exceptionally large, it is also very beautiful, and as intricately-hewn as a woodblock may well be. The central illustration is accompanied by additional visual ornamentation: along with a delicate floral border, the broadside includes a crossed heart and a compass at the bottom—both rich with symbolic meaning that relates directly back to the text. The inclusion of these secondary illustrations (the border, as well as the heart and compass icons) emphasises symbolism and visual aesthetics in the constitution of the broadside. The poetry (and therefore the music) of the ballad take secondary roles; as well as being squished to the borders, the verses are in an aesthetically-pleasing—but hard-to-read—cursive script.

The layout of this broadside clearly emphasises its visuality—and suggests it was a broadside for looking at rather than performing or even reading—but the illustration emphasises the ballad's theatricality, too. The central woodcut is rich in detail and

symbolism. In the background, we see a ship in full sail, ready to go to sea, gulls soaring high above it. The lightness of the sky around the ship makes the sea a cheerful prospect, while the land-based cottage on the other side of the image looks dreary in shadow. The contrasting halves of the illustration's background force the eye to the couple, the focus of the work—this is truly a 'character ballad' depicted. But the figures are drawn in such a way as to indicate movement, action, and relationship rather than simply being: the sailor, though looking at Nan, gestures to the ship with his hat, perhaps by way of explanation—he must leave. And as Nan's head is turned shoreward, the sailor faces in the direction of the sea. Both the sailor and Nan are holding onto a tankard, connecting them physically, while indicating a forthcoming farewell (the earthiness of the tankard also suggests something of the characters' humble social rank). The illustration not only closely reflects the song it accompanies, it also *acts it out.* It is not a portrait but a scene—as if in a play. In fact, prints like these—popular in the 1790s—were called 'posture prints'—because they appeared to be moments captured from the theatrical stage, recasting the song into an image.[418] The woodcut from 'Lovely Nan' could substitute for the ballad, much like the song 'The English Padlock' could substitute for its namesake comic opera, in a sort of dramatic ekphrasis.

And as the broadside tradition is inherently theatrical in its textual and visual contents, we find it is also dramatic in its use of material culture. Earlier in this project, I discussed the colourful advertising boards used to sell murder ballads, which Hindley says left 'nothing to the imagination'.[419] What were these painted boards but theatrical props or depictions, either setting the scene for the songs' stories, or embodying the

[418] Grindle, 158.

[419] Charles Hindley, *Curiosities of Street Literature* (1871; Cambridge: University Press, 2012), ii.

actions retold in their texts (as in the illustration above)? And of course, the broadside was intrinsically dramatic in performance, too. Ballad singers donned various forms of costuming in their performances, to illustrate the songs they were singing and to create images of themselves as performers: Joseph Johnson for example, who Jensen has so thoughtfully researched, wore a hat with a ship on it to distinguish himself among London ballad singers, advertising his own nautical background and reflecting the sea-themed songs he performed.[420] The development and assumption of a persona, as Jensen has stated, was a key part of the ballad singer's skillset, as was his or her ability to act out the song's plot.[421] For ballad singers did not just sing melodies, they also embodied the stories they sung. The very concept of a 'character song' (that popular nineteenth-century song type) implies that the singer impersonates or conjures an imagined person through song—words, music, and performance. Charles Dibdin Sr, the most popular of all theatrical broadside authors, was famous for his use of dialects in performance, and the printed lyrics of his songs reflect this technique (in score and broadside forms). The use of dialects in singing is a form of impersonation, character creation, and of course, acting.

This project has explored the influence of the theatre on the music of the street, and has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the sound of English street music in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by finding the music to many broadsides of the era in the Bodleian's Collections. However, the relationship between the stage and the broadside consisted of more than the verses and tunes they shared: the

[420] See Oskar Cox Jensen, 'Joseph Johnson's Hat, or, The Storm on Tower Hill' (presentation, Music Faculty Colloquium, Oxford University, November 27, 2018).

[421] Oskar Cox Jensen notes that it was after Joseph Johnson that the use of painted boards became popular among broadside sellers, and it is possible that Johnson's theatricality provided inspiration for it. See Jensen, 'Joseph Johnson's Hat'.

traditions were inherently related as performative traditions that used verse, melody, narrative, dramatic interpretation, and material culture to create drama. The broadside tradition was material culture, poetry, music, and visual art; but all of these elements combined to make broadside performances *theatre*.

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APPENDIX A

Genres of theatrical works whose songs appear in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections, alphabetically listed, with numbers of works in each genre (when explicitly indicated on printed materials)

Genre	No. of works
Afterpiece	1
Aqua-drama	1
Ballad farce	2
Ballad opera	3
Burletta	1
Comedy	2
Comic drama	1
Comic opera	47
Comic pantomime	1
Dialogue	1
Domestic drama	1
Dramatic piece	1
Dramatic romance	1
Dramatic sketch	1
English burletta	1
Entertainment	2
Farce	1
Grand aquatic romance	1
Grand divertissement	1

Historical play	1
Interlude	1
Masque	2
Melodrama	2
Melo-dramatic opera	1
Melo-drame	1
Musical ballet of action	1
Musical drama	2
Musical entertainment	16
Musical farce	2
Musical interlude	1
Musical spectacle	1
New performances	1
Opera	9
Operatic farce	2
Operatic romance	1
Pantomime	11
Play	1
Serio-comic opera	1
Serio-comic pantomime	1
Not specified	7
TOTAL	135

APPENDIX B

Theatrical works associated with the broadside trade (according to the Bodleian's Broadside Collections), alphabetically listed, and including the number of songs reprinted from each work (inclusive of songs that appear in more than 1 theatrical work, as noted), and the total number of associated broadside editions in the collections (theatrical works with songs printed as broadsides from outside the dates 1797-1844 are included, but within square brackets)

	Theatrical Work	No. of songs	No. of editions
1.	*Agreeable Surprise* (wordbook 1785)	1	1
2.	*Alfred* (performed 1740)	2	15
3.	*Americans* (performed 1811)	3	22
4.	*Astrologer: Or, Harlequin and Moore's Almanack!* (performed 1810?)	2	4
5.	*Banditti* (wordbook 1781) (later used in *Castle of Andalusia*)	1	1
6.	*Beggar's Opera* (performed 1728)	2	20
7.	*Blue Beard; Or, Female Curiosity* (performed 1798)	2	9
8.	*Bohemian Girl* (performed 1843)	1	10
9.	*Bottle Imp* (wordbook 1828)	1	4
10.	*Brigand* (wordbook 1829)	1	4

11.	*Britain's Brave Tars; Or, All for Saint Paul's* (wordbook 1795)	1	2
12.	*Britain's Glory; Or, a Trip to Portsmouth* (wordbook 1794)	1	5
13.	*British Fortitude, and Hibernian Friendship; Or, An Escape from France* (printed 1794) (1 song also used in *Mirth's Museum)*	2	3
14.	*Broken Gold* (score 1806)	1	1
15.	*Brother & Sister* (score 1814)	1	7
16.	*Cabinet* (performed 1802)	3	18
17.	*Cambro-Britons* (performed 1798)	1	2
18.	*Camp* (printed 1795)	2	2
19.	*Castle of Andalusia* (performed 1782)	3	11
20.	*Castles in the Air; Or, Columbine Cowslip* (wordbook 1812)	2	5

21.	*Challenge* (performed 1834)	1	8
22.	*Chelsea Pensioner* (performed 1779?)	2	4
23.	*Cherokee* (performed 1794) (song appears later in *Paul and Viriginia)*	1	6
24.	*Christmass Tale* (score 1773)	1	2
25.	*Comus* (Arne's version performed 1738)	3	4
26.	*Corsair* (wordbook 1814)	1	1
27.	*Council of Ten; Or the Lake of the Grotto* (score 1806)	1	4
28.	*Crossing the Line* (wordbook 1833)	1	1
29.	*Damon and Phillida* (wordbook 1769)	1	1
30.	*Devil to Pay; Or, the Wives Metamorphosed* (performed 1731)	2	8

31.	*Don Juan* (performed 1789)	1	1
32.	*Don Quixote in England* (performed 1743) (1 song also appears in *'Squire Badger*, n.d.)	2	7
33.	[*Double Disguise* (printed 1784)]	[1]	[1]
34.	*Duenna; Or, the Double Elopement (The Governess)* (wordbook 1775)	2	3
35.	*Eclipse; Or, Harlequin in China* (score 1755)	1	1
36.	*Election* (performed 1774)	1	2
37.	*England's Glory; Or, Briton's Best Bulwarks are her Wooden Walls* (wordbook 1795)	1	10
38.	*English Fleet, in 1342* (performed 1803)	4	25
39.	*Escapes; Or, the Water Carrier* (score 1801)	1	1
40.	*Exile* (performed 1808)	2	5

41.	*Fairies* (wordbook 1769) (one song is also in *The Tempest*)	2	3
42.	*False Alarms; Or, My Cousin* (score 1807)	1	1
43.	*Family Quarrels* (performed 1802; printed 1803)	5 (excluding 1 song only printed outside the dates 1797-1844)	15
44.	*Farmer* (performed 1787)	4 (excluding 1 song only printed outside the dates 1797-1844)	11
45.	*Farmer's Wife* (performed 1814)	2	6
46.	*Fontainebleau; Or, Our Way in France* (performed 1784?)	1	5
47.	*Fortune Teller; Or, Harlequin's Jubilee* (wordbook 1814)	1	3
48.	*Giovanni in London: or the Libertine Reclaimed* (performed 1817)	2	4
49.	*Glorious First of June* (performed 1794)	2	6
50.	*Gretna Green* (score 1783)	1	1

