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"…to Win Honour and Fame"? –
Gender and War in British Popular Ballads, 1792-1815

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Contents

"Then glory my Jeany, maun plead my excuse,
Since honour commands me, how can I refuse?
Without it I ne'er can have merit for thee,
And without thy favour I'd better not be.
I gae then, my lass, to win honour and fame,
And if I should luck to come gloriously hame,
I'll bring a heart to thee with love running o'er,
And then I'll leave thee and Lochaber no more."[1]

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"If his name is Billy Taylor,
He's both cruel and severe,
For rise up early in the morning,
And you'll see him with a lady fair.

With that she ros'd up in the morning.
Early as by break of day,
And she met her Billy Taylor,
Walking with a lady gay.

Forthwith she call'd for Sword and Pistol,
Which did come at her command,
And she shot her Billy Taylor,
With his fair one in his hand."[2]

1. Introduction

The above quoted ballad *Billy Taylor* tells the story of a young woman, whose lover has been pressed into the navy, and who, intending to follow him, disguises herself as a sailor and enlists on a ship. When she finds him and it turns out that he has abandoned her for another woman, she takes a pistol and shoots him. *Billy Taylor* is a good example for many of the topics I will address in my master thesis on gender performance in British popular song during the time of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, from 1792 until 1815.

When discussing the topic of my thesis, I have been confronted with the opinion that songs about war should not be sung and should not even be the subject of academic research. Does

[1] A. Ramsay: *The Tea-Table Miscellany: Or, A Collection of Choice Songs, Scots and English*. In Four Volumes. The Tenth Edition, Being the Compleatest and most Correct of any yet published. Vol. 1-III. A. Millar: London 1740 (1727), 110-111.
[2] Bodleian Libraries Harding B 10(13), Laurie and Whittle, London, 1804.

singing war songs mean promoting war? Would it be better not to sing songs like *Billy Taylor* or *Lochaber No More*, the first song quoted above? Music can have a powerful effect on people. It touches their emotions, sways them towards an opinion, makes great numbers of people enthusiastic and keeps them from questioning what is actually happening. So, wouldn't it be better to focus on peace and avoid singing or talking about violence and war? Yet ignoring war means ignoring large parts of history, literature and music. While war has its own music, this does not necessarily imply that war music promotes war. Music can be subversive in many ways, has played a part in many political movements and been a means for minorities of asserting themselves.[3] Songs that speak about war can be used to work against it. Folk songs, even songs about violence and war, have been a medium of social criticism and of protest. For that reason, I think we should speak about songs that thematise war and that were sung in war.

Musical studies only very infrequently thematise gender,[4] and even recent studies of folk song often marginalise gender aspects, which is why I want them to be at the centre of my thesis. It should be pointed out that there are some notable exceptions to this marginalisation that form an important part of the literature for this study, for example Dianne Dugaw's *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry*[5] and several other works of hers on female warrior ballads and Robin Ganev's analysis of sexuality in *Songs of Protest. Songs of Love*[6].

In my master thesis I want to consider how gender is negotiated in the context of war and popular songs. I will discuss songs, taken from songbooks and broadsides, from the period between 1792 and 1815. I want to answer the following research questions: (1) How are gender roles, identities and agency performed and negotiated in popular ballads of these war years? (2) What concepts of femininity and masculinity can be found in the songs? (3) How is war thematised in the songs? (4) How does the context of war affect the discussion of gender?

In the following chapter (2) I will give an overview of the historical events from 1792 to 1815 with a special focus on Britain. Chapter 3 will examine the research history of folk song study

[3] M. H. Schmid: Musik und Krieg. Anmerkungen zum Thema. In: A. Firme, R. Hocker (eds.): *Von Schlachthymnen und Protestsongs. Zur Kulturgeschichte des Verhältnisses von Musik und Krieg*. Bielefeld: transcript 2006, 13-19.

[4] R. Grotjahn: Musik und Gender – eine Einführung. In: R. Grotjahn, S. Vogt (eds.): *Musik und Gender. Grundlagen – Methoden – Perspektiven*. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag 2010, 18; cf. E. Rieger: Vom „genuine Weiblichen" zur „Geschlechter-Differenz". Methodologische Probleme der Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung am Beispiel Clara Schumann. In: R. Grotjahn, S. Vogt (eds.): *Musik und Gender. Grundlagen – Methoden – Perspektiven*. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag 2010, 57-68. Rieger discusses the problematic relationship between gender studies and musical studies and shows how the gender of composers influences the interpretation of their work.

[5] D. Dugaw: *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry. 1650-1850*. With a New Preface. Chicago, London: The Chicago University Press 1996.

[6] R. Ganev: *Songs of Protest. Songs of Love. Popular Ballads in eighteenth-century Britain.* Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press 2009.

and especially its beginnings in the eighteenth century. I will also look into newer studies, which form the main theoretical foundation of my thesis, and describe my research methods and sources. In the context of my sources, I will also examine the language and dialect that characterises these.

Chapter 4 is about the theoretical approach I am going to take. At first, I will consider the connection between music, communication and performance. A further section will deal with gender and performance. Subchapter 4.2 will review folk song theory in general and will also go into details about the nature of my sources, as well as the question of dating and singing practices.

In chapter 5 I will examine examples of songs. At first, I will address political aspects (5.1), their impact on popular song, and political movements and their songs. Subchapter 5.2 considers the way female gender roles are negotiated in songs that are concerned with war during the period of 1792 and 1815. In part 5.2.1 I discuss the connection between women and folk song as well as three female songwriters. Part 5.2.2 will focus on love songs and seduction-and-abandonment-songs and specifically on issues of sexuality and class. Part 5.2.3 considers female warrior ballads and the negotiation and performance of gender roles in ballads. 5.2.4 is about songs lamenting war and songs of social complaint and how gender affects the way war is lamented and criticised. Subchapter 5.3 deals with concepts of masculinity, especially in the context of army and navy. I will begin by discussing music and song used in army and navy and examine the way they construct a masculine ideal and how they depict gender relations. Part 5.3.2 thematises recruiting and anti-recruiting songs, and focusses on songs protesting against the press-gang, while 5.3.3 spotlights volunteer songs.

"Twas in the merry month of May
When bees from flower to flower did hum,
Soldiers through the town march'd gay,
The village flew to the sound of the drum;
From windows lasses looked a score,
Neighbours met at every door,
Serjeant twirled his sash and story,
And talked of wounds, of honour and glory."[7]

2. Overview of the historical events, 1789-1815

When the Bastille fell in 1789, reactions in Britain ranged from enthusiastic to cautiously positive. The French revolution appeared as a release from slavery and absolutism and seemed to bring the French closer to British constitutionalism. Many expected the emergence of a more prosperous French state and were curious about revolutionary ideas. The House of Commons wasn't that interested in the events in France, and William Pitt, who had become prime minister in 1783, focussed on bringing down the national debt. This changed a year later, when British aristocrats became worried about what might happen to their position and possessions, if a revolution were to happen in Britain too. In 1790, Burke published *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, a pamphlet defending the monarchy and arguing against revolution and republicanism. It started a lively debate and a pamphlet war. The most notable opponents of Burke's position were Mary Wollstonecraft, who published her response *A Vindication of the Rights of Men*[8] only three weeks after the release of Burke's book, and Thomas Paine, whose *The Rights of Man* by a reduction of the price to sixpence reached people from all classes of society. Worry about the events in France increased among loyalists in 1791, when Louis XVI fled Paris and the National Assembly was dissolved. Fearing the 'mob', they emphasised the importance of order and a strong government.[9]

At the same time, there were already several political societies in Britain, for example the *Society for Constitutional Information* and the *London Corresponding Society*, founded in 1792. The political writings that emerged from these societies were generally in support of the French and of Paine's *The Rights of Man*, and not of British constitutionalism. In Manchester Samuel Bamford formed a group that read *The Rights of Man* to each other and discussed politics. They were labelled Painites and Jacobins. The government worried about the increas-

[7] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.
[8] Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Men*, which forms a direct answer to Burke's book and argues for republicanism and against the aristocracy, is less well-known today than her 1792 publication *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, which is considered one of the founding texts of feminist scholarship.
[9] J. Uglow: *In These Times. Living in Britain Through Napoleon's Wars. 1792-1815*. London: Faber & Faber 2014, 13-16.

ing unrest and a Royal Proclamation banned "tumultuous meetings and seditious writings"[10]. There were also protests and riots in support of the government and of "church and king".[11]

While church-and-king-rioters burned Tom Paine in effigy, in other countries the war with France had already started. In the 'first coalition', Leopold II of Austria allied himself with Prussia, and on 20 April 1792 the Legislative Assembly in Paris declared war on Austria. While Britain refused to join the war at that time, the fear of French spies was growing, and an Alien Office was set up, but the number of French immigrants into Britain grew steadily. The death of Louis XVI on the guillotine was publicly lamented in newspapers and broadsides. People in Britain wore mourning, and again there were church-and-king-riots. Britain tried to keep out of the war, and efforts were made to persuade France not to invade the Netherlands. France formally declared war against Britain on 1 February 1793. The Duke of York then led an expeditionary force into Flanders and captured Valenciennes. A British naval force laid siege to Toulon and destroyed a number of French ships but was driven out of the city in December by a then unknown French officer called Napoleone Buonaparte. The British forces in Flanders were unable to hold Valenciennes and, after a series of French victories, faced a difficult retreat to Hanover, where they could board ships home.[12]

For the people at home, the war made itself felt at first mainly in the increase in recruitment. As in previous wars recruiting bands became once again a typical part of the markets and village fairs. The militia, who formed the home defence, were also raised. Aristocrats and wealthy merchants and manufacturers raised volunteer companies. There was a military frenzy not only among possible recruits. Women as well as men adopted military dress. A source from Edinburgh reports that women were even drilled and exercised by a sergeant. The fascination for the navy was equally great, but, while the public displays were met with much interest, the navy relied on the press-gangs to a much greater extent than the army did on crimping (recruiting by kidnapping). The press-gangs led to organised protests in North Shields and Whitby early in the war. While sailors in the port cities protested, the newspapers celebrated the navy's first great victory. Admiral Howe engaged the French off Ushant on the 'Glorious First of June' 1794, captured seven French ships and sank one. The prizes brought into Portsmouth attracted the interest of locals and visitors alike, and celebrations were held across

[10] Uglow 2014, 17.
[11] Uglow 2014, 16-21.
[12] Uglow 2014, 18-45; cf. R. Knight: *Britain Against Napoleon. The Organisation of Victory. 1793-1815*. London, New York etc.: Penguin 2014, 518.