51.	*Harlequin Brilliant; Or, The Clown's Capers* (wordbook 1815)	1	1
52.	*Harlequin Sorcerer: With the Loves of Pluto and Proserpine* (wordbook 1752)	1	2
53.	*Harlequin, Perizade, and the Talking Bird* (wordbook 1805)	1	8
54.	*Harlequin's Invasion* (performed 1760)	1	12
55.	*Harlequin's Museum; or, Mother Shipton Triumphant* (wordbook 1792)	1	1
56.	*Hartford Bridge; Or, the Skirts of a Camp* (score 1793)	1	14
57.	*Haunted Tower* (performed 1789)	1	1
58.	*Honest Yorkshireman* (performed 1734)	1	1
59.	*In and Out of Tune* (score 1808)	1	9
60.	*Inkle and Yarico* (performed 1787)	2	2

61.	*Iron Chest* (performed 1796)	1	3
62.	*Jubilee of 1802; Or, Preston Guild* (performed 1802)	1	1
63.	*Kais; Or, Love in the Deserts* (performed 1808)	3	12
64.	*Kaloc; Or, The Slave Pirate* (wordbook 1815)	1	2
65.	*Ladoiska* (performed 1794)	1	8
66.	*Liberty-Hall: Or, a Test of Good Fellowship* (wordbook 1785)	2	11
67.	*Life's Masquerade or Fortune's Wheel in Motion* (score 1805?)	1	6
68.	*Liverpool Prize* (performed 1779)	1	1
69.	*Lock and Key* (performed 1796)	1	11
70.	*London; Or, Harlequin and Time* (wordbook 1814)	1	8

71.	*Love in a Camp; Or, Patrick in Prussia* (performed 1785)	1	2
72.	*Love in a Village* (performed 1762)	1 (excluding 1 song only printed outside the dates 1797-1844)	2
73.	*Love Laughs at Lock-Smiths* (performed 1803)	2	4
74.	*M.P.; Or the Blue-Stocking* (wordbook 1811)	2	8
75.	*Maid of Lodi* [song] (performed 1802?)	1	12
76.	*Maniac; Or, Swiss Banditti* (score 1810)	1	1
77.	*Matrimony* (score 1804)	1	5
78.	*May Day; Or, the Little Gypsy* (wordbook 1775)	1	2
79.	*Mermaid; Or, Harlequin Pearl Diver!* (performed 1815)	1	4

80.	*Merry Sherwood; Or, Harlequin Forrester* (wordbook 1795)	1	5
81.	*Metamorphosis* (performed 1776)	1	2
82.	*Midas* (performed 1762)	2	4
83.	*Milesian* (performed 1762)	1	8
84.	*Mirth's Museum; Or, the Country Club* (printed 1794) (1 song also used in *British Fortitude, and Hibernian Friendship*)	3	9
85.	*Morning, Noon, and Night; Or, The Romance of a Day* (performed 1822?)	1	1
86.	*Mountaineers* (performed 1793)	3	9
87.	*Mouth of the Nile; Or, the Glorious First of August* (performed 1798)	1	5
89.	*Music-Mad* (score 1807)	1	1
90.	*My Spouse and I* (score 1816)	2	3
91.	*Narensky, or the Road to Yaroslaf* (score 1814)	2	2

92.	*Naval Pillar* (performed 1799)	1	4
93.	*Naval Triumph; Or, the Tars of Old England* (wordbook 1794)	2	3
94.	*New Performances at the Royal Circus* (performed 1809)	1	3
95.	*New Spain; Or, Love in Mexico* (performed 1790)	1	1
96.	*No Song No Supper* (performed 1790)	4	5
97.	*Oddities* (1790)	2	12
98.	[*Padlock* (performed 1768)]	[1]	[1]
99.	*Paul and Virginia* (1800)	2 (one song also appeared in *The Cherokee)*	8
100.	*Poor Soldier* (performed 1783)	5	36
101.	*Priest of the Parish* (score 1806)	1	17

102.	*Purse; Or, Benevolent Tar* (score 1794)	1	14
103.	*Quaker* (performed 1775)	2	11
104.	*Red Reaver* (wordbook 1811)	1	1
105.	*Red-Cross Knights* (performed 1799)	1	5
106.	*Robin Hood* (performed 1751)	1	3
107.	*Robin Hood: Or, Sherwood Forest* (performed 1784?)	3	4
108.	*Rosina* (performed 1782)	2	8
109.	*Royal Chase* (performed 1736)	1	4
110.	*Seraglio* (wordbook 1776)	2	3
111.	*Shepherd's Lottery* (score 1751)	1	1
112.	*Shipwreck* (performed 1796)	1	3

113.	*Siege of Gibraltar* (performed 1780)	1	6
114.	*Smugglers* (score 1796)	1	1
115.	*Spirit of the Grotto; Or, The Hour at Weybridge* (wordboom 1796)	1	1
116.	*Sprigs of Laurel* (performed 1793)	1	2
117.	*'Squire Badger* (printed 1772) (song also appears in *Don Quixote in England,* performed 1743)	1	4
118.	*Surrender of Calais* (performed 1791)	4	12
119.	*Tempest* (performed 1790) (song also appears in *The Fairies)*	2	3
120.	*Three and the Deuce* (performed 1795)	1	1
121.	*Turnpike Gate* (wordbook 1799)	2	11
122.	*Two Faces Under a Hood* (performed 1807)	2	2

123.	*Village Ghost* (wordbook 1794)	2	5
124.	*Vittoria; Or, Wellington's Laurels* (performed 1813)	1	1
125.	*Volcano: Or, The Rival Harlequins* (wordbook 1799)	1	1
126.	*Waterman, or the First of August* (performed 1774)	3	13
127.	*Wedding Day* (performed 1743)	1	2
128.	*Whim of the Moment: Or, Nature in Little* (performed 1788)	5	15
129.	*Will of the Wisp* (performed 1795)	1	5
130.	*Wives Revenged* (wordbook 1780)	1	1
131.	*Woodman* (performed and printed 1791)	3	5

132.	[*Yeoman's Daughter* (performed 1833)]	[1]	[1]
133.	*Yo Yea! Or the Friendly Tars (The Sailor's Plot)* (performed 1777)	2	4
134.	*Youth, Love and Folly* (score 1805)	1	1
135.	*Zorinksi* (score 1795)	1	2

APPENDIX C

Songs from theatrical works appearing in the Bodleian's Broadside Collections, alphabetically listed by first line, with source theatrical works, Roud Numbers, numbers of editions, numbers of imprints, and shelf marks for broadside prints (songs from theatrical works that were reprinted on broadsides outside of the dates 1797-1844 are included in the list, but associated editions and prints are displayed in square brackets and not included in totals at the bottom)

	First Line (as found in theatrical work)	Source theatrical work (date of first performance, if known); (publication type and date of source material); playwright and composer (if known)	Roud Number (where applicable)	No. of editions	No. of prints	Shelf marks of broadside prints
1.	A batchelor [*sic*] leads an easy life	*The Cabinet* (1802); wordbook (1805); score (1802); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V4769; 13841 (there are two Roud numbers associated with this song)	4	4	Harding B 25(756); Harding B 25(374); Harding B 28(218); Harding B 11(599);
2.	A blessing unknown to ambition and pride	*Paul and Virginia* (1800); score (1805); James Cobb (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V19645	2	2	Harding B 25(2012); Harding B 25(1293)
3.	Adieu to the village delights	*The Glorious First of June* (1794); score (1794?); Richard Brinsley Sheridan (playwright)	V1238 (this Roud number is also assigned to an unrelated song starting 'I was born in	1	1	Firth b.27(256)

		and Stephen Storace (composer)	the town of Tip')			
4.	A captain bold in Halifax that dwelt	*Love Laughs at Lock-Smiths* (1803); score (1803?); George Colman Jr (playwright) and traditional tune 'Ally Croker' arranged by Michael Kelly	V1893; 4549 (there are two Roud numbers associated with this song)	3	3	Harding B 10(1); Harding B 25(1968); Harding B 25(1257)
5.	A clerk was I in London gay	*Inkle and Yarico* (1787); score (1787?); George Colman Jr (playwright); Samuel Arnold (composer)	V7414	1	1	Firth b.33(37)
6.	A cobler I am, and my name is dick awl	*New Performances of the Royal Circus* (1809); wordbook (1809?); Charles Dibdin Sr (playwright and composer)	V6863	3	4	Firth b.25(25); Harding B 25(511); Johnson Ballads 796; Harding B 28(240)
7.	A comical lass I went to woo	*Fortune Teller; Or, Harlequin's Jubilee* (n.d.); wordbook (1814); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V17022	3	3	Harding B 25(1912); Harding B 25(384); Johnson Ballads 3070

8.	A flaxen headed cow boy as simple as may be	*The Farmer* (1787); score (1788); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V4751	1	1	Harding B 11(3635)
9.	A glass is good, and a lass is good	*Sprigs of Laurel* (1793)*;* score (1793); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V5984	2 (1 more outside the dates 1797-1844)	2 (1 more outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 c.17(487r); 2806 c.17(146);
10.	A knight of a gay and a gallant mien	*Council of Ten; Or the Lake of the Grotto*; wordbook (1811); score (1806); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V528	4	6	Firth b.25(462); Harding B 16(19a); Harding B 25(157); Harding B 17(20a); 2806 c.18(19); Harding B 17(20b)
11.	A little boy a savoyard	*The Escapes; Or, the Water Carrier* (n.d.); score (1801); Thomas Holcroft (playwright) and Thomas Attwood (composer)	V13469	1	1	Harding B 25(1737)
12.	All around the maypole how they trot	*Midas* (1762)*;* score (1764); Kane O'Hara (playwright) and tune from *Fortunatus* (n.d.), composed by Henry Woodward (?)	22940	1	1	Harding B 22(367)

13.	All in the downs the fleet was moored	*The Beggar's Opera* (1728); score (1761); John Gay (playwright) and Richard Leveridge (composer)	560	18 (excluding 7 from outside the dates 1797-1844, as well as 1 from New York and 1 from Philadelphia)	27 (excluding 8 from outside the dates 1797-1844, as well as 1 from New York and 1 from Philadelphia)	Firth b.25(241); Harding B 11(3673); Harding B 11(3672); Harding B 1(12); Johnson Ballads 1060; Johnson Ballads 1061; Johnson Ballads 1061A; Harding B 1(9); Harding B 1(7); Harding B 1(8); Harding B 11(307); Harding B 11(2206); Harding B 11(304); Harding B 11(3674); Johnson Ballads 279; Firth b.26(37); Firth b.26(98); Harding B 11(2498); Harding B 1(11); Firth c.12(3); Harding B 1(10); Johnson Ballads 395; Johnson Ballads 396; Johnson Ballads 397; Johnson Ballads 398; Johnson Ballads 399; Harding B 25(204); Harding B 28(74)

14.	And did you not hear of a jolly young waterman	*The Waterman, or the First of August* (1774); wordbook (1774); score (1805?); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	1186	8 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844 and 1 from New York and)	10 (excluding 4 from outside the dates 1797-1844, and 1 from New York)	Firth c.19(132); 2806 c.16(111); Harding B 11(1935); Harding B 11(1933); 2806 c.13(300); Harding B 11(353); Harding B 16(119d); Harding B 17(151a); 2806 c.18(170); Harding B 25(1005)
15.	A piper o'er the meadows straying	*Zorinski* (n.d.); score (1795); Thomas Morton (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V24752	2	2	Harding B 25(1499); Harding B 17(238b)
16.	Arise sweet messenger of morn	*Alfred* (1740); score (1757); David Mallet and James Thomson (playwrights) and Thomas Arne (composer)	V2952	1	2	Harding B 36(19); Johnson Ballads fol. 36
17.	Arm'd with jav'lin arm'd with mighty arm	*The Whim of the Moment: Or, Nature in Little* (1788); score (1789); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V30147	1	1	Harding B 28(12)

18.	A rose tree full in bearing had sweet flowers fair	*Poor Soldier* (1783); wordbook (1783); score (1801?); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	13812	11	13	Harding B 36(9); Firth c.18(114); Harding B 16(236a); Firth c.18(93); Harding B 25(1661); Harding B 25(1662); Johnson Ballads 190; Harding B 11(1288); Harding B 11(2214); Harding B 11(3335); Harding B 11(3058); Harding B 16(236b); 2806 c.13(60)
19.	As burns the charger when he hears	*Robin Hood: Or, Sherwood Forest* (1784?); wordbook (1784); score (1784); Leonard Macnally (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V27050	1	1	Harding B 11(2733)
20.	A traveller stopt at a widow's gate	*The Iron Chest* (1796); score (1805-9?); George Colman (playwright) and either Joseph Mazzinghi or Stephen Storace (composer)	V14136	3	3	Harding B 25(1944); Harding B 12(112); Firth c.18(55)
21.	At sixteen years old you cou'd get little good of me	*The Mountaineers* (1793); score (1794); George Colman	V10145	3 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	3 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 20(2); Johnson Ballads 348; Douce Prints S 9(p. 222a)

		(playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)				
22.	At the peaceful midnight hour	*The Castle of Andalusia* (1782); wordbook (1783); score (1782); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V5485	8 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	15 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Johnson Ballads fol. 12; Johnson Ballads fol. 126; Johnson Ballads fol. 129; Harding B 40(21b); Johnson Ballads fol. 400; Harding B 25(2096); Firth b.26(497); Harding B 11(1351); Johnson Ballads 1599; Johnson Ballads 1600; Johnson Ballads 1601; Johnson d.1773(p. 251v); Firth c.21(4); Harding B 16(312a); Johnson Ballads 201A
23.	A youth took a wife	*The Exile* (1808); score (c. 1808); Frederick Reynolds (playwright) and Joseph Mazzinghi (composer)	V23510	1	2	Harding B 10(5); Johnson Ballads fol. 98
24.	Becky Burton was a semptress bold	*The Astrologer: Or, Harlequin and Moore's Almanack!* (1810?); wordbook (1810); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William	V7959	1	1	Harding B 25(154)

		Reeve (composer)				
25.	Behold upon the swelling wave	*The Liverpool Prize* (1779); wordbook (1779); Frederick Pilon (playwright) and Thomas Arne (composer of tune 'Dusky Nigh')	V5595	1 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	1 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 6(10)
26.	Be t'side of a brig stands over a brook	*Family Quarrels* (1802); score (1803); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V25788	2	2	Harding B 16(315a); Harding B 25(880)
27.	Blow high, blow low, let tempest tear	*The Seraglio* (n.d.); wordbook (1776); score (1776); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	2069	2	2	Harding B 21(54); Harding B 11(334)
28.	Blow, Warder, blow thy sounding horn!	*The Red-Cross Knights* (1799); wordbook (1799); score (1800); John Wall Callcott (composer, playwright unknown)	V5958	5	6	Harding B 36(2); Harding B 36(9); Firth b.25(600/601); Firth b.34(275); Harding B 11(424); Harding B 15(254b)

29.	Britannia's sons at sea, in battle always brave	*The Turnpike Gate* (n.d.); wordbook (1799); score (1799); Frank Knight (playwright) and William Reeve? (composer)	V1357	1	1	Curzon b.24(99)
30.	Brother soldiers, why cast down?	*The Chelsea Pensioner* (1779?); wordbook (1779); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V1116	1	1	Harding B 11(476)
31.	By my shield and my sword	*The Christmass* [*sic*] *Tale* (n.d.); wordbook (1779); score (1773); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V1698	2	2	Harding B 11(2815); Harding B 11(3538)
32.	By the gayly circling glass	*Comus* (1738); score (1740); John Milton (playwright) and Thomas Arne (composer)	V888	1	1	Harding B 11(1124)
33.	Can wealth or friends thy heart incline	*Narensky, or the Road to Yaroslaf* (n.d.); score (1814); Charles Armitage Brown (playwright) and John Braham (composer)	V8866	1	1	Johnson Ballads 732

34.	Churchward en I've been, let me see	*Mirth's Museum; Or, the Country Club;* wordbook (1794); William Reeve (composer, playwright unknown)	V31237	1	1	Harding B 25(1981)
35.	Come, all ye jolly sailors bold	*Lock and Key* (1796); wordbook (1796); Prince Hoare (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	12675	11 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	13 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 11(103); Firth b.25(250); Harding B 11(1558); Harding B 11(3504); Harding B 11(102); Harding B 11(104); Harding B 11(2502); Harding B 28(51); Harding B 28(177); Firth c.12(58); Harding B 16(188a); Harding B 25(80); Curzon b.16(232)
36.	Come buy who'll buy	*The Shipwreck* (1796); wordbook (1797); score (1800); Samuel Arnold (playwright and composer)	V2827	3	3	Harding B 36(22); Harding B 17(168a); Harding B 25(1123)
37.	Come, cheer up, my lads, merry Christmas is near	*Harlequin's Museum; or, Mother Shipton Triumphant* (n.d.)*;* wordbook (1792); Thomas Dibdin	V9102	1 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	1 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 22(227)

		(playwright) and William Shield (composer)				
38.	Come cheer up my lads 'tis to glory we steer (‘Hearts of Oak’)	*Harlequin’s Invasion* (1760); score (c. 1760); David Garrick (playwright) and William Boyce (composer)	V391	12 (excluding 4 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	18 (excluding 5 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 11(1342); Johnson Ballads 838; Harding B 11(1513); Firth c.12(388); Harding B 16(109b); Firth c.13(292); Harding B 11(4122); Harding B 25(815); Harding B 28(167); Johnson Ballads 2059; Curzon b.24(94); 2806 c.16(179); Harding B 11(1512); Harding B 11(462); 2806 d.31(3); Firth b.27(333); Harding B 11(1514); Johnson Ballads 3301
39.	Come hear an old campaigner's song	*The Chelsea Pensioner* (1779); wordbook (1779); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V346	3	7	Firth c.14(293); Harding B 25(364); Harding B 22(45); 2806 c.18(63); 2806 c.19(4); Harding B 17(49a); Johnson Ballads 3032

40.	Come listen awhile and I'll sing you a ditty	*The Village Ghost* wordbook (1794); Thomas Dibdin (playwright, composer unknown)	1624	3 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	3 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Firth c.18(52); Harding B 25(441); Harding B 28(83)
41.	Come Roger and Nell	*Harlequin Sorcerer: With the Loves of Pluto and Proserpine* (n.d.); wordbook (1752); Theobold Lewis (playwright, composer unknown)	V16288	2	2	Harding B 22(109); Johnson Ballads fol. 390
42.	Come, thou rosy, dimpled boy	*Damon and Phillida* wordbook (1769); score (1775); Colley Cibber (playwright) and Charles Dibdin (tume originally from Marylebone?)	V8463	1	1	Harding B 22(82)
43.	Cou'd you to battle march away	*The Surrender of Calais* (1791); score (1791); George Colman (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V3491; V3881 (there are two Roud numbers associated with this song)	3	5	Harding B 28(32); Harding B 28(72); 2806 c.18(50); Firth c.14(256); Harding B 25(329)