the country. Sheridan's play *The Glorious First of June* was performed in Drury Lane with the stage turned into a sea, and ending with fireworks proclaiming "RULE BRITANNIA".[13]

The war also affected the British economy. Government stocks lost in value and many businesses went bankrupt. But as recruiting and the war continued, several branches of the economy were positively affected, as the army needed supplies. Tailors and shoemakers especially flourished, and prices and wages increased, as labour and materials grew scarcer. The same was true of weapons manufacturers. The demands for arms were very high and suppliers struggled to meet demands. Other branches of the economy grew as well. Farmers cultivated larger areas to provide for the needs of army and navy. Meat was in high demand, and many farmers kept cattle, because it was sure to bring a profit. The Victualling Board of the navy became responsible for catering for the overseas army as well as the navy, and all manner of food production in the port towns, especially in Portsmouth, increased.[14]

From 1792 onward, the government became increasingly worried about political unrest. People with republican or revolutionary sympathies were prosecuted. The *Habeas Corpus Act* was suspended in 1794, which allowed arbitrary imprisonment without confirmation by a judge. The charges for calls for reform and critique of the government went as far as high treason, which meant that people would be hanged, drawn and quartered. There were several executions. Many sympathisers of the French Revolution, like Robert Burns, felt the necessity to distance themselves.[15]

Politics wasn't the only trouble the people faced. The extraordinarily dry summer of 1794 caused a very bad harvest, and the long and cold winter damaged the winter grain. The supplies for army and navy took most of the available corn and meat. The poor were starving, and people began to protest. There were riots in several counties, as bread prices continued to rise. Bakers stopped selling, because they couldn't afford wheat, and even alternative flours were unavailable. The militia was brought in to stop the rioting but often joined the protests. The situation was only alleviated after a good harvest in the autumn of 1795 and the decision to import great amounts of wheat from Canada, Prussia and Poland.[16]

A French invasion seemed imminent. Three landings were intended, but the ships sent to Ireland were forced by severe gales to abandon their attempt and barely reached Brest, and a second force sent to Newcastle also succumbed to the weather. The third fork of the invasion,

[13] Uglow 2014, 30-66.
[14] Uglow 2014, 46-138.
[15] Uglow 2014, 67-77.
[16] Uglow 2014, 139-147.

intended for Bristol, managed to land in Pembrokeshire near Fishguard but, facing opposition from the militia and the local population, surrendered. Apparently, they mistook the red flannel coats of the local women preparing to fight them for the red coats of the army and thought they faced a regiment.[17]

In 1797, when it had become clear that the war wouldn't be as short as prime minister Pitt had predicted four years ago, the press was occupied with Napoleon's exploits in Italy. Admiral Jervis's victory over the Spanish in the Battle of St. Vincent gave Britain a new hero. Yet while the navy was celebrated in public, it faced internal troubles. Merchant ships were no longer permitted to recruit, and several quota acts decreed the recruitment of ten thousand men in England and Wales, 1800 in Scotland and 20 000 from the seaports. Further acts increased that number but recruiting fell far short of it. Cruel punishments and bad pay made the navy unattractive, and 1797 saw mutinies in the fleets in Spithead and at the Nore. Promises of some improvements and the arrival of Lord Howe calmed the situation in Spithead, but the mutiny at the Nore continued and spread to more ships. The government moved troops to the ports and cut off the mutineers' supplies. They slowly gave in, and the leaders were court-martialled. Twenty-nine, including the leader Richard Parker, were executed. The mutinies caused resentment between army and navy, since soldiers had been brought to the Nore to deal with the mutineers. Resentment against the government was present in army and militia as well, though neither mutinied. Especially the militia ballots, which chose people for the militia by ballot and took men away from their work and families, caused discontent.[18]

1797 brought not only mutinies but also a bank crisis. In the spring of this year, Pitt attempted new peace talks. These failed, but there were new victories for the navy. When the Dutch broke through the British blockade, Admiral Duncan captured eleven ships. The war affected not only the banks and the port cities but trade and industry all over the country. The number of working women and children increased, as more men went to war. Industrial production with its steam engines, furnaces, forges and mills spread and speeded up production. Because of these technical innovations the price of iron fell to half of what it had been before the war, and fortunes were made in working iron, as demands from army and navy increased.[19]

Austria signed the Treaty of Campo Formio with Napoleon in October 1797, ceding the Netherlands and its Italian territories. Combined with the fear of invasion this brought a lot of un-

[17] Uglow 2014, 163-171.
[18] Uglow 2014, 172-181.
[19] Uglow 2014, 182-209.

certainty. The government started a press campaign to on the one hand raise morale and on the other bring the terror of the French regime into public consciousness.[20]

In Ireland, the United Irishmen were planning a rising. Faced with increasing disquiet the government declared martial law, which led to violence and numerous arrests. The rising was planned for 23 May 1798, but many of the leaders had already been arrested, and Edward Fitzgerald's – one of the leaders and organisers of the rebellion – hiding place was betrayed, and he was shot. Without waiting for support from France, the United Irishmen continued with the plan, and the rising began with the Battle of Leinster on 23 May. Weeks of fighting with cruelties on both sides followed. General Lake, who commanded the British troops, followed a very aggressive course of action, taking no prisoners, and even his soldiers questioned his orders. On 21 June, the British troops defeated the main rebel force in County Wexford, and the rising ended within a few weeks. 30 000 Irish men, women and children and 2000 British troops were killed during the rising. When the French, for whose support the rebels had hoped, landed in September, the rising was already over.[21]

French troops were gathering on the Channel coast and around Toulon. To the surprise of the British government and its intelligence service, Napoleon went to Egypt. Pitt sent ships to the Mediterranean, but the fleet under Nelson couldn't locate the French, who had sailed from Toulon. They had turned in the direction of the Levant, occupying Malta and defeating the Mameluke forces. Nelson found Napoleon's fleet in Aboukir Bay, and by sending ships into the bay between the French and the shore took them into a crossfire. Only two ships of the line and two frigates escaped. The battle was fought on 1 August 1798, but Nelson's despatches were captured, and news of the engagement reached Britain only on 2 October. Fighting also broke out in India, where the East India Company felt threatened by Napoleon's advances in the east. Arthur Wellesley, the brother of the British governor, besieged Seringapatam, the seat of Napoleon's ally Tipu Sultan.[22]

Pitt meanwhile made himself unpopular at home by introducing new taxes. Especially his new income tax, which required people to estimate their own income and swear to its accuracy, caused puzzlement and annoyance. The income tax was of little interest to the poor, whose income was low enough for them to be exempt, but 1799 brought one of the coldest winters of the century. Snow lay on the fields in mid-May, there were frosts as late as June, and in July floods followed. No hay could be made, and the price of meat rose. The wheat blackened in

[20] Uglow 2014, 210-215.
[21] Uglow 2014, 224-232.
[22] Uglow 2014, 233-242.

summer. Livestock was killed by hail and storms. Pitt passed a 'brown bread act', demanding that people eat bread made from rye and oatmeal, but this was widely ignored. No winter wheat could be sown. People began to protest against the high prices. The situation improved slightly in the spring of 1800, which brought a good hay crop, but the price of flour and meat remained very high. The poor started eating nettles and water cress as a substitute for potatoes. Even people with jobs and secure incomes found it hard to afford food.[23]

In November 1799, after Napoleon's return after the siege of Acre, a coup d'état ended the rule of the directory in France and established Napoleon as head of the government. Napoleon wrote to both George III and Francis II of Austria offering peace. Pitt's cabinet rejected this, but Austria signed a treaty with France in December 1800. At home, the aftermath of the Irish rebellion still made itself felt. Lord Cornwallis, the viceroy, argued for more rights for Catholics, but this alienated many Anglo-Irish. In July and August 1801 respectively, the parliaments in Westminster and Dublin passed the *Act of Union*. Ireland formally became part of the United Kingdom, the parliament in Dublin dissolved itself, and Irish Members of Parliament were forthwith elected to the Westminster parliament. Pitt saw this as a chance to achieve Catholic emancipation but faced opposition especially from the king. He resigned as Prime Minister on 14 March 1801 and was succeeded by Henry Addington.[24]

Addington, well aware that funds were missing for a further continuation of the war, decided to try for peace. While peace talks were ongoing, the war continued in the Baltic. A fleet under Nelson and Parker sailed to Copenhagen and defeated the Danish fleet. There was fighting in Egypt as well: British and Turkish troops took Cairo and laid siege to Alexandria.[25]

The Treaty of Amiens was signed between France and Britain in March 1802, ending the second coalition. The British press seized to portray Napoleon as a tyrant and depicted him instead as a restorer of order. Many soldiers returned home, others were sent to the West Indies or to India. The navy was reduced in strength as well, with more than sixty ships taken out of commission and its personnel reduced from 130 000 to 70 000 men. The dockyards also laid off workers. As soon as the peace treaty was signed, the mail packet from Dover to Calais started to sail again, and many British citizens travelled to the continent and especially to France and Paris.[26]

[23] Uglow 2014, 243-251.
[24] Uglow 2014, 268-276.
[25] Uglow 2014, 276-283.
[26] Uglow 2014, 289-292.