44.	Curtis was old Hodge's wife	*The Wives Revenged* (n.d.); wordbook (1780); score (1789?); Charles Dibdin (composer, and possibly playwright)	V6034	1	1	Harding B 25(1788)
45.	Dear sir, this brown jug which now foams with mild ale	*Poor Soldier* (1783); wordbook (1783); score (1801?); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V466	6 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	8 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 28(52); Harding B 28(95); Harding B 17(40b); Harding B 11(3011); Firth c.22(17); Harding B 25(305); 2806 c.18(313); Harding B 25(1923)
46.	Deserted by the waning moon	*The English Fleet, in 1342* (1803); wordbook (1805); score (1805?); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and John Braham (composer)	V121	14 (excluding 5 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	15 (excluding 10 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 15(143b); Harding B 11(2527); Harding B 11(3009); Harding B 25(1653); Firth c.12(416); Harding B 17(3a); Harding B 11(825); Harding B 15(20b); Harding B 25(484); Firth c.19(122); Harding B 25(29); Harding B 25(557); Firth b.27(534); Johnson Ballads 42; 2806 c.13(134)

47.	Early one Monday morning	*No Song No Supper* (1790); score (1874); Prince Hoare (playwright) and Stephen Storace (composer)	V25049	1	2	2806 c.18(59); Harding B 25(362)
48.	England's a lion stretched out at her ease	*The Farmer* (1787); score (1788); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V9264	[1 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[1 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[Firth b.28(6a/b)]
49.	'Ere around the huge oak that o'er shadows my mill	*The Farmer* (1787); score (1788); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	1251	9	9	Harding B 36(9); Firth b.25(195); Firth b.25(99/100); Harding B 17(84a); Harding B 11(2500); Harding B 11(3695); Harding B 15(378b); Harding B 21(12); Harding B 36(20)
50.	Faint and wearily the way worn	*The Mountaineers* (1793); score (1794); George Colman (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	24395 (V1609 is also associated with this song)	5	5	Harding B 28(213); Harding B 15(98a); Harding B 11(1824); Harding B 16(82c); Harding B 25(596)
51.	Fair Ellen like a lily grew	*The Cabinet* (1802); wordbook (1805); score (1802/3); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and John Braham (composer)	V1600	6	6	Johnson Ballads fol. 11; Firth b.25(85/86); Johnson Ballads fol. 18; Harding B 17(87a); Harding B 25(597); Harding B 16(84a)

52	Flow, thou regal purple stream	*The Banditti* (n.d.); *The Castle of Andalusia* (1782); wordbook (1783); score (c. 1785); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V12248	1	1	Johnson Ballads 732
53.	For England, when with fav'ring gale	*Hartford Bridge; Or, the Skirts of a Camp* (n.d.); score (1793); William Pearce (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	24406 (V406 is also associated with this song)	14	22	Harding B 16(110d); Johnson Ballads 2004; 2806 c.16(111); Harding B 11(1935); Harding B 11(1933); Firth b.25(468); Harding B 15(128a); Harding B 17(123a); Harding B 16(111a); Firth b.25(241); Harding B 17(122b); Firth c.13(64); Johnson Ballads 2549; Harding B 16(119d); Harding B 17(123b); Johnson Ballads 857; Harding B 25(817); Firth c.13(66); 2806 c.16(301); Firth b.27(133); Harding B 11(3349); 2806 c.18(140)

54.	For the grassy turf o'er hung with willow	*The Double Disguise* (1784); wordbook (1784); score (1784): Harriet Horncastle Hook (playwright) and James Hook (composer)	V6387	[1 from Dublin]	[1 from Dublin]	[Firth b.25(119/120)]
55.	From aloft the sailor looks around	*No Song No Supper* (1790); score (1874); Prince Hoare (playwright) and Stephen Storace (composer)	V9210	2	2	Harding B 25(479); Firth c.12(304)
56.	From leathering and beating	*Naval Triumph; Or, the Tars of Old England* (n.d.); wordbook (1794); Mark Lonsdale (playwright, composer unknown)	V18725	1	1	Curzon b.33(150)
57.	Gaffer Grist, Gaffer's son	*Family Quarrels* (1802); score (1803); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V2918	3	4	Johnson Ballads 1037; Johnson Ballads 1038; Harding B 25(1948); Johnson Ballads 1036
58.	Gentle Zitella	*The Brigand* (n.d.); wordbook (1829); score (1830); Thomas Cooke (composer, playwright unknown)	V12029	4	5	Firth b.25(94); Harding B 11(2251); Harding B 11(229); Harding B 20(10); Harding B 25(1174)

59.	Give Isaac the nymph	*The Duenna* (n.d); wordbook (1775); score (1798-1808); Richard Brinsley Sheridan (playwright) and Thomas Linley (composer)	V11234	1	1	Firth b.28(34)
60.	Go patter to lubbers and swabs do ye see	*The Whim of the Moment: Or, Nature in Little* (1788); score (1789); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	24887 (V3366 is also associated with this song)	9	9	Curzon b.20(17); Harding B 12(78); Firth c.13(22); Harding B 16(208b); Harding B 25(1524); Harding B 25(1522); 2806 c.17(339); Johnson Ballads 2761a; Johnson Ballads 2762;
61.	Had I a heart for falsehood fram'd	*The Duenna* (n.d.); wordbook (1775); score (1798-1808); Richard Brinsley Sheridan (playwright) and Thomas Linley (composer)	V17914 (one edition is not tagged with this Roud number)	2	2	2806 c.11(42); Firth c.18(16)
62.	Here's a good health to the king	*The Devil to Pay; Or, the Wives Metamorphosed* (1731); wordbook (1731); score (1825); Charles Coffey (playwright, tune composer unknown)	V4306	1 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	1 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Firth b.33(13)

63.	How happily my life I led	*No Song No Supper* (1790); score (1874); Prince Hoare (playwright) and Stephen Storace (composer)	V19721	1	1	Johnson Ballads 863
64.	How happy the soldier who lives on his pay	*Poor Soldier* (1783); wordbook (1783); score (1801?); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	21861	4	7	2806 c.16(102); Harding B 11(3406); Harding B 16(171b); Harding B 36(16); Johnson Ballads fol. 26; Firth b.25(600/601); Firth b.34(275);
65.	How stands the glass around?	*The Siege of Gibraltar* (1780); wordbook (1780); score (); Frederick Pilon (playwright, original composer of the tune unknown)	9397	6	8	Harding B 28(7); Firth b.25(514); Firth c.14(346); Harding B 11(1588); Harding B 25(866); 2806 c.18(146); Harding B 25(718); Johnson Ballads 2584
66.	Huzza, my brave boys	*Vittoria; Or, Wellington's Laurels* (1813); wordbook (1813); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	No Roud number	1	1	Curzon b.33(188)

67.	I am a friar of orders grey	*Merry Sherwood; Or, Harlequin Forrester* (n.d.); wordbook (1795); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	13782	5 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844 and 1 from Philadelphia)	6 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844 and 1 from Philadelphia)	Firth b.25(595/596); Firth b.34(212); Johnson Ballads 862; Harding B 11(2992); Firth b.26(436); Harding B 16(113b);
68.	I can shoe a horse	*Gretna Green* (n.d.); score (1783); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V5924	1	1	Harding B 6(32)
69.	I dream'd that I dwelt in marble halls	*The Bohemian Girl* (1843); wordbook (1872); score (1900); Michael William Balfe (playwright) and Alfred Bunn (playwright)	13866	10 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	11 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 c.15(245); Harding B 20(66); Harding B 11(1627); Harding B 11(1628); Harding B 11(3601); Harding B 11(3787); Harding B 11(3639); Harding B 11(3786); Firth b.26(188); Firth b.27(341); Firth b.27(153)
70.	If ever a sailor was fond of good sport	*Castles in the Air; Or, Columbine Cowslip* (n.d.): wordbook (1812); score 91793?); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V3351	2 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	3 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 11(1843); Firth c.12(361); Harding B 25(943)

71.	I give thee all - I can no more	*Ladoiska* (1794); wordbook (1794); score (1794?); John Philip Kemble (playwright) and Stephen Storace (arranging music from Luigi Cherubini)	V990	8	11	Johnson Ballads fol. 126; Johnson Ballads fol. 129; Harding B 25(367); Harding B 13(9); Harding B 11(2549); Johnson Ballads 788; Johnson Ballads 789; Johnson Ballads 790; Harding B 11(2706); Firth c.19(32); Harding B 40(26b)
72.	I'll sing you a song, faith I'm singing it now	*Love in a Camp; Or, Patrick in Prussia* (1785); wordbook (1786); score (1785); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V8522	2	2	Harding B 21(53); Harding B 14(9)
73.	I locked up all my treasure, I journey'd many a mile	*The Quaker* (1775); wordbook (1777); score (1805?); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V7012	1	2	2806 c.18(150); Harding B 25(888)
74.	I'm a link boy by my trade	*The Whim of the Moment: Or, Nature in Little* (1788); score (1789); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V15448	1	1	Harding B 17(167a)

75.	I married a wife, and who cares said I	*The Astrologer: Or, Harlequin and Moore's Almanack!* (1810?); wordbook (1810); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	7193	3	3	Harding B 28(245); Harding B 16(288c); Harding B 28(247)
76.	I'm very fond of fish	*The Mermaid; Or, Harlequin Pearl Diver!* (1815); wordbook (1815); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V235	4	7	2806 c.18(257); Harding B 16(212b); Harding B 25(1559); Harding B 12(83); Harding B 12(84); Firth b.26(31); Harding B 17(25a)
77.	In bath a wanton wife did dwell	*The Devil to Pay; Or, the Wives Metamorpho sed* (1731); wordbook (1731); score (1825); Charles Coffey (playwright, tune composer unknown)	V13472	7 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	10 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 3(22); Harding B 3(18); Harding B 3(19); Harding B 3(23); Douce Ballads 3(107b); Douce Ballads 4(30); Douce Ballads 4(29); Harding B 3(20); Harding B 3(21)
78.	Indeed, miss, such sweethearts as I am	*The Waterman, or the First of August* (1774); wordbook (1774); score (1805?); Charles Dibdin	V13021	1	2	Firth c.12(419); Harding B 22(334)

		(playwright and composer)				
79.	In tattered weed from town to town	*The Smugglers* (n.d.); score (1796); Samuel Birch (playwright) and Thomas Attwood (composer)	V16984	1	2	2806 c.18(226); Harding B 25(1428)
80.	In the dead of the night	*The Wedding Day* (1743); wordbook (1743); Henry Fielding (playwright, composer unknown)	V5131	2 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Johnson Ballads 367; Harding B 25(905)
81.	In the midst of the sea, like a tough man of war	*Mouth of the Nile; Or, the Glorious First of August* (1798); wordbook (1798); score (c. 1810); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and Thomas Attwood (composer)	V3101	5	5	Harding B 12(160); Firth c.12(348); Firth c.12(350); Harding B 25(1065); 2806 c.18(179)
82.	In the model I'm bringing before ye	*The Volcano: Or, The Rival Harlequins* (n.d.); wordbook (1799); Thomas Dibdin (playwright, composer unknown)	V11048	1	3	2806 c.18(340); Firth c.12(356); Harding B 25(2100)

83.	In the World's crooked path where I've been	*The Woodman* (1791); wordbook (1791); score (1791); Henry Bate Dudley (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V700	1	1	Harding B 25(734)
84.	In this cottage my father once dwelt	*Narensky, or the Road to Yaroslaf* (n.d.); score (1814); Charles Armitage Brown (playwright) and John Braham (composer)	V30435	1	1	2806 c.18(99)
85.	I sail'd in the good ship Kitty	*Yo Yea! Or the Friendly Tars* (1777); score (2007); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V898	2	2	Harding B 28(138); Harding B 6(54)
86.	I travers'd Judah's barren sand	*Robin Hood: Or, Sherwood Forest* (1784?); wordbook (1784); score (1784); Leonard Macnally (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V22684	2	2	Harding B 28(111); 2806 c.17(330)

87.	I was called Knowing Joe	*Mirth's Museum; Or, the Country Club* (n.d.) [also in *British Fortitude, and Hibernian Friendship; Or, An Escape from France* (printed 1794)]; wordbook (1794); William Reeve (composer, playwright unknown)	V16990	2	2	Harding B 12(148); Harding B 25(1039)
88.	I was the boy for bewitching ‘em	*Matrimony* (n.d.); score (1804); James Kenney (playwright) and Matthew Peter King (composer)	V17647	5	5	Harding B 28(128); Firth b.26(447); Firth b.26(452); Harding B 17(143a); Harding B 25(931)
89.	I went to the fair with a heart all so merry	*My Spouse and I* (n.d.); score (1816?); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and John Whitaker (composer)	V7064	1	1	Harding B 17(142b)
90.	I’ve kiss’d and I’ve prattled to fifty fair maids	*Rosina* (1782); score (1815?); Frances Brooke (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V31598	3 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	3 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 c.17(257); Harding B 11(2293); Harding B 6(32)

91.	I'ze proud just to say	*The Eclipse; Or, Harlequin in China* (n.d.); wordbook (1801); score (1755); James Cartwright Cross (playwright) and William Ware (composer)	V29095	1	1	Harding B 28(143)
92.	Jack Ratlin was the ablest seaman	*Liberty-Hall: Or, a Test of Good Fellowship* (n.d.); wordbook (1785); score (1785); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V3358	3 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	4 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Firth b.25(89); Firth c.12(218); 2806 c.18(167); Harding B 25(941)
93.	Just like love is yonder rose	*Life's Masquerade or Fortune's Wheel in Motion* (n.d.); score (1805?); John Davy (composer, playwright unknown)	V2891	6	9	Johnson Ballads fol. 30; 2806 c.13(80); 2806 c.18(174); Harding B 25(1016); Harding B 11(2040); 2806 c.19(16); Firth c.18(94); Harding B 16(120d); Johnson Ballads 878
94.	Let fame sound the trumpet	*Fontainbleau ; Or, Our Way in France* (1784?); wordbook (1784); score (1784?); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William	V600	5	6	Harding B 16(234a); Harding B 16(128b); Harding B 11(1996); Johnson Ballads 881; Firth c.16(307); Harding B 25(1095)

		Shield (composer)				
95.	Let gay ones and great	*Love in a Village* (1762); wordbook (1763); score (1780-1800) Isaac Bickerstaffe (playwright) and Thomas Arne (composer)	V8959 (V5341 is also associated with this song)	[1 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[1 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[Firth b.28(2)]
96.	Little think the townsman's wife	*The Surrender of Calais* (1791); score (1791); George Colman (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V23443	1	1	Johnson Ballads fol. 30
97.	Lord Effingham kicked the armada down	*Naval Triumph; Or, the Tars of Old England* (n.d.); wordbook (1794); Mark Lonsdale (playwright, composer unknown)	V328	2	2	Harding B 12(158); Harding B 25(357)
98.	Lord! What care I for mam or dad?	*The Agreeable Surprise* (n.d.); wordbook (1785); score (1781); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V790	1	2	2806 c.18(62); Harding B 25(361);

99.	Loud roar'd the dreadful thunder	*The Priest of the Parish* (n.d.); score (1806); Andrew Cherry (playwright) and John Davy (composer)	24928 (V174 is also associated with this song)	17 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844 and 1 from Dublin)	21 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844 and 1 from Dublin)	Harding B 28(73); Harding B 36(11); Firth c.21(118); Harding B 11(2024); Johnson Ballads 3371; Harding B 11(195); Firth b.25(71); Harding B 11(3128); Harding B 11(194); Harding B 11(192); Firth b.25(82); Harding B 11(193); Harding B 14(335); Harding B 25(903); Harding B 25(148); Harding B 16(17b); Firth b.27(72); 2806 c.17(22); Harding B 15(17a)
100.	Love's blind, they say, O never, nay	*The Farmer's Wife* (1814); wordbook (1814); score (1814); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and Henry Bishop (composer)	V6189	5 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	6 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Johnson Ballads fol. 412; Johnson Ballads 898; Harding B 12(54); Harding B 17(173b); Harding B 25(1158); Johnson Ballads 897
101.	Major Macpherson heav'd a sigh	*False Alarms; Or, My Cousin* (n.d.); score (1807); James Kenney (playwright) and Matthew	V24890	1	3	Harding B 10(41); Johnson Ballads fol. 81; Johnson Ballads fol. 82

		Peter King (composer)				
102.	My charming Arabell	*The Honest Yorkshireman* (1734); wordbook (1777); Henry Carey (playwright, composer unknown)	V35019	1	1	Harding B 6(13)
103.	My Nancy quits the rural train	*The Camp* (1795); wordbook (1795); score (1778); Richard Brinsley Sheridan (playwright) and Thomas Linley (composer)	V3415	1	1	Firth c.14(178)
104.	Near where old Thames, in ample tide	*Mirth's Museum; Or, the Country Club;* wordbook (1794); William Reeve (composer, playwright unknown)	V6216	6	7	Johnson Ballads fol. 371; Harding B 11(4369); Harding B 11(4370); Johnson Ballads 1069A; Harding B 25(1860); Harding B 25(748); Harding B 25(749)
105.	No more I'll court the town bred fair	*The Farmer* (1787); score (1788); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V9863	1	2	Firth c.18(117); Harding B 25(250)

106.	O'er nelson's tomb, with silent grief oppress'd	*The Americans* (1811); score (1811); John Braham (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	3549	16 (excluding 5 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	18 (excluding 6 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Johnson Ballads fol. 132; Firth b.25(600/601); Firth b.34(275); Harding B 16(72b); Harding B 11(2780); Harding B 20(174); Harding B 11(1451); Firth b.27(448); Firth c.12(47); Firth c.12(444); Firth c.12(45); Harding B 11(835); Harding B 11(837); Harding B 40(22); Johnson Ballads 3070; 2806 c.16(280); Harding B 11(839); Curzon b.24(96)
107.	Oh, love is the fairy power	*The Challenge* (1834); wordbook (1834); Ferdinand Hérold and Thomas Cooke (playwright and adapter, respectively, composer unknown)	2664	8	11	Johnson Ballads fol. 126; Johnson Ballads fol. 129; 2806 c.18(289); Harding B 25(1782); Firth b.25(99/100); 2806 c.16(30); Harding B 11(992); Harding B 11(993); Harding B 36(19); Johnson Ballads fol. 36; Harding B 36(20)