Peace brought a revival of trade, with European markets being open again to British merchants and manufacturers. Food prices also began to drop, until they reached their customary levels. But the government was nervous and feared uprisings. They weren't wrong. With the return of many soldiers from the war there was an abundance of unskilled labourers, who were taken on as workers in the factories. At the same time, skilled craftsmen, like weavers and shearmen, remained unemployed. In Leeds, where Benjamin Gott planned to introduce gig-mills, the entire finishing department walked out and went on strike. They stayed out for four months, supporting their families with collections from all over the West Riding. Manufacturers and workers both applied to parliament, but the parliamentary committee decided in favour of the manufacturers, and the gig-mills stayed.[27]

As pessimistic voices had suspected from the beginning, the peace didn't last very long. Napoleon's attempts to influence the British press and his protectionist trade policy alienated the British government, and Addington's refusal to evacuate British troops from Egypt and Malta, as stipulated in the treaty, irritated Napoleon. The British government set an ultimatum for the French to withdraw from Holland and Switzerland, and on 18 May 1803 Britain formally declared war on France. French ships in British ports were seized, while British subjects hurried home or were held prisoner in France.[28]

Soldiers both in the regular army and the militia re-joined their regiments. *A Levy En Masse Act* was passed, which required the Lords Lieutenant to send lists of all men between 17 and 55 divided in four groups (unmarried men under 30 with no child younger than ten years old, unmarried men between 30 and 55, married men between 17 and 30 with no more than two children and the rest). The lists were drawn up, but the levy was never needed. The recruiting sergeants again became a familiar part of life, and the volunteer corps increased in number, easily outnumbering army, navy and militia by mid-1804. The navy had a recruiting problem. Many sailors, dismissed during the peace, were reluctant to return, and the press-gangs were the terror of the coastal towns. The methods of compelling men into service became increasingly violent and met with protests and resistance. Captured men were rescued and the press-gangs chased out of towns. When fifty keelmen were impressed in North Shields, the keelmen went on strike, stopping the coal trade. A compromise was negotiated, with one in ten keelmen agreeing to enlist. The coal owners and the other keelmen agreed to raise a bounty for their family. In other towns the gangs met with so much resistance that they didn't dare go there again. In Whitby, people from the town attacked the cutter *Eagle* that intended to im-

[27] Uglow 2014, 313-317.
[28] Uglow 2014, 335-340.

press men, killing two people. Women stoned the new regulating officer, and whalers rescued their captured shipmates.[29]

News spread in the press that Napoleon had brought the Bayeux tapestry to Paris as an example of a successful invasion of Britain, and fear of invasion spread. Rumours abounded, for example that Napoleon intended to build a bridge from Calais or that he was hiding as a fisherman in Britain. Government propaganda also focussed on Napoleon, depicting him as ridiculous 'Little Boney' on the one hand and as an inhuman tyrant on the other. More than one hundred loyalist broadsides were published, sold by booksellers or simply handed out in church or on the streets. The intention was to raise morale and to inspire loyalty, trying to convince the working population that being subject to a British king was preferable to being a French slave. Stories about Napoleon's cruelties abounded, but, rather than making people eager to fight the French, they served to increase fear of an invasion. Business was slow and food prices high. Farmers prospered, but other branches of the economy were in trouble. There was also a shortage of coins. Many were melted down, because the metal was more valuable than the coin as such. Weapons manufacture was increased, and coastal defences were built.[30]

In 1805, Pitt, who had returned as prime minister the year before, tried to form a new coalition with Russia and Austria to attempt a more offensive strategy. Napoleon marched his army east, intending to defeat Austria and Russia and thus cripple this third coalition. News reached Britain in the beginning of November of that year that the entire Austrian army had surrendered to Napoleon. On 4 November, while Britain was still under shock, the schooner Pickle arrived in Falmouth. Three days later the papers were full of Nelson's death and of the battle of Trafalgar. Nelson's fleet had met the French and Spanish off Trafalgar on 21 October and, breaking through enemy lines, had captured seventeen ships and sunk 33. There were many casualties on the British side as well, including Nelson, who was shot by a French sniper. His body was returned to Britain and buried in a huge state funeral. Nelson immediately became not only a national hero but a figure of legend. Commemorative plates, mugs, prints and books were sold.[31]

The euphoria didn't last long. Napoleon marched into Vienna on 13 November 1805. Because of bad weather the mail packets were delayed and there were no more news until the middle of December. Then rumours began to spread that Napoleon had lost a major battle somewhere

[29] Uglow 2014, 343-361.
[30] Uglow 2014, 365-377.
[31] Uglow 2014, 395-406.

in Germany, but these were proven false by New Year's Eve, when newspapers reported that despatches describing Napoleon's victory over the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz had arrived. Pitt was by this time very ill and died on 23 January 1806.[32]

The King asked William Grenville to form a new government. The 'Ministry of All the Talents' included men from various political camps and made itself immediately unpopular by raising new taxes. A bill proposing excise on iron was dropped after public protests. Meanwhile, news from the war were confusing. An unsanctioned expedition to stir up a rebellion in the Argentine managed to take Buenos Aires and bring home prizes. While the British won victories at sea, on land the war was not going well. Russia withdrew into Poland, and Austria surrendered. Francis II abdicated as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire on 6 August 1806. Charles James Fox, who was foreign secretary in Britain, tried to negotiate peace, but Napoleon would only accept a peace that accepted his territorial gains. Fox was dispirited and died a few months later. A further British expedition to South America ended in failure. Grenville's government was unpopular, and he resigned after only a year in office, following a dispute with the king over Catholic emancipation. His government had not been without its successes, though. On the day of his resignation, the *Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade* received royal assent. William Wilberforce had originally introduced the bill in 1793. In 1804 it had again been stalled in the House of Lords, but now there was a new argument for it: Napoleon had restored slavery in the colonies, and abolition would be a means to weaken the French.[33]

Meanwhile, a new, fourth coalition had formed. It included Prussia, Russia, Saxony, Sweden and Britain but suffered defeats in the battles of Jena and Auerstädt in October 1806. Napoleon entered Berlin in October and Warsaw in December. In 1807, while Britain suffered from a very hot summer, Napoleon signed the Treaties of Tilsit with Russia and Prussia. It was expected that he would now turn to Britain. The treaties included the agreement that the Danish fleet would be turned over to the French until the end of the war. Britain tried to dissuade the Danish government from this course of action and, when they refused, opened fire on Copenhagen. While the navy fired from the sea, the infantry under the command of Arthur Wellesley stormed the shore. After three days of fighting the Danes surrendered, and the British took their fleet. In the Mediterranean, Turkey, a former ally, was now an enemy. In February, a British squadron defeated an Ottoman fleet but was driven back from Constantinople by the guns of the forts. The squadron was then sent to Egypt, took Alexandria, but during a

[32] Uglow 2014, 407-409.
[33] Uglow 2014, 409-437.

march for supplies half the army was surrounded and killed or taken prisoner. In September 1807, the remaining troops withdrew to Sicily.[34]

Already in 1806, Napoleon had issued his Berlin Decrees, establishing the Continental System that forbade British imports into French controlled or allied territories. This made itself felt in an extreme decrease in export. The British government also decided to blockade all ports from Brest to the Elbe that denied entry to British ships and required neutral vessels to dock in British ports before being allowed to trade with France. Merchants found ways around many of the laws, but business still suffered. British warehouses were filled with goods waiting to be exported. Many mill owners either temporarily closed their mills or worked three- or four-day weeks. Hardly any work was sent out to domestic workers in the textile industries. Protesters called for more regulation of the practices of the mill-owners and for an end of the war. A *Minimum Wage Bill* was introduced in the House of Commons but was withdrawn. In response to this there were protests and meetings of weavers in several towns. In Manchester 6000 weavers had gathered, when the dragoons were sent in. The crowd dispersed, but on the next day 15 000 protesters assembled. The dragoons opened fire, and one man died. At the same time in Bolton the weavers went on strike, and there were riots in several towns. In July 1808, the weavers accepted the promise of a gradual increase in their wages, but poverty rose when the import of raw cotton was stopped by the blockade.[35]

The harvests were better than in the decade before, but prices remained high. The value of land increased as well, and rents with it. New crops were tested, and there were improvements in agriculture, but the high rents made it difficult for people to subside from their farms. Additionally, the enclosure of the commons that had begun some decades before limited people's access to land. While before they had been able to graze their livestock on the common and also to gather timber and food stuffs, like nuts, from communal land, this was no longer allowed in many areas, making it increasingly difficult for poorer people to make a living. In Scotland, where a system of small tenancies had been dominant, landlords tried to increase their income by breeding sheep, but for this they needed grazing land, and people were frequently forced to leave their homes and either encouraged to emigrate or resettled near the coast, where they were expected to make a living as crofters and fishermen.[36]

In 1808, Napoleon looked to Spain and Portugal, intending to bring them into the Continental System. General Junot had taken Lisbon the year before, and now Napoleon instigated a re-

[34] Uglow 2014, 438-443.
[35] Uglow 2014, 444-466.
[36] Uglow 2014, 455-534.

volt against his allies, the Bourbon monarchy of Spain. Charles IV was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, and an uprising broke out in Madrid. This was violently suppressed, and Charles's sons agreed to renounce their claims to the throne as well. Napoleon named his elder brother Joseph King of Spain. Throughout the country rebellions began to break out. Britain sent 9000 men under the command of Wellesley to Portugal to drive out Junot.[37]

Recruiting now was increased again. Many were entrapped into enlisting. James Weatherley, who worked in a Manchester linen mill,[38] reports that in Manchester about 40 or 50 recruiting parties worked at the same time and "Would trap all they could, they would Enlist them either asleep or awake"[39]. Many signed up out of poverty. Viscount Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for War, introduced the *Local Militia Act* that among other things made it possible for militiamen to transfer to the regular army for a bounty. The troops for Portugal landed in Mondego Bay on 5 August 1808. Beside the soldiers, there was one woman for every six soldiers according to the *General Orders for Troops Destined for Continental Service*. Wellesley ordered that the women should be chosen by lot. They received half rations and no wine and were supposed to render themselves useful to the troops.[40]

Marshal Junot was soundly defeated at the battle of Vimeiro and offered his capitulation, but Wellesley was replaced as commander of the troops and his replacements allowed Junot very generous terms in the Convention of Cintra and sent all his troops home on Royal Navy ships with their arms and booty. The British public was furious. "Britannia sickens, Cintra!"[41] wrote an angry Lord Byron in *Childe Harold*. John Moore then took command of the British army in the Peninsula. He marched North with most of the army to meet with their Spanish allies and to join with more British troops in Corunna. Yet by this time Napoleon himself had arrived in Spain with 200 000 soldiers. Moore's force was driven towards Corunna by the French. Arriving there, he found that hardly any of the expected transports had reached it. In a defensive battle at Corunna Moore was killed but managed to safeguard the retreat of the major part of his army. "Avenge Sir John Moore!" became a rallying cry during the Peninsular War and his death as well as the battle became the subject of songs.[42]

In February 1809, the last British merchants and their families left Portugal for home, just in time, for a month later Marshal Soult sacked Oporto. Wellesley was sent back to Spain and defeated Soult at Oporto and Marshal Jourdan at Talavera. Yet support for him was not uni-

[37] Uglow 2014, 469-473.
[38] Uglow 2014, 82-83.
[39] J. Weatherley, quoted from Uglow 2014, 471.
[40] Uglow 2014, 471-475.
[41] G. Gordon Byron: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 1812-1818, quoted from Uglow 2014, 476.
[42] Uglow 2014, 475-479.

versal. Some considered Wellesley a hero and supported the war. Other more critical voices questioned his strategy and pointed out the mismanagement in government and army, especially at the Convention of Cintra.[43] Uglow describes that the liberal newspaper *Examiner* saw the convention as "another example of military laziness and corruption"[44]. The system of promotion also came under scrutiny. Leigh Hunt (also in the *Examiner*) criticised the purchasing of promotions, the principles of seniority instead of merit and the favouritism present in the army. Merchants criticised the war in general, hoping for peace and better trade.[45]

Austria went on the offensive again in early 1809, forming a fifth coalition, and Britain sent troops to Flanders to support them. They spent an awful time camped on the swampy island of Walcheren waiting for orders. Attacked by mosquitoes, many fell ill. Fever, malaria and typhus spread. Austria was defeated at Wagram; the new coalition was over, and the British troops began to withdraw from Flanders. Four thousand had died from fever, and many more returned home sick.[46]

Maybe to distract from the events in Flanders, George III celebrated his Jubilee in grand style. But at the end of 1809, it was Napoleon again who dominated the newspapers: He had dissolved his marriage to Josephine and was to marry Marie-Louise, daughter of the Emperor of Austria. The events in Flanders meanwhile created a debate on free speech, after the press was cleared from the gallery during a debate on Flanders in the House of Commons. When the *British Forum*, a radical debating club, posted handbills censuring the order to clear the press, the forum's secretary was imprisoned. After Sir Francis Burdett defended him in the Commons and his speech was published, an attempt was made to arrest Burdett as well. He barricaded himself into his house, and his supporters rioted for three days, before he was arrested and imprisoned in the tower. More trials of people criticising the government followed, and many journalists were effectively silenced, fearing prosecution.[47]

Evangelical movements had gained in importance from the 1790s onwards and had been an important factor in British politics with Wilberforce's party controlling almost forty seats in 1804.[48] But more than in the 1790s evangelical principles began to influence other aspects of the life of especially the upper classes. Clothes became more sombre in style and pastimes less frivolous, with value placed on philosophical debate, lectures and charitable works. 1810 also marked the beginning of the regency of the crown prince. After the death of his favourite

[43] Uglow 2014, 479-483.
[44] Uglow 2014, 476.
[45] Uglow 2014, 481-483.
[46] Uglow 2014, 485-489.
[47] Uglow 2014, 490-504.
[48] Uglow 2014, 254-267, 431-432.

daughter George III once more fell into madness, as he had in 1789, and in an emergency sitting parliament named the Prince of Wales as regent. They carefully limited his power, though, not allowing him to take any major action within a year, giving the queen the responsibility for the King's wellbeing and placing his fortune under the control of trustees.[49]

During these events, harvests and cold winters again caused the numbers of poor to rise. Faced with the uncertain economic situation many people were reluctant to donate money to help those in need. Because of the continental blockade the number of bankruptcies rose, and many smaller companies couldn't weather out the depression. The French burnt British warehouses on the continent, and the currency exchange rate became very unfavourable for the British. Inland trade was somewhat improved by the growing network of canals, but this was not nearly sufficient to compensate for the loss of overseas trade. The banks were also running out of coins again, and even industries that had at first seemed invulnerable, like the iron works that were so important to the war, began to have difficulties.[50]

Wellington had retreated to Portugal in the winter of 1810-11 but began to advance into Spain in the spring, driving the French out of Portugal. He defeated General Masséna, but his blockade of Almeida proved unsuccessful. Attempts to take Ciudad Rodriga and Badajoz also failed but cost many lives. When Napoleon withdrew some of his troops, another attempt was made, and Ciudad Rodriga was taken in January 1812. Badajoz fell in April and Wellington continued into Spain. He defeated the French again near Valladolid and marched to Madrid, but further north the siege of Burgos failed, and Wellington withdrew to Ciudad Rodriga. His critics, who had accused him during his entire campaign of not having any feasible strategy for the war in the Peninsula, grew louder again.[51] In June, the United States also declared war on Britain because of Britain's trade embargo. Especially the searching of neutral American ships, the impressment of American sailors and the trade restrictions caused resentment. Yet the focus soon was on Spain again, where Wellington's fortune had changed. He defeated Marshal Marmont at Salamanca and marched into Madrid.[52]

In Lancashire by 1811, thousands of textile workers were without a job, because the blockade made foreign trade nearly impossible. The Nottingham framework-knitters had another complaint as well. The new knitting-frames didn't necessarily require skilled workers, and mill-owners took on workers, who had not served apprenticeships, while skilled workers were out of work. In March, knitters began to destroy the frames. The disturbances spread into other

[49] Uglow 2014, 505-512.
[50] Uglow 2014, 513-523.
[51] Uglow 2014, 535-544.
[52] Uglow 2014, 563-565.

Northern counties, Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Yorkshire. The protesters became known as Luddites, allegedly after a weaver, who had destroyed frames in 1779. Mill-owners began to guard their mills, but the protests continued. Steam power-looms also became targets, especially in Yorkshire and Lancashire. The revolts began to be combined with other political protests, there were riots in several places, especially in Manchester, and the violence spread to Scotland as well. The militia was brought in to stop the riots. Participants were arrested, and several were sentenced to death.[53]

The navy was still blockading Brest and was also engaged in the war with the United States of America, losing several ships to the Royal-Navy trained American sailors. Napoleon, in the footsteps of Alexander the Great, had turned to Russia, hoping to eventually reach India and defeat the British there. Britain had no news for almost two months. Then the report came that Napoleon was retreating from Moscow, pursued by the Russian army. Napoleon had waited in Moscow for weeks, expecting a Russian negotiator. When he left, winter was too near, and, while he reached Paris, most of his army did not. Wellington's army marched through Spain. On 21 June 1813, he defeated the French at Vittoria. Reports of uprisings in several German provinces also began to spread, and in the summer of 1813, Prussia formed a sixth coalition with Austria, Sweden, Bavaria and Saxony. In November, news reached Britain of the 'Battle of the Nations' on 16 October 1813, which brought a total defeat for Napoleon. Half a million soldiers fought in the battle, and more than a hundred thousand died.[54]

Wellington marched into France. The Russians and Austrians also advanced and entered Paris at the end of March 1814, though the news didn't reach Britain until almost a week later. Marshal Marmont made a deal with the allies and surrendered. The French Senate formed a provisional government, and Napoleon at Fontainebleau was forced to renounce the throne. In the Treaty of Fontainebleau Napoleon was exiled to Elba. At the American station the British managed to capture Washington but couldn't hold it. The Treaty of Ghent between Britain and the United States that was signed in December 1814 had no winner. The news took until mid-January to reach the battlefields, but then the war was over.[55]

In November 1814, while things were beginning to return to normal at home, diplomats in Vienna were discussing the terms of peace. Before the talks were finished, Napoleon had escaped from Elba and, with his army falling in with him, marched in the direction of Paris. Louis XVIII and his family fled again. There was fighting in France and Flanders for the next

[53] Uglow 2014, 545-554.
[54] Uglow 2014, 566-581.
[55] Uglow 2014, 595-610.

two months. Troop transports originally destined for America were recalled and sent to Flanders. Rumours abounded, but nobody was certain what was happening. Many British had travelled to Brussels, when peace was declared, and now began to hastily pack their bags. Wellington also arrived in Brussels and began writing letters demanding more men. Rumours were heard in Britain of fighting south of Brussels from 16-18 June. The reports came through smugglers on the coast, and nobody was sure how much truth was in them. Only on the 21 June 1815, when Wellington's aide Henry Percy arrived in London with three French eagles, did the news of Napoleon's final defeat in the battle of Waterloo reach Britain.[56]

[56] Uglow 2014, 611-623.

"O, lass! I've fearfu' news to tell!
What thinks te's come owre Jemmy?
The sowdgers hev e'en pick'd him up,
And sent him far, far, frae me:
To Carel he set off wi' wheat;
Them ill reed-cwoated fellows
Suin will'd him in – then meade him drunk:
He'd better geane to th'gallows."[57]

3. Research History and Methodology

3.1 Overview of the History of Folk-Song Study

The history of folk song studies in Britain and Europe goes back to romanticism and in particular romantic nationalism.[58] One of the fathers of the idea of folk song was Johann Gottfried Herder who maintained in the eighteenth century that

> "nations developed through different historic ages, each evolving naturally out of the previous age, which gave them both continuity and tradition. But he also believed that national culture was formed by the physical environment in which it developed, and as no two nations had the same history and the same environment, they were all fundamentally different, and had different national characters."[59]

To determine these national characters, one had to go to 'the people', who, Herder assumed, had been free of external, 'contaminating' influence. In his view, 'the people' were culturally conservative and because of this had been able to pass on their national culture from one generation to the next for a long time.[60]

Herder focussed particularly on language and the concept of *Volkslied* connected to this. In 'folk poetry', "the people's voice could still be heard, in the form of national epics, ballads and folk tales, and Herder strongly urged educated and patriotic people to get out into the countryside and collect these pearls before it was too late"[61]. To achieve this Herder was interested not only in the German-speaking countries but also looked to Britain. His influence in Britain was at first felt mostly in Scotland, where an interest in folk song and folklore already developed in the eighteenth century.[62]

In the 1760s, James Macpherson published his editions of the Fingal and Ossian poems, which became very popular, but Macpherson's reputation suffered, when it gradually became

[57] R. Anderson: *Ballads in the Cumberland Dialect*. With Notes, a Glossary, and a Biographical Sketch of the Author. Wigton: Ismay 1834, 49.
[58] S. Roud: *Folk Song in England*. With music chapters by Julia Bishop. London: Faber & Faber 2017, 48.
[59] Roud 2017, 48.
[60] Roud 2017, 48.
[61] Roud 2017, 49.
[62] Roud 2017, 49.

clear that his "lost Scottish epic"[63] was not a direct translation of third-century poems, as he had claimed, but a combination of "bits and pieces from Irish and Scottish folklore"[64], to which he had "added a huge amount from his own imagination, and fabricated the whole thing"[65]. In England, Herder's ideas were less influential and the interest in folk music developed mostly in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the second half of the eighteenth century there were already some publications. The clergyman Thomas Percy published *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* in 1765, which can not only be considered "one of the key foundation stones in the Romantic movement"[66], but is also "usually cited as the founding document of ballad studies in Britain"[67]. Percy's book is based on a manuscript he found at the home of a friend in Shropshire. Since the housemaids used the old papers to light the fire, it was partially destroyed, but there remained 191 poetic pieces still intact, encompassing a wide variety of forms and topics.[68] The work he finally published combined texts based on the manuscript, which was probably originally compiled around 1650, with various other sources and texts in an attempt "at presenting the world with elegant poetic pieces that incorporated the best of the old but dressed in the garb of the new"[69]. He edited the old ballads so that they could be easily sung by his contemporaries and were compatible with the aesthetic taste of his time. This approach caused considerable controversy. Joseph Ritson, one of Percy's more outspoken critics, despised the methods of these "fakers and improvers"[70], as Roud calls them, and in his publications tried to print the most 'genuine' versions of the songs.[71]