108.	Oh! remember the time in La Mancha's green shades	*Giovanni in London: Or, the Libertine Reclaimed* (1817); wordbook (1825); William Thomas Moncrieff (playwright and composer)	V321	3	3	Harding B 25(347); Harding B 11(4321); Harding B 11(2724)
109.	Oh tell me, Memory! no more	*The Woodman* (1791); wordbook (1791); score (1791); Henry Bate Dudley (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V3845	1	4	2806 d.31(3); Firth b.27(333); Harding B 11(1514); Johnson Ballads 3301
110.	Oh the moment was sad	*The Surrender of Calais* (1791); score (1791); George Colman (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V938	3 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	5 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 d.31(49); Harding B 11(3432); Johnson Ballads 3377; Harding B 36(14); Johnson Ballads fol. 25
111.	Oh, think on my fate	*The Purse; Or, Benevolent Tar* (n.d.); score (1794); James Cartwright Cross (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	13765	14	19	Firth b.25(281); Harding B 11(3423); Curzon b.24(99); Harding B 17(104b); Harding B 16(101a); Harding B 12(167); Harding B 25(708); Firth c.13(166); Harding B 17(105a); Harding B 11(250); 2806 d.31(1); Firth

						b.27(29); Harding B 11(4265); Harding B 17(104a); Harding B 36(25); Johnson Ballads 1058; Johnson Ballads 2518; 2806 c.13(262); 2806 c.14(180)
112.	Oh when my farm is taken	*Love Laughs at Lock-Smiths* (1803); score (1803?); George Colman Jr (playwright) and Michael Kelly (music arranger and composer)	V33259	1	1	Harding B 11(1166)
113.	Oh woman they say was created	*The Americans* (1811); score (1811); John Braham (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V10087	1	1	Harding B 25(605)
114.	One sweet may morn, in Woodley Dale	*The Spirit of the Grotto; Or, The Hour at Weybridge* (n.d.); wordbook (1796); (playwright and composer unknown)	V21321	1	1	Harding B 11(2594)

115.	On this cold flinty rock I will lay down my head	*Kais* (1808); wordbook (1808); score (1808); Isaac Brandon (playwright) and John Braham or William Reeve (composers)	V365	1	1	Harding B 25(393)
116.	O say, simple maid	*Inkle and Yarico* (1787); score (1787?); George Colman Jr (playwright); Samuel Arnold (composer)	24392	1	2	Firth c.12(206); Harding B 25(1432);
117.	Our country is our ship, d'ye see	*The Cherokee* (1794) [later in *Paul and Virginia* (1800)]; wordbook 1795; score 1795; James Cobb (playwright) and Stephen Storace (composer)	V15742	6	6	Harding B 25(1433); Harding B 28(134); Harding B 15(233a); Harding B 15(226b); Harding B 11(4182); Firth b.26(26)
118.	Pray, goody, please, to moderate the rancor of your tongue	*Midas* (1762)*;* score (1764); Kane O'Hara (playwright) and tune by James Oswald (composer)	V633	3 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	5 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Firth b.26(127); Harding B 16(211d); 2806 c.18(256); Harding B 25(1554); Johnson Ballads 178

119.	Pretty love birds, dear love birds	*The Yeoman's Daughter* (1833); wordbook (1833); T.J. Serle (playwright, composer unknown)	V25420	[2 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[2 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[Johnson Ballads 1434; Firth b.28(5a/b)]
120.	Rosetta is my heart's delight	*Red Reaver* (n.d.); wordbook (1811); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V15454	1	1	Harding B 17(47b)
121.	Saw ye my wee thing?	*Morning, Noon, and Night; Or, The Romance of a Day* (1822?); wordbook (1822); Thomas Dibdin (playwright, composer unknown)	8200	1	1	2806 c.11(95)
122.	Says Sammy, the tailor, to me	*M.P.; Or the Blue-Stocking* (n.d.); wordbook (1811); Thomas Moore (playwright) and Charles Horn (composer)	V15388	1	1	Johnson Ballads 403

123.	See the course throng'd with gazers	*Liberty-Hall: Or, a Test of Good Fellowship* (n.d.); wordbook (1785); score (1785); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V15527 (V1563 is also associated with this song)	8 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	9 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 17(129b); Harding B 25(843); Harding B 11(1549); Johnson Ballads 2559; Harding B 25(1587); Harding B 12(38); Johnson Ballads 1153A; Harding B 17(129a); Johnson Ballads fol. 142
124.	Since Kathlean has proved so untrue	*Poor Soldier* (1783); wordbook (1783); score (1801?); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V4041	1	1	Harding B 21(3)
125.	Since the first dawn of reason that beam'd on my mind	*Family Quarrels* (1802); score (1803); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V5531	5 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	6 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 25(691); Harding B 15(114a); Firth c.22(43); Harding B 17(100a); Harding B 11(197); Harding B 22(387)
126.	Sing the sailor's welcome home	*Family Quarrels* (1802); score (1803); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V1076	1	1	Harding B 15(292a)

127.	Sir Gooseberry Gimcrack was thin	*Harlequin Brilliant; Or, The Clown's Capers* (n.d.); wordbook (1815); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V713	1	1	Harding B 17(286b)
128.	Slow broke the light, and sweet breath'd the morn	*Kais* (1808); wordbook (1808); score (1808); Isaac Brandon (playwright) and John Braham or William Reeve (composers)	23133	9 (excluding 4 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	13 (excluding 5 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 c.17(31); Harding B 11(266); Harding B 11(267); Harding B 11(2724); Harding B 11(3536); Johnson Ballads 57; Harding B 16(22c); Firth c.14(253); Harding B 25(185); 2806 c.11(8); Harding B 17(287b); Harding B 25(1787); Johnson Ballads 1000
129.	Stand to your guns, my hearts of oak	*The Milesian* (n.d.); wordbook (1777); score (c. 1780); Isaac Jackman (playwright) and Thomas Carter (composer)	V396	8 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	12 (excluding 4 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 11(2432); Johnson Ballads 35; 2806 c.13(226); Johnson Ballads fol. 31; Firth b.26(122); Harding B 11(3004); Johnson Ballads 944; Harding B 11(3005); Johnson Ballads 945; Harding B 11(3143);

						Harding B 11(687); Johnson Ballads 36
130.	Strew, strew with roses	*London; Or, Harlequin and Time* (n.d.); wordbook (1814); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	6747	8	10	Firth b.26(157); Harding B 12(109); Harding B 17(313b); Johnson Ballads 1026; Harding B 11(2590); Johnson Ballads 923; Harding B 40(21b); Johnson Ballads fol. 400; Harding B 36(24); Harding B 36(21);
131.	Taste oh! Taste this spicy wine	*Brother & Sister* (n.d.); score (1814); William Dimond? (playwright) and Henry Bishop (composer)	V3484	7	7	Johnson Ballads fol. 16; Harding B 36(1); Johnson Ballads fol. 143; Johnson Ballads fol. 19; Johnson Ballads fol. 140; Harding B 36(3); Harding B 11(1151);
132.	'Tisn't the jacket nor trowsers [*sic*] blue	*Family Quarrels* (1802); score (1803); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V5322	[1 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[2 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[Firth c.13(228); Harding B 11(4309)]
133.	The blast of war may loudly blow	*Two Faces Under a Hood* (1807); wordbook (1807); score (1807); Thomas	V19886	1	1	Firth b.27(32); Firth c.13(249); Harding B 11(4225)

		Dibdin (playwright) and William Shield (composer)				
134.	The breeze was fresh, the ship in stays	*Castles in the Air; Or, Columbine Cowslip* (n.d.): wordbook (1812); score 91793?); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V413	3 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	3 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 25(1924); Harding B 28(202); Firth c.12(362)
135.	The dusky night rides down the sky	*'Squire Badger* (n.d.) [also appears in *Don Quixote,* performed 1734]; wordbook (1772); Henry fielding (playwright) and Thomas Arne (composer)	24420 (V2935 is also associated with this song)	4	9	Harding B 25(566); Johnson Ballads 3005; Harding B 11(3361); Johnson Ballads 979; Firth c.19(112); Harding B 16(79a); 2806 c.18(96); Harding B 17(81a); Johnson Ballads 3046
136.	The early horn	*The Royal Chase* (1736); score (1780?); Edward Phillips (playwright) and John Ernest Galliard (composer)	V4782	4	4	Johnson Ballads fol. 16; Johnson Ballads fol. 19; Harding B 36(13); Harding B 40(23a)
137.	The gypsies came to my father's door	*Family Quarrels* (1802); score (1803); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and William	No Roud Number	4	5	Harding B 16(333a); Harding B 16(108c); Harding B 11(3249); Johnson Ballads fol.

		Reeve (composer)				14; Johnson Ballads fol. 15
138.	The hardy sailor braves the ocean	*The Castle of Andalusia* (1782); wordbook (1783); score (1782); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V4172	2	2	Firth c.13(33); Johnson Ballads 1283
139.	The life of a sailor's a queer life enough	*The Village Ghost*; wordbook (1794); Thomas Dibdin (playwright, composer unknown)	V20159	2	2	Harding B 11(2395); Harding B 25(1316)
140.	The maid of Lodi	*The Maid of Lodi* (1802?); score (1802); William Shield (composer, playwright unknown)	V5451	12	17	Harding B 17(187a); Firth b.27(252); Harding B 11(2285); Firth c.18(26); Harding B 25(1196); Harding B 11(2284); Firth b.27(250); Harding B 11(2286); Harding B 12(60); Harding B 12(61); Harding B 17(186b); Harding B 22(165); Harding B 25(1195); Harding B 28(225); Firth c.18(25);