But the centre of ballad studies at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century was definitely Scotland. The most notable figures were probably Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns, but there were also some earlier publications including David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*[72] and Allan Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*[73]. Ramsay's book differed from earlier collections of 'Scotch Songs' that had been published in London in that he aimed primarily at a Scottish audience, who already knew the tunes he named.[74] James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* was published in six volumes between 1787 and 1803 and

[63] Roud 2017, 50.
[64] Roud 2017, 50.
[65] Roud 2017, 49-50.
[66] Roud 2017, 51.
[67] Roud 2017, 51.
[68] Roud 2017, 50-53.
[69] Roud 2017, 52.
[70] Roud 2017, 58.
[71] Roud 2017, 58-59.
[72] D. Herd, G. Paton, S. Gilpin: *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc*. Edinburgh: James Dickson and Charles Elliot 1776.
[73] H. G. Farmer: *A History of Music in Scotland*. New York: DaCapo Press 1970, 251-259.
[74] L. Davis: "At sang about". Scottish song and the challenge to British culture. In: L. Davis (ed.): *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*. Cambridge, New York etc.: Cambridge University Press 2004, 190.

contained 600 songs.[75] Robert Burns was a major contributor to this but insisted on anonymity during his lifetime.[76] Burns was particularly inspired by Herder's idea of *Kulturstaat* and *Volksgeist*,[77] which inspired a "efflorescence of cultural nationalism in Scotland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries"[78]. Burns' works are inspired by songs, poetry and folklore.[79] The *Scots Musical Museum* was very popular, as was Walter Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, published in 1802. There were also early theoretical discussions of folk music in eighteenth-century Scotland. Dr John Gregory, reading a paper to the Edinburgh Philosophical Society in 1763, gave preference to folk music over classical music.[80] Both classical and folk music, he argued, were "original in their kind, and different from every other in Europe"[81], but he considered folk music "the preferable music"[82]. William Tytler published *A Dissertation on Scottish Music* in 1779 and claimed therein that "the genius of the Scots has in nothing shone more conspicuous than in poetry and musick"[83]. He praised the "wild pathetick sweetness"[84], the melancholy and melodic quality of Scottish music.[85]

There were also various collections of and publications on popular music throughout the nineteenth century, but the last decades of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century saw a new rise of interest in the topic. This was the age of folk song collectors like F.J. Child, Sabine Baring-Gould, Lucy Broadwood, Frank Kidson and Cecil Sharp that shape our view of British folk song until today. The *Ballad Society* was founded by Frederick Furnivall in 1869. The idea had been F.J. Child's, who is probably the best-known scholar of the Victorian folk song revival. At that time, most collectors focussed on sixteenth century black-letter broadsides, but Child was more interested in rare manuscripts. His *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* are mostly based on Scottish materials. Child published various versions of ballads and compared them. In 1898, the *Folk Song Society* was founded. Irish nationalism and connections to the *Irish Literary Society* in London led to an Irish focus in the first years after the foundation of the society with people like Kate Lee, A. P. Graves and Harry Plunkett

[75] Farmer 1970, 255.
[76] Davis 2004, 198-199.
[77] W. Donaldson: *The Jacobite Song. Political Myth and National Identity*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press 1988, 88.
[78] Donaldson 1988, 88.
[79] Donaldson 1988, 87.
[80] R. Perry: "The Finest Ballads": Women's Oral Traditions in Eighteenth-Century Scotland. In: Eighteenth-Century Life, Volume 32, Number 2, Spring 2008, 82.
[81] J. Gregory, quoted from Perry 2008, 82.
[82] J. Gregory, quoted from Perry 2008, 83.
[83] W. Tytler: *A Dissertation on Scottish Music*, quoted from Perry 2008, 83.
[84] W. Tytler: *A Dissertation on Scottish Music*, quoted from Perry 2008, 83.
[85] Perry 2008, 83.

Greene playing an important part, though Englishmen like Cecil Sharp, Frank Kidson, Lucy Broadwood and Vaughan Williams were influential as well.[86]

Another wave of scholarly interest in folk songs developed with the so-called second British folk revival, which began after World War II. Folk songs were very present in the 1960s and 1970s, and a lot of research was published on the topic.[87] Since the authors of the second folk revival form an important part of the secondary literature of my paper, I will say more about them in the next section.

3.2 Previous Research on the Topic

There are several thematic fields that are important to my research. One is the already mentioned field of folk song study. Steve Roud (*1949) is perhaps the most notable scholar of folk music at the moment. His *Folksong Index* is a useful medium for identifying song families and has been an important research tool for me. He has also published several books on folk songs. His recently released *Folk Song in England* is especially interesting for my master thesis, because besides giving insights into broadside printing, he is especially concerned with the development of folk song from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century and with singing practices. His book also quotes extensively from literary sources and diaries, among them unpublished material that provides a source that would otherwise not have been accessible for me. His book also discusses the theoretical foundations and definitions as well as the history of folk song study in more detail than other works do.[88]

The field of war and music has been the topic of research especially from the 1960s onwards. Lewis Winstock's *Songs and Music of the Redocats* (1970) was my most important source for the history of music in the army. Winstock focusses on songs that were sung and played by soldiers from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. His account draws on rich source material not only of songs, but also of accounts of the impact music made on soldiers and new recruits and of the singing practices in the British army. His book is especially interesting, since he also discusses instrumental music. Winstock quotes extensively both songs and music as well as writings of soldiers. His study is about the whole period from 1642 to 1902, but the eighteenth century and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars are discussed in detail.[89]

[86] Roud 2017, 61-151.
[87] S. Roud, J. Bishop: *The New Penguin Book of English Folk Songs*. London, New York etc.: Penguin 2014, xxii-xxv.
[88] Roud 2017.
[89] L. Winstock: *Songs and Music of the Redcoats. A History of the War Music of the British Army 1642-1902*. Harrisburg: Stackpole 1970.

Roy Palmer (1932-2015) focusses not only on army music but has published volumes on various genres of folk and popular music. Especially important is *The Rambling Soldier* (1977), which combines an anthology of soldiers' writings and songs about and sung in the army with a critical examination of the sources. Palmer's book is particularly relevant, because of his consideration of the origin and date of several of the songs he quotes, and because he includes many otherwise unpublished journals and letters written by common soldiers.[90] He has also written a book about sailors' songs, which centres on songs sung in and songs sung about the navy.[91] Very interesting is also his *The Sound of History* (1988), where he presents popular and folk songs as a medium of social change. He analyses the different settings for popular songs and the ways songs were used as a medium of protest. Of particular interest are his discussions of street singing, of singing at the workplace and of protest songs about recruiting and the press-gangs.[92] Palmer's books encompass the period between the sixteenth and the twentieth century. *The Sound of History* focusses on the twentieth century but includes a lot of material about earlier periods. Winstock and Palmer are part of the folk song revival in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s. This is also mirrored in their works. Their point of reference are the folk song collectors of the late nineteenth century, and their topics are influenced by the concerns of their time. A focus on social complaint is evident especially in Palmer's writings. A specifically British point of view is also clear, particularly in Winstock's book.

Topics like gender and sexuality are widely absent in the works of the previously discussed authors. A younger generation of mostly American authors is increasingly concerned with these and also avoids the narrow focus on Britain that characterises earlier authors. Diane Dugaw (*1948) is one of the forerunners and focusses on gender aspects of folk song. She has published numerous articles and a book on female warrior ballads, addressing gender performances and questions of sexuality.[93] If one looks beyond the topic of war, Robin Ganev's work is relevant as well. *Songs of Protest. Songs of Love* (2010) is a very interesting book about eighteenth-century traditional ballads that concentrates mostly on an analysis of texts and on the topic of social complaint. It also includes an interesting chapter on sexuality that

[90] R. Palmer: *The Rambling Soldier. Life in the lower ranks 1750-1900. Military Life through soldier's songs and writings*. Harmondsworth, New York etc.: Penguin 1977.
[91] R. Palmer: *The Valiant Sailor. Sea songs and ballads and prose passage illustrating life on the lower deck in Nelson's Navy*. Selected and Edited by Roy Palmer. Cambridge, London etc.: Cambridge University Press 1973.
[92] R. Palmer: *The Sound of History. Songs and Social Comment*. Oxford, New York etc.: Oxford University Press 1988.
[93] D. Dugaw: Structural Analysis of the Female Warrior Ballads: The Landscape of a World Turned Upside Down. In: Journal of Folklore Research, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Apr., 1986), 23-42; Dugaw 1996; D. Dugaw: Heroines Gritty and Tender, Printed and Oral, Late-Breaking and Traditional: Revisiting the Anglo-American Female Warrior. In: P. Fumerton, A. Guerrini, K. McAbee (eds.): *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*. London, New York: Routledge 2016, 271-295.

was very relevant for my study.[94] Writers not concerned with folk songs but with gender studies in general have also influenced my thesis. Especially Judith Butler's (*1956) discussions of gender performance[95] as well as a number of other publications on gender studies and concepts of masculinity are particularly relevant.

The word *performance* is used in two different ways in my thesis. In general, it can be defined as "the action or process of performing a task or function"[96], while my focus here lies particularly on Judith Butler's work on gender performance. In the context of music, the term refers to "an act of performing a dramatic role, song, or piece of music"[97]. I am also particularly concerned with performance practices. The Oxford Dictionary of Music defines *performance practice* as "[t]he way in which music is perf[ormed], especially as it relates to the quest for the 'authentic' style of performing the music of previous generations and eras. Its study covers notation, ornamentation, instruments, voice production, tuning and pitch, and the size of ensembles and choruses"[98]. In his book *The Experience of Songs* (1981) Mark Booth discusses various kinds of songs from different periods, focussing especially on their specific nature compared to poetry and on the interaction between text and music.[99] Beside and in combination with performance, I also address the connection between music and communication. I have referred mainly to Karner's dissertation, where she summarises the main points of the topic.[100]

Songs cannot be properly considered without their music. I have already mentioned Mark Booth, who focusses on the relationship between text and music.[101] Mark Slobin (*1943) gives a very good introduction to musical characteristics of songs in general.[102] Julia Bishop and Steve Roud examine in more detail the specific musical characteristics of folk music,[103]

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[94] Ganev 2009.
[95] J. Butler: Performative Akte und Geschlechterkonstitution. Phänomenologie und feministische Theorie. In: U. Wirth (ed.): *Performanz. Zwischen Sprachphilosophie und Kulturwissenschaften*: Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2002, 301-320; J. Butler: *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York, London: Routledge 2007.
[96] A. Stevenson (ed.): *Oxford Dictionary of English*. 3 ed. Oxford, New York etc.: Oxford University Press 2010. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0619520?rskey=3JCik1&result=1, 14/09/2019.
[97] Stevenson 2010, 14/09/2019.
[98] J. Bourne (ed.): *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*. 6 ed. Oxford, New York etc.: Oxford University Press 2013. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199578108.001.0001/acref-9780199578108-e-6964?rskey=gsmK0A&result=6913, 14/09/2019.
[99] M. W. Booth: *The Experience of Songs*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press 1981.
[100] J. Karner: *„durch die Kraft unserer Lieder". Musik als Medium zwischen Politik, Zensur, Opposition und Widerstand*. Dissertation. Universität Wien 2008.
[101] Booth 1981.
[102] M. Slobin: *Folk Music. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, New York etc.: Oxford University Press 2011.
[103] Roud, Bishop 2014, xlii-lviii; Roud 2017, 185-216.

as does Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) in his introduction to *One Hundred English Folksongs*, where he describes especially the use of church mode in British folk song[104].

3.3 Research Methods

My main research method is textual analysis. Specifically, I have analysed the characters that appear in the ballads, the narratives of the songs and stylistic elements, for example the metaphors employed. Style is especially relevant, where typical elements of folk songs occur in the broadsides. I have also considered formal characteristics, like metre and rhyme, but only mentioned them, when they contributed to my interpretation.

The majority of songs discussed here were written in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Many of the words are unfamiliar to twenty-first-century readers and have to be translated. At the time there was also no standardised spelling and words are spelled differently in different broadsides. Many songs are also written in local dialects. This is especially the case in songs from northern England, Scotland and Ireland. Irish and Scottish songs sometimes also include Gaelic elements. Additionally, I have included some songs that are written not in English but in Scots, which, while very similar to English, differs in both vocabulary and grammar from it. Therefore, part of my methodology also had to be translation.

Since I work with written sources, I usually have little information about music, but I have also considered musical characteristics, where there is information about them, because they are obviously helpful in discussing performance, though, as Booth puts it, "[e]ven if we only postulate music with these words, we can hear them better"[105]. The relationship between text and music is relevant as well, so my method also includes some aspects of musical theory.

I have attempted to make connections between the field of folk song study and other fields of research, especially debates about gender and war and about gender in music. My focus is on recurring themes and motives in song lyrics as well as on recurring narratives, and on how these are evaluated in the songs. A special focus is also on gender roles and gender performance that occur in the texts and on the question of agency. By combining songs with other sources, the songs are embedded in the wider social and historical context of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

[104] C. Sharp: *One Hundred English Folk Songs*. For Medium Voice. New York: Dover 1975 (1916), xv-xvi.
[105] Booth 1981, 5.

3.4 Sources

For broadsides, my main sources are the broadside collections in the Bodleian Libraries at Oxford[106], especially the Harding Collection, but also several others, namely the broadside collections of the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh[107] and the Roxburghe Collection in the British Library. The latter collection I have accessed through the English Broadside Ballad Archive that includes material from several online archives.[108]

Besides broadsides, songbooks that were published during the time of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars formed an important source for songs, because they usually can be precisely dated. I have included songs from several books, most notably Anderson's *Songs in the Cumberland Dialect*[109] and Bell's *Rhymes of Northern Bards*[110].

In addition to this, I have referred to published diaries, reports and narratives from the time period considered, especially soldiers' writings, like Thomas Pococke's *Journal of a Soldier of the 71st, or Glasgow Regiment*[111] and William Surtees' *Twenty-five Years in the Rifle Brigade*,[112] but also some others, for example William Hickey's *Memoirs of a Georgian Rake*[113], William Gardiner's *Music and Friends*[114], Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*[115] and James Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*[116]. I have also considered some literary sources, especially Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*[117].

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[106] http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk, 18/01/2019.
[107] https://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/, https://digital.nls.uk/english-ballads/archive/74472158, 18/01/2019.
[108] https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu, 18/01/2019.
[109] Anderson 1834 (1808).
[110] J. Bell Jun.: *Rhymes of Northern Bards: Being a Curious Collection of Old and New Songs and Poems, Peculiar to the Counties of Newcastle Upon Tyne, Northumberland, and Durham*. Newcastle upon Tyne: M. Angus & Son 1812.
[111] T. Pococke: *Journal of a Soldier of the 71st, or Glasgow Regiment, Highland Light Infantry, From 1806 to 1815*. Second Edition. Balfour & Clarke: Edinburgh 1819.
[112] W. Surtees: *Twenty-Five Years in the Rifle Brigade*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell 1833.
[113] W. Hickey: *Memoirs of a Georgian Rake*. Edited by Roger Hudson. Engravings by John Lawrence. London: The Folio Society 1995 (first published 1915-1923, written 1808-1810).
[114] W. Gardiner: *Music and Friends; Or Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante*. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1. London: Longman, Orme, Brown and Longman; Leicester: Combe and Crossley 1838.
[115] S. Johnson: A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland. In: S. Johnson and J. Boswell: *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* and *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Peter Levi. London, New York etc.: Penguin 1984, 25-152.
[116] J. Boswell: The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (1786). In: S. Johnson and J. Boswell: *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* and *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Peter Levi. London, New York etc.: Penguin 1984, 153-411.
[117] O. Goldsmith: *The Vicar of Wakefield*. Edited by Arthur Friedman. With an Introduction and Notes by Robert L. Mack. Oxford, New York etc.: Oxford University Press 2008 (1766).

"I'm the wand'ring bard from Exeter,
From scribbling can't refrain,
It's poverty compels me,
To come into the rain,
Hard is my fate, I have no estate,
And must either sing or cry,
My lot is cast I am forced at last
To ask of you to buy."[118]

4. Theory

4.1 Gender Performances through Music

4.1.1 Music, Communication and Performance

"Non l'intendite parlare?"[119] asks Arcangelo Corelli. Do you not hear it speak? What does the music tell you? Eighteenth century music was more than anything meant "to be rendered sensible, expressive, meaningful by *being* spoken"[120]. Music was supposed to convey meaning to the listener, to communicate. The role and purpose of music has been a matter of considerable debate not only in the eighteenth century. Should musical studies focus on music as autonomous art, as *l'art pour l'art*, or should the emphasis be on the function of music for social processes and human action and interaction?[121] This study stresses the second aspect and considers the communicative and social functions of music. Roy Palmer puts it like this: "Musical narratives of all kinds have reflected historical and social movements and have sometimes influenced them in turn."[122]

Music is often considered an object separated from the listener. As opposed to that, Karner considers music as not only a product of the mind, but as a social phenomenon, as communication more than anything else:[123] „Musik hat stets intentionale und funktionale Momente qua Produktion und Rezeption."[124] Music is made by humans for humans. The text functions as an instrument of verbal communication that transmits a message, which we can identify with or reject. But music can also speak directly to our emotions. This, as Karner points out, distinguishes music from other mediums of communication. Music awakes associations, thoughts, memories and emotions. It communicates moods, like sadness or joy, and acts as a

[118] Bodleian Libraries: Firth c.21(3), J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.
[119] A. Corelli, quoted from J. Irving: Performance in the eighteenth century. In: S. P. Keefe (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*. Cambridge, New York etc.: Cambridge University Press 2009, 435.
[120] Irving 2009, 435.
[121] Karner 2008, 12.
[122] Palmer 1988, 1.
[123] Karner 2008, 11-15, 39-41.
[124] R. Schneider: *Semiotik der Musik*. München: Wilhelm Fink 1980, 172.

bridge between the inner life and human soul and the world of human action and interaction outside.[125] Istvandity emphasises the link between music and memory:

> "An understanding of our personal selves often comes through reflection on aspects of our identity, experience and our 'life story'. It is through autobiographical memory that we are able to recall and retell of events, moments, people or places that have affected our journey. These recollections are often multimodal, in that they may consist of one or more sensory elements, any of which may subsequently prompt memories from long ago without warning. These can include visual, olfactory and tactile aspects, or even more abstract discourses of emotion or states of being. Memories can also be *aural*, incorporating a range of sounds and noises, but more strikingly, memories can be filled with, and triggered by, music."[126]

If music is a form of communication, the next question is, how music and songs communicate, in what way they convey meaning. Musical communication is achieved mainly through performance. The sheet music of a Haydn symphony doesn't convey information to everyone who reads it. Even those who can read music and have sufficient knowledge of musical theory to understand the sheet music will not necessarily be able to imagine what the symphony would sound like played by an orchestra. One could argue that even today, where we have recordings, listening to a recording doesn't come close to listening to a live performance by an orchestra. There aren't any recordings from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Sometimes we have sheet music, but often there is only text. What then can actually be said about performance? People writing about music in letters, diaries and publication form a source of information on performance, but for many songs we have to rely on the lyrics written on a piece of paper to tell us what was actually communicated to the people, who listened to a song. Songs and music can also change their meaning according to context and performance. The song *Ça Ira*, for example, began its career as a revolutionary song, was then, under the title *The Downfall of Paris*, adapted by the English in derision (though Napoleon disapproved of the song anyway) and was also played under a different title by German regiments.[127] Therefore, the song had quite different meanings according to context, performer and listener.

Booth discusses the clown's song in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. Scholars have claimed that it had probably not been written by Shakespeare at all, because they considered the writing too bad, or thought Shakespeare had at least not written it for the play but for another occa-

[125] Karner 2008, 40-47.
[126] L. Istvandity: "If I Ever I Hear It, It Takes Me Straight Back There". Music, Autobiographical Memory, Space and Place. In: J. Damousi, L. Hamilton (eds.): *A Cultural History of Sound, Memory and the Senses*. New York: Routledge 2017, 231.
[127] Winstock 1970, 98-105.

sion.[128] Most critics, as Booth points out, "have wanted above all for the lines to make sense"[129]. They were looking for narrative sense, for the song to tell a story. There is also another kind of sense in a song.[130] Booth speaks of "discursive sense"[131], a moral to be found in the song. But neither of these interpretations does the song justice. The song has neither a clear narrative nor an obvious moral. It is for the most part highly conventional, as are many songs discussed in this study. So, even if Shakespeare wrote the song, most of it is made up of proverbs and commonplaces. The language isn't elegant, the syntax is flawed. In theatre performances the stanzas are often sung in different order, or some are left out.[132] Thus it isn't surprising that Booth asks: "How can song suffer these violations and have integrity, wholeness, beauty?"[133] His answer is that the nature of song lyrics changes by their being set to music, that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, and that the words of a song cannot be understood or appreciated without considering the existence of music:[134]

> "These obstacles seem to be enough to doom appreciative analysis of the form and content of these lines of song verse. Yet these clownishly clumsy, unpretentiously conventional verses participate in a distinctive, appropriate, beautiful whole song. Further, when they are understood as words for music, they can be more soundly and fully understood than they are in the criticism that has been quoted here – and this even though we do not know with certainty what that music was, how it spaced, phrased, emphasized, or decorated the verses. Even if we only postulate music with these words, we can hear them better."[135]

If we assume that what Booth says here is true, songs cannot be understood without considering performance. A song without its music is not only less, but different in its nature than with it. A song as song exists only in performance, or as Booth puts it "[s]ong words are given only once in a performance and then are gone"[136]. While songs and poetry are often considered as very alike or even the same thing, poetry is contemplative and doesn't require the performance element that is central to song. Words can be thought about, lines reread. The rhythm and metre may not always be evident at first glance.[137] Booth argues that songs are fundamentally different in this aspect:

> "The existence of songs in sound, in time, is the simplest distinction between them and written verse. Song words are given only once in a performance and then are gone,

[128] Booth 1981, 1-5.
[129] Booth 1981, 2.
[130] Booth 1981, 2-3.
[131] Booth 1981, 3.
[132] Booth 1981, 4.
[133] Booth 1981, 5.
[134] Booth 1981, 4-6.
[135] Booth 1981, 5.
[136] Booth 1981, 7.
[137] Booth 1981, 5-7.