						Harding B 16(138b); 2806 c.17(256)
141.	The maid of woe, was true to love	*Music-Mad* (n.d.); score (1807); Theodore Edward Hook (playwright) and James Hook (composer)	V30821	1	1	Johnson Ballads 374
142.	Then farewell, my trim-built wherry	*The Waterman, or the First of August* (1774); wordbook (1774); score (1805?); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V468	4 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	4 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Firth b.34(31); Harding B 11(102); Harding B 11(772); Harding B 21(20)
143.	The Nightingale Club in a village was held	*Crossing the Line* (n.d.); wordbook (1833); George Almar (playwright, composer unknown)	V20155	1	1	Harding B 11(673)
144.	The Padlock	*The Padlock* (1768); wordbook (1768); derivative song by Isaac Bickerstaffe? (playwright) and Charles Dibdin? (composer)	V19108	[1 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[1 from outside the dates 1797-1844]	[Harding B 22(369)]
145.	There lived in Spain, as stories tell oh	*Giovanni in London: Or, the Libertine Reclaimed* (1817);	V25560	1	1	2806 c.18(184); Harding B 25(1102)

		wordbook (1825); William Thomas Moncrieff (playwright and composer)				
146.	There was a jolly miller once	*Love in a Village* (1762); wordbook (1763); score (1780-1800) Isaac Bickerstaffe (playwright) and Thomas Arne (composer)	503	2 (excluding 11 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2 (excluding 14 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 c.13(174); Harding B 11(3383);
147.	There was an ancient fair	*In and Out of Tune* (n.d.); score (1808); Domenico Corri (composer, playwright unknown)	V279	9 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	12 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 c.17(50); Johnson Ballads 918; Harding B 17(201b); Firth b.25(235); Harding B 11(369); Firth c.14(220); Harding B 17(33b); Harding B 20(19); Harding B 25(1278); Harding B 25(235); 2806 c.18(206); Firth c.14(221)
148.	The signal to engage shall be	*The Seraglio* (n.d.); wordbook (1776); score (1776); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V3080	1	3	Firth b.27(32); Firth c.13(249); Harding B 11(4225)

149.	The streamlet that flow'd round her cot	*The Woodman* (1791); wordbook (1791); score (1791); Henry Bate Dudley (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	602	3 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	5 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Firth b.25(232); Harding B 25(273); Harding B 25(1847); Firth c.18(22); Harding B 22(279)
150.	The sun sets in night	*New Spain; Or, Love in Mexico* (1790); wordbook (1790); score (1790); John Scawen (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	14094	1	1	Harding B 25(487)
151.	The tear fell gently from her eye	*The Americans* (1811); score (1811); John Braham (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	23596	5 (excluding 9 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	7 (excluding 12 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Firth b.26(432); Firth b.27(529); Harding B 11(55); Firth c.13(304); 2806 c.15(170); Harding B 11(2863); Johnson Ballads 675
152.	The Turban'd Turk, who scorns the world	*British Fortitude, and Hibernian Friendship; Or, An Escape from France* (n.d.); wordbook (1794); James Cartwright Cross (playwright, composer unknown)	V17310	1	2	Harding B 16(114d); Johnson Ballads 2583

153.	The universe may well be jealous	*The English Fleet, in 1342* (1803); wordbook (1805); score (1805?); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and John Braham (composer)	V28854	1	1	Harding B 28(4)
154.	The wanton god, that pierces hearts	*Comus* (1738); score (1740); John Milton (playwright) and Thomas Arne (composer)	V8469	2	2	Harding B 22(252); Firth c.22(6)
155.	The wealthy fool with gold in store	*Poor Soldier* (1783); wordbook (1783); score (1801?); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	13870	14 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	23 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 c.17(138); Firth b.34(191); Firth c.22(42); Harding B 25(1296); 2806 c.18(123); Harding B 25(692); Harding B 11(3183); Harding B 28(132); Firth b.25(519); Harding B 25(2121); Harding B 11(1264); Johnson Ballads 830; Harding B 11(1648); Harding B 12(33); Firth b.27(100); Harding B 11(3732); Johnson Ballads 2903; Johnson Ballads 3372; Firth c.13(289); Harding B

						11(2432); Johnson Ballads 35; Johnson Ballads 36; Harding B 36(22);
156.	The whistling ploughman	*The Tempest* (1790); score (1793); William Shakespeare (playwright) and Charles Dibdin (composer?)	V3179	2	2	Harding B 11(2330); Harding B 22(339)
157.	The world's a great ocean in which all men fish	*The Maniac; Or Swiss Banditti* (n.d.); score (1810); Henry Bishop (composer, playwright unknown)	V20821	1	1	Harding B 25(658)
158.	They mourn me dead in my father's hall	*The Bottle Imp* (n.d.); wordbook (1828); score (1828); Richard Brinsley Peake (playwright) and George Herbert Rodwell (composer)	V5132	4	4	Johnson Ballads fol. 11; Johnson Ballads fol. 144; Johnson Ballads fol. 18; Harding B 11(4336)
159.	This life is like a country dance	*The Jubilee of 1802; Or, Preston guild* (1802?); wordbook (1802); James Cartwright Cross (playwright) and William Reeve, William Shield, Charles Dibdin, William Ware, Mr Sanderson or	V7543	1 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	1 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 22(225)

		Mr Myers (composer)				
160.	Thro' deserts we roam, yet fat plenty we find	*Kais* (1808); wordbook (1808); score (1808); Isaac Brandon (playwright) and John Braham or William Reeve (composers)	V8141	2	2	Firth b.26(392); Johnson Ballads 3071;
161.	Thus for men the women fair	*Don Juan* (1789); score (c. 1803); William Reeve (composer, playwright unknown)	V8139	1	1	Harding B 17(92b)
162.	'Tis said we venturous diehards when we leave the shore	*The Whim of the Moment: Or, Nature in Little* (1788); score (1789); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V1083	3	3	Curzon b.20(17); Harding B 11(3911); Harding B 17(276a)
163.	'Tis woman that seduces all mankind	*The Beggar's Opera* (1728); score (1961); John Gay (playwright) and Jeremiah Clarke (composer of tune 'Bonny, Grey Ey'd Morn')	V2167	2	2	2806 c.17(476); 2806 c.17(475)
164.	To an arbor of woodbine	*Robin Hood* (n.d.); wordbook (1751); score (1753); Moses	V26763	3	4	Johnson Ballads fol. 31; Harding B 36(5); Harding B 36(17);

		Mendez (playwright) and Charles Burney (composer)				Johnson Ballads fol. 32;
165.	To Batchelor's hall we good fellows invite	*The Oddities* (1790); score (1790); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	385	9 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	10 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 25(93); Firth b.26(536); Harding B 11(124); Firth c.19(117); Firth c.19(118); Harding B 22(6); Harding B 16(8b); Johnson Ballads 156; Johnson Ballads 2335; Johnson Ballads fol. 52
166.	Tom Starboard was a lover true	*The Turnpike Gate* (n.d.); wordbook (1799); score (1799); Frank Knight (playwright) and William Reeve? (composer)	V463	10 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	15 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 36(21); Firth c.12(310); Johnson Ballads 1502a; Johnson Ballads 1502b; Johnson Ballads 1503; Johnson Ballads 3007; Harding B 11(3855); Harding B 11(642); Harding B 36(24); Johnson Ballads 284; Johnson Ballads 285; Harding B 25(1931); Johnson Ballads 384; 2806 c.18(315); Firth c.13(130)

167.	To see the fair bride go back	*Three and the Deuce* (1795); score (1795); Prince Hoare (playwright) and Stephen Storace (composer)	V24717	1	1	Harding B 25(18)
168.	'Twas in a village near Castlebury	*The Metamorphosis* (1776); wordbook (1783); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V5787	2	2	Harding B 16(52c); Harding B 25(387)
169.	'Twas in the good ship Rover	*The Oddities* (1790); score (1790); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	17509	3 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	4 (excluding 4 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 22(105); Harding B 12(17); Firth c.12(407);
170.	'Twas post meridian half past four	*Will of the Wisp* (1795); score (1805?); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	12834	5 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	5 (excluding 4 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 c.18(275); Harding B 28(71); Harding B 25(1709); Harding B 17(270b); Firth c.13(100)
171.	'Twas within a mile of Edinburgh town	*Britain's Glory; Or, a Trip to Portsmouth* (n.d.); wordbook (1794); Robert Benson (playwright, composer unknown)	8515	5 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	5 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2806 c.18(316); Harding B 11(3507); Harding B 11(2676); Harding B 11(3911); Harding B 25(2092)
172.	We tars have a maxim, your honours, d'ye see	*My Spouse and I* (n.d.); score (1816?); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and John	V34701	2	5	Firth b.26(122); Harding B 11(3004); Johnson Ballads 944; Harding B 11(3005);

		Whitaker (composer)				Johnson Ballads 945;
173.	What if the sailor boldly goes	*The Broken Gold* (n.d.); score (1806); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V9064	1	1	Firth b.25(595/596)
174.	What matter your ditties, your jokes	*The Naval Pillar* (1799); score (1799); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and John Moorehead (composer)	V12204	4	7	Harding B 16(269b); Johnson Ballads 1017; Johnson Ballads 1018; 2806 d.31(20); Harding B 13(207); Firth c.12(351); Harding B 25(2032)
175.	What's a poor simple clown	*May Day; Or, the Little Gypsy* (n.d.); wordbook (1775); David Garrick (playwright) and Thomas Arne (composer)	V1382	2	2	Firth b.33(27); Harding B 16(341b)
176.	When absent from her whom me soul holds most dear	*The Cabinet* (1802); wordbook (1805); score (1802/3); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and John Braham (composer)	V189	8	14	2806 c.16(125); Harding B 11(3159); Harding B 17(349b); Harding B 25(151); Johnson Ballads fol. 17; Johnson Ballads fol. 17A; Johnson Ballads 48; Johnson Ballads 50;