> carried along by the music and succeeded implacably by the next words, which claim attention in their turn. Even if one sings alone, to please oneself, one is reluctant to hesitate, grope, and correct one's words."[138]

This aspect of songs again shows that they depend on communication much more than poetry does: "Song words bear the burden of oral communication, under the special condition of being set to music."[139] Poetry often has a musical quality, but song verse usually isn't musical in itself. Booth argues that musical sounds in the verse may even clash with the tune. The verse is rather accommodated to the music.[140]

> "The ways in which song words are subject to the pressure of their music are subtle and fascinating. They are reinforced, accented, blurred, belied, inspired to new meaning, in a continual interplay. In that interplay there is a constant tug against the resolution of the words to carry out their own business. The words must have an internal discipline to maintain their integrity in their cooperation and in their competition with the music."[141]

The meaning and sound of song verse, signifier and signified, change through the music. This interaction characterises song verse.[142] Because it has to adapt to the music, song verse often is not very complex and, as W. H. Auden put it, the most suitable words in a song are "those which require the least reflection to comprehend"[143]. They have to be the "most dynamic and immediate"[144]. At the same time, the combination with words and the circumstances of performance embed meaning in the music.

> "A tune itself has no identifiable meaning in the way the words have. It invariably gets this, along with its subject matter, solely from its associated text, its verbal title or occasionally from its context. We associate the British national anthem with patriotism because of its words and the contexts in which it is played, but without those clues to meaning the tune would be no more patriotic than 'Three Blind Mice'."[145]

Both words and context have power over tunes. That the context itself has a great effect can be shown by military marches and national anthems without the associated text. By their being played in specific situations and circumstances they receive meaning. This meaning is always open to subversion, though, as can be seen in tunes like *Ça ira*. For folk songs context is especially important, because they are not only defined and shaped by their social background but only exist through this context, are defined by it.[146] Song lyrics can have similar

[138] Booth 1981, 7.
[139] Booth 1981, 7.
[140] Booth 1981, 7-8.
[141] Booth 1981, 7-8.
[142] Booth 1981, 7.
[143] W.H. Auden, quoted from Booth 1981, 7.
[144] W.H. Auden, quoted from Booth 1981, 7.
[145] Roud 2017, 11.
[146] Roud 2017, 24.

power. *God Save Great Thomas Paine,* for example, had enough radical connotations to do some damage to the reputation of the tune of *God Save The King*.[147]

4.1.2 Gender Performances

This study discusses not only how songs and music are performed, but also how social categories, most notably gender, are performed through them. Judith Butler argues that gender is created mainly through performance. You are not born with a certain gender, but gender is constituted and generated by certain acts that create identity.[148] Or as Simone de Beauvoir puts it: "On ne naît pas femme: on le deviant."[149] Gender is not a stable identity that leads to certain actions, but gender identity is created through actions, specifically stylized repetition of actions. This includes even the stylization of the body. A gendered self can be created by bodily gestures and movement. The body of a person is thus a space of possibilities and not predetermined by an inner identity of a person.[150]

> "[A]cts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or substance, but produce this on the surface of the body, through the play of signifying absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organizing principle of identity as a cause. Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally construed, are performative in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are fabrications manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means. That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality. This also suggests that if that reality is fabricated as an interior essence, that very interiority is an effect and function of a decidedly public and social discourse, the public regulation of fantasy through the surface politics of the body, the gender border control that differentiates inner from outer, and so institutes the 'integrity' of the subject. In other words, acts and gestures, articulated and enacted desires create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core, an illusion discursively maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive heterosexuality."[151]

The distinction between sex and gender and the dissolution of this distinction that is at the basis of Butler's critical theory wasn't new. It has been discussed by several scholars, notably by Joan W. Scott in her essay *Gender. A Useful Category of Historical Analysis*. Scott emphasised the concept of gender beyond a simple dichotomy of the sexes.[152] Gender for Scott is more than a way to speak about women:

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[147] O.C. Jensen: *Napoleon and British Song, 1797-1822*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2015, 11.
[148] Butler 2002, 301-309.
[149] S. de Beauvoir *Le deuxieme sexe II. L'expérience vécue*. Paris: Gallimard 1976, 13.
[150] Butler 2002, 304-317.
[151] Butler 2007, 186.
[152] J. Scott: Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis. In: The American Historical Review, Vol. 91, No. 5 (Dec., 1986), 1053-1075.

> "Instead, gender becomes a way of denoting 'cultural constructions' – the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men. It is a way of referring to the exclusively social origins of the subjective identities of men and women. Gender is, in this definition, a social category imposed on a sexed body."[153]

For Butler the body in itself is a historical situation and the continued reproduction of a historical situation. It has to adapt to a historical idea of what being a woman means. You are not simply a woman; you have become one by forcing yourself and your body to conform to a certain historically and socially constructed idea of what being a woman means. Butler argues that by performing according to this idea of gender roles, the body becomes a cultural sign.[154] Specific gender performances create social groups and the way one performs one's gender defines the position one has in a certain social group or in society in general. In this context I will also look at questions of agency. Which actions are possible under what conditions and how much leeway for the actors is there?[155]

Butler discusses mainly what it means to be a woman, but gender roles are relevant in this study also with regard to gender relations and to concepts of masculinity. The study of masculinity researches what being a man means in specific historical and social situations.[156] Masculinity can be considered as a discourse in the sense of Foucault – though Foucault himself didn't analyse gender –, in that language, actions and institutions constitute meaning that again produces certain actions and patterns of thought. Subjects act, because they adhere to a certain system of norms and meanings, but by their actions again shape the norms and rules of society. In the same way masculinity is not a given but is established only through the actions of people in specific contexts.[157] What masculinity actually means depends on the social context and interacts with other categories like sexuality, age, religion and place. Masculinity as a system of hegemony and power has, according to Connell, two main aspects. It functions as both a way to distinguish men from women and to differentiate between men amongst themselves.[158] In the heterosocial sense, masculinity is part of a social structure and connected to authority, as rule of men over women, while in the homosocial sense masculinity is something that is constituted through actions and through a competition of different versions of mascu-

[153] Scott 1986, 1056.
[154] Butler 2007, 305.
[155] C. Opitz-Belakhal: *Geschlechtergeschichte*. 2., aktualisierte Auflage. Frankfurt am Main: Campus 2018, 18-19.
[156] J. Martschukat, O. Stieglitz, D. Albrecht: Geschichtswissenschaft. In: S. Horlacher, B. Jansen, W. Schwanebeck (eds.): *Männlichkeit. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler 2016, 107.
[157] Martschukat, Stieglitz, Albrecht 2016, 107.
[158] M. Meuser: Soziologie. In: S. Horlacher, B. Jansen, W. Schwanebeck (eds.): *Männlichkeit. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler 2016, 220.

linity:[159] „In der homosozialen Dimension geht es um hierarchische Relationen von Männlichkeiten, von denen eine sich dergestalt als hegemonial erweist, dass sie als kulturelles Orientierungsmuster das Handeln von Männern normiert.“[160] Such a hegemonial masculinity is for example described by Mangan for eighteenth-century Britain, based on male conduct-books:

> “The Hanoverian man of civility possessed a sense of inner authority and self-control, which manifested itself externally in the way he spoke, behaved, dressed and acted towards others. ‘Civility’, in fact, had been a virtue exalted by writers of conduct-books from the Renaissance onwards. However, as the aristocracy waned in influence, and the gentry and mercantile classes grew in importance and self-confidence, the virtues of civility became increasingly divorced from the aristocratic honour codes of earlier generations.”[161]

In the nineteenth century the military began taking over this function of a hegemonial masculinity, as school of masculinity and school of the nation, in which women had no place:[162]

> „Ein wesentlicher Ort homosozialer Verbindung ist das moderne Militär. Die kriegerische Phase der Nationenbildung um 1800 korrespondiert mit der Etablierung einer veränderten Militärordnung, die durch und durch geschlechtlich geprägt war. Rhetoriken von ‚Nation‘ und ‚Vaterland‘ verbanden sich mit geschlechtlich aufgeladenen Vorstellungen von ‚Beschützern‘ und ‚Beschützten‘, ‚Opfern‘ und ‚Helden‘.“[163]

Especially in a military context the homosocial communities were often characterised by ideals like camaraderie or friendship. At the same time the competitive aspect that often characterises a homosocial environment led to the exclusion of other forms of masculinity.[164] Frevert stresses the importance of the military uniform, as it distinguishes soldiers from civilians, emphasises the military identity and subordinates other identities the soldiers may have in addition to their military identity. Wearing a uniform also implied an adherence to a certain military code of behaviour and confirmed that a certain bodily standard was met – recruits were mustered before they could join the army. The distinction between soldiers and civilians was not only relevant on the battlefield to mark the status as active combatants but also had a representative function.[165] Especially in the context of the military, performance and ritual are

[159] Meuser 2016, 220-221.
[160] Meuser 2016, 221.
[161] M. Mangan: *Staging Masculinities. History, Gender, Performance*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2003, 135. “Hanoverian” here refers to the House of Hanover, the ruling dynasty of the United Kingdom from 1714 to 1901.
[162] Martschukat, Stieglitz, Albrecht 2016, 118.
[163] Martschukat, Stieglitz, Albrecht 2016, 119.
[164] J. Martschukat, O. Stieglitz: *Geschichte der Männlichkeiten*. 2., aktualisierte Auflage. Frankfurt am Main: Campus 2018, 114-126.
[165] U. Frevert: Männer in Uniform. Habitus und Signalzeichen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. In: C. Benthien, I. Stephan (eds.): *Männlichkeit als Maskerade. Kulturelle Inszenierungen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Köln: Böhlau 2003, 281-286.