						Johnson Ballads 51; Johnson Ballads 52; Firth b.34(42); Harding B 25(271); Johnson Ballads fol. 33; Johnson Ballads 49
177.	When Britain first at Heaven's command	*Alfred* (1740); score (1757); David Mallet and James Thomson (playwrights) and Thomas Arne (composer)	V593 (V10244 is also associated with this song)	14 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	19 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 25(286); Harding B 11(307); Curzon b.24(99); Harding B 11(3621); Johnson Ballads 277; Harding B 22(192); Johnson Ballads 48; Johnson Ballads 50; Johnson Ballads 51; Johnson Ballads 52; Firth b.27(358); Harding B 11(1714); Firth c.14(288); Harding B 28(26); Johnson Ballads 2059; Johnson Ballads 49; Harding B 11(2607); 2806 c.13(122); Harding B 28(276)
178.	When fairies dance round on the grass	*The Shepherd's Lottery* (n.d.); score (1751); Moses Mendez (playwright)	V3544	1	1	Johnson Ballads 2742

		and William Boyce (composer)				
179.	When first I strove to win the prize	*Youth, Love and Folly* (n.d.); score (1805); William Dimond (playwright) and Michael Kelly (composer)	V21187	1	1	2806 c.13(235)
180.	When in war on the ocean	*The Glorious First of June* (1794); score (1794?); Richard Brinsley Sheridan (playwright) and Stephen Storace (composer)	V3099	5 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	5 (excluding 3 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Firth c.13(144); Harding B 16(322b); Harding B 25(2033); Harding B 11(916); Harding B 40(23a);
181.	When I was a boy in my father's mud edifice	*Cambro-Britons* (1798); score (1798): James Boaden (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V769	2 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	2 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Firth c.26(128); Firth c.26(221); Harding B 11(2975)
182.	When I was at home, I was merry and frisky	*The Surrender of Calais* (1791); score (1791); George Colman (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V15364	5	5	Harding B 15(62b); Harding B 25(422); Harding B 15(63a); Harding B 11(3683); Johnson Ballads 3113

183.	When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food	*Don Quixote in England* (1743); wordbook (1777); score (1737?); Henry Fielding (playwright) and Richard Leveridge (composer)	V15916	1 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	1 (excluding 2 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 16(192c)
184.	When ruddy Aurora awakens the day	*Robin Hood: Or, Sherwood Forest* (1784?); wordbook (1784); score (1784); Leonard Macnally (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V16423	1	2	Harding B 40(21b); Johnson Ballads fol. 400
185.	When the hollow drum	*The Mountaineers* (1793); score (1794); George Colman (playwright) and Samuel Arnold (composer)	V9545	1	3	2806 c.18(330) ; Harding B 25(2036); Johnson Ballads 3023;
186.	When Vulcan forg'd the bolts of Jove	*The English Fleet, in 1342* (1803); wordbook (1805); score (1805?); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and John Braham (composer)	V216 (another song is associated with this Roud number)	2	2	Harding B 25(2038); Firth b.26(437)
187.	When war's alarms enticed	*The Camp* (1795); wordbook (1795); score (1778); Richard Brinsley Sheridan (playwright) and Thomas	6864	1	2	2806 c.18(118); Harding B 25(675);

		Linley (composer)				
188.	When William at eve meets me down at the stile	*Rosina* (1782); score (1815?); Frances Brooke (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V1198 (V140371198 is also associated with this song; there is also one Edition/imprint in the database that is that is not associated with either Roud number)	5	11	Johnson Ballads fol. 126; Johnson Ballads fol. 129; Harding B 25(1987); Harding B 28(214); Harding B 11(4230); 2806 c.18(334); Firth b.25(320b); Harding B 25(2059); Johnson Ballads 3015
189.	Where the bee sucks, there lurk I	*The Fairies* (n.d.) [see also the music from Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611; version printed 1778)]; wordbook (1769); score (c. 1845); William Shakespeare (playwright) and Thomas Arne (composer)	V527	1	1	Harding B 36(8)
190.	While pensive I thought on my love	*Blue Beard; Or, Female Curiosity* (1798); wordbook (1811); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	23119	8	14	Firth b.27(39); Firth c.18(46); Harding B 16(305b); Harding B 17(335a); Johnson Ballads 3017; Harding B 28(207); 2806 c.18(329);

						Harding B 25(2040); Firth b.25(488); Harding B 11(2368); Firth c.14(348); Harding B 16(305a); Harding B 28(22); Harding B 28(97)
191.	While the lads of the village shall merrily, ah!	*The Quaker* (1775); wordbook (1777); score (1805?); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V496	10 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	11 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Harding B 22(143); Harding B 36(6); Firth b.28(41a); Johnson Ballads fol. 145; Harding B 11(4151); Harding B 11(131); Harding B 11(332); Harding B 11(3499); Firth b.26(82); Johnson Ballads 886; Harding B 11(130)
192.	While up the shrouds	*Yo Yea! Or the Friendly Tars* (1777); score (2007); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V7250 (one edition/imprint not associated with this Roud number in the database)	2	2	Harding B 28(28); Harding B 25(1327)
193.	Whilst happy in my native land	*The Election* (1774); wordbook (1774); score (1774); Peter Miles Andrews (playwright) and François-Hippolyte Barthélemon (composer)	V12516	2	2	Johnson Ballads 1385B; Harding B 25(685)

194.	Whither my love! ah! Whither art thou gone!	*The Haunted Tower* (1789); wordbook (1790); score (c. 1790); James Cobb (playwright)	V23424	1	1	Harding B 25(2044)
195.	Who'll serve the king	*Two Faces Under a Hood* (1807); wordbook (1807); score (1807); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and William Shield (composer)	V17235	1	3	Firth c.14(106); Harding B 25(1804); Johnson Ballads 1008
196.	Within a bow'r a lady gay	*The Corsair* (n.d.); wordbook (1814); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William reeve (composer)	V5582	1	1	Johnson Ballads 3070
197.	With lowly suit and plaintive ditty	*No Song No Supper* (1790); score (1874); Prince Hoare (playwright) and Stephen Storace (composer)	V4975 (another song is associated with this Roud number)	1	1	Harding B 17(342b)
198.	Would you taste the noon-tide air	*Comus* (1738); score (1740); John Milton (playwright) and Thomas Arne (composer)	V16716	1	2	Harding B 36(19); Johnson Ballads fol. 36
199.	Yanko he tell and he no lie we near one pretty brook	*The Whim of the Moment: Or, Nature in Little* (1788); score (1789); Charles Dibdin (playwright and composer)	V5802	1	1	Curzon b.20(17)

200.	Ye gentlemen of England that live at home at ease	*England's Glory; Or, Briton's Best Bulwarks are her Wooden Walls* (n.d.); wordbook (1795); (playwright and composer unknown)	18526	10 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	12 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Johnson Ballads 750A; Harding B 12(7); Harding B 12(8); Harding B 25(401); Harding B 11(665); Firth b.26(541); Harding B 22(366); Firth c.12(36); Firth c.12(296); Firth c.13(38); Harding B 25(1342); Harding B 25(1844)
201.	Yes Beda, thus Beda	*Blue Beard; Or, Female Curiosity* (1798); wordbook (1811); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V25688	1	1	Harding B 28(170)
202.	Young Henry was as brave a youth	*The English Fleet, in 1342* (1803); wordbook (1805); score (1805?); Thomas Dibdin (playwright) and John Braham (composer)	V8188	8	12	Johnson Ballads fol. 12; 2806 c.17(485r); 2806 c.18(192); Harding B 25(1155); Harding B 11(164); Johnson Ballads 48; Johnson Ballads 48; Johnson Ballads 51; Johnson Ballads 52; Harding B 40(21a);

						Johnson Ballads 3070; Johnson Ballads 49
203.	Young Lobski said to his ugly wife	*The Exile* (1808); score (c. 1808); Frederick Reynolds (playwright) and Joseph Mazzinghi (composer)	V14333	4	4	Harding B 17(201a); Harding B 17(200b); Harding B 10(74); Douce Ballads 4(56)
204.	Young love liv'd once in an humble shed	*M.P.; Or the Blue-Stocking* (n.d.); wordbook (1811); Thomas Moore (playwright) and Charles Horn (composer)	V18879	7	9	Harding B 11(2432); Johnson Ballads 35; Harding B 17(349b); Firth b.25(532); Harding B 11(4374); Harding B 11(4321); Harding B 25(2138); Johnson Ballads 36; Johnson Ballads fol. 29
205.	Young Lubin lov'd the fair Lisette	*The Farmer's Wife* (1814); wordbook (1814); score (1814); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and Henry Bishop (composer)	V12034	1	1	Harding B 16(135a)
206.	Young William was a seaman true	*Britain's Brave Tars; Or, All for Saint Paul's* (n.d.); wordbook (1795); score (c. 1800); John O'Keeffe (playwright) and Thomas	V1175 (this Roud number is associated with another song)	2	4	Firth b.25(213); Harding B 11(4404); Firth c.13(4); Harding B 16(316d)

		Attwood (composer)				
207.	Your laughter I'll try to provoke	*Harlequin, Perizade, and the Talking Bird* (n.d.); wordbook (1805); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V1152	8 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	9 (excluding 1 from outside the dates 1797-1844)	Johnson Ballads fol. 30; 2806 c.17(169); Harding B 36(1); Harding B 11(1102); Harding B 11(702); Firth b.26(481); Harding B 11(4169); Harding B 25(851); Harding B 36(3)
208.	Zelia on her lute was playing	*Kaloc; Or, The Slave Pirate* (n.d.); wordbook (1815); Charles Isaac Dibdin (playwright) and William Reeve (composer)	V6474	2	3	Harding B 12(55); Harding B 12(55); Harding B 25(1161)
TOTAL				724	932	