relevant aspects of this masculinity. Military rituals gained special relevance in the second half of the nineteenth century but were important long before that. They centred on performance and on creating and performing the body. Herbert and Barlow illustrate the role of imagery in the performance of the British army.[166] They argue that military rituals and imageries attracted new recruits,[167] because they counteracted "the army's questionable reputation"[168]. They also motivated soldiers and maintained control in the army, even when there was no pay, little food and hard duties. Keeping up this imagery also helped to maintain discipline and obedience, encouraged professionalism and formed a subtle threat to the civilian population.[169] The military imagery Herbert and Barlow describe also extended to a stylisation of the body, as Butler describes it for female gender roles. The imagery took precedence even over practical considerations:

> "Within the military in the early nineteenth century there was a growing desire to ensure that soldiers looked good in public displays, often at the expense of practical consequences. Cavalry horses were often 'coloured' or covered with a black dye, to give visual uniformity, even though this practice put the comfort and health of the horses at risk. Ceremonial uniforms were designed so as to force the body into the most upright and striking posture, even though the consequence was that they were often uncomfortably tight. Regimental regulations prescribed a minimum height, even though this often inhibited recruitment. Some soldiers who were especially short were given duties that did not require their routine appearance on the parade ground, and at least one regiment prided itself on the claim that all its soldiers were of the same height."[170]

Especially during war, rituals – and that includes music – also play an important part in creating national identity:

> "National identity means distinguishing this identity from others, against which it is divided by the very fact of being construed as intrinsically different [...] the notion of a national 'self' spawns the belief that it has its own inner voice, its own will, its own destiny to which all others are alien. However loosely, it is this belief which animates symbolic acts of flag waving and flag-burning. These are more potent than any totemic rites and symbols associated with the primitive Other."[171]

Music here performs an important function, because it speaks directly to the emotions of a person. While the exact way how music affects the brain is still not completely clear, it is cer-

[166] T. Herbert, H. Barlow: *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Oxford, New York etc.: Oxford University Press 2013, 215-219.
[167] Herbert, Barlow 2013, 218.
[168] Herbert, Barlow 2013, 218.
[169] Herbert, Barlow 2013, 218.
[170] Herbert, Barlow 2013, 218-219.
[171] M. Pickering: *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation*. New York: Palgrave 2001, 89.

tain that music affects the emotions and activates the reward system of our brain. It also has a positive effect on group integrity.[172]

In songs, gender roles and identities are often fluid. Not only do many songs narrate the transgressions of traditional gender roles, but the narrator, writer and performer of a certain song may also have different gender identities. According to Butler the body reproduces historical situations. In the same way songs reproduce historical situations and ideas of what the body means in certain situations and in what ways normative gender roles can or cannot be transgressed. The same is true of other social situations, as Roy Palmer points out in his monograph *The Sound of History*, where he discusses how songs have been used as a means for protest and social change.[173]

4.2 Folk Songs, Broadside Ballads and Popular Music

4.2.1 Folk Songs and Popular Songs – Definition and Characteristics

Folk music is one of those words that are used all the time, but as soon as someone has to define what they actually mean, this definition proves to be quite difficult. Even the *International Folk Music Council* gave up on defining the term and changed its name to *International Council for Traditional Music*.[174] Etymologically *folk* comes from the German *Volk* and *folk music* is in a way synonymous to the German *Volksmusik*. But in practical use these words often mean very different things, and the term *folk music* is used in other European languages as well. In French and Italian *folk* is used to describe certain styles of the *musique populaire* or *musica populare* and thus means something else again. In non-European languages and cultures, the concept of folk music is often unfamiliar. Even in Europe the term is only about 200 years old and thus the product of a literary culture with firm links to nineteenth-century romanticism.[175] The concept is based on the idea of a purely oral tradition, of "old songs and tunes with an imaginary 'simpler' lifestyle"[176] and of the creation of a regional identity against or at least separate from mainstream culture and society:[177] "Behind the term lurks the comfortable sense of a face-to-face community that relies on homemade resonance to get through individual and collective experiences."[178]

[172] Karner 2008, 57-61.
[173] Palmer 1988.
[174] Slobin 2011, 2.
[175] Slobin 2011, 1-3.
[176] Slobin 2011, 1.
[177] Slobin 2011, 1-2.
[178] Slobin 2011, 2.

Today, *folk music* is often defined very openly, including many new ways of dealing with traditional music, as "living tradition"[179]. Roud is very critical of this – overly critical in my opinion – and considers this way of thinking about folk music as "effectively destroy[ing] any hope of defining the pre-Revival material at all"[180]. Folk song for him covers only the time period before 1945, and he doesn't include material from the folk song revivals in the 1960s and 1970s in his works.[181] While this makes sense from a practical point of view – what is and what is not folk song becomes increasingly confused after 1945, though it probably never was as simple as one might think – it is a very artificial boundary to draw. As already mentioned, the first folk song revival was not in the 1960s but in the late nineteenth century, when folk song collectors throughout Europe collected folk songs as part of what was considered a rural culture on the brink of being lost.[182] One could even argue for a folk song revival in late eighteenth-century Scotland.[183] Roud also explains that post World War II a number of vastly different styles of singing were talked about as folk music, so that it becomes impossible "to describe old-style 'traditional' singing"[184]. I wonder whether there ever was one 'old-style' way of singing, or whether folk singers were not always influenced by new styles of music, something that Roud himself points out in his writings[185]. Already in 1906 Cecil Sharp complained that the term *folk song* "had been usurped by people writing about other kinds of song"[186]. I will discuss this aspect further in the context of the interaction between oral and written traditions. With all these difficulties in mind, Roud still tries to find a definition of folk song:

> "Folk songs are learnt and performed by non-professionals in informal, non-commercial settings. They are 'traditional' in that they are passed from person to person, and down the generations, in face-to-face performance. It is not the origin of a song which makes it a 'folk song', but the process by which ordinary people learn it, perform it and pass it on. It is therefore not really the song which is 'folk', but the process of learning and performance."[187]

Folk historians, when trying to define folk music, often follow Child in dividing ballads into traditional ('popular') ballads and broadside ballads, but this distinction didn't exist for most

[179] Roud 2017, 17.
[180] Roud 2017, 17.
[181] Roud 2017, 16-18.
[182] Roud 2017, 17.
[183] Perry 2008, 82-87.
[184] Roud 2017, 17.
[185] Roud 2017, 24.
[186] Roud 2017, 18.
[187] Roud, Bishop 2014, xii.

of the eighteenth century,[188] and only in the late eighteenth century did scholars like Thomas Percy and Joseph Ritson begin to distinguish between the two categories[189]. One could argue that there is a stylistic difference. The 'ballad stanza' of traditional ballads usually has an abcb rhyme with alternating 4/3 or 4/4 stress quatrains[190] and is characterised by "narrative compression, typed characters, incremental repetition and formulaic phrases"[191], while broadside ballads use "quatrains employing up to eight or more stresses and (frequently) an aabb rhyme scheme"[192]. Henigan argues that broadside ballads are often characterised by "a subjective and moralistic narrative voice; realistic and contemporary settings and situations; and a narrative approach that is more reportorial than dramatic"[193].

The distinction Child makes is very artificial and doesn't reflect singing practices but only an idea of what folk music is supposed to be that characterised many folk song collectors. Often the arguments for or against inclusion in a collection were based on whether the song fit a certain stylistic and aesthetic form that was considered typical of folk song.[194] Gelbart describes three categories that are used to categorise music – art music, folk music and popular music – but makes clear that the distinction between them can never be absolute.[195] Popular music is in Gelbart's definition something quite different from what Child calls *popular ballads*. Popular music is to a certain degree commercial, something that folk music usually is not.[196] The broadsides and some of the other songs I will examine were certainly commercial material, but not all of the songs I discuss can be put into this category. Popular songs, according to Jensen, are "a heterodox amalgam of Elizabethan balladry and the latest light-operatic hits, of elite patriotic effusions and obscene gutter cant, of provincial beggars' improvisations and Romantic poetry"[197]. They were "the most widespread form of literary and musical expression of the day"[198]. This definition probably comes closest to what I intend to discuss. Most of the songs I analyse can be described as popular ballad or folk song, but I will not distinguish further between these categories. I also will not differentiate between the terms

[188] P. McDowell: "The Manufacture and Lingua-facture of Ballad-Making": Broadside Ballads in Long Eighteenth-Century Ballad Discourse. In: The Eighteenth Century, Vol. 47, No. 2/3 2006, 151-152.
[189] J. Henigan: *Literacy and Orality in Eighteenth-Century Irish Song*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge 2016, 151.
[190] Henigan 2015, 151-152.
[191] Henigan 2015, 152.
[192] Henigan 2015, 152.
[193] Henigan 2015, 152.
[194] Jensen 2015, 2.
[195] M. Gelbart: *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music". Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner.* Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press 2007, 1-9.
[196] Gelbart 2007, 256-260.
[197] Jensen 2015, 1.
[198] Jensen 2015, 1.

song and *ballad*, because in the time period studied they were usually used synonymous.[199] Samuel Johnson's dictionary contains as entry for *ballad* simply "Ballad (balade, Fr.), A song"[200], and a definition from 1806 describes *ballad* as a song "adapted to the capacity of the lower class of people"[201], while today the defining characteristic of a ballad is usually the narrative element.[202]

In *Folk Song in England*, Roud tries to work out characteristics of folk music in more detail. He especially describes the interaction between oral and written cultures and between different kinds of song cultures.[203] His first point is that for the definition as folk song not the origin of a song is relevant, but "what the 'folk' do with it"[204]. More than other kinds of music folk songs are dependent on their social context and have no existence in a musical or cultural vacuum. They also exist in a space between oral and written cultures. The oral tradition of folk music is often emphasised, but since printing became widely available, one cannot speak of a purely oral tradition, and the assumption of nineteenth-century folk song collectors that some folk songs came directly from the people without interaction with urban culture has been disproven. While written culture plays an important part in the transmission and learning of folk songs, the actual performance and singing usually takes place without written aid, from memory. In 'living tradition' songs are passed on from one person to another, but this tradition isn't fixed. New songs enter the tradition all the time from numerous sources and media. For a song to live on in tradition it needs to appeal to people. Otherwise no one will sing it and it won't become popular. But that doesn't mean that songs are necessarily old.[205] To qualify as folk song Roud demands that songs "must have been around long enough to become part of this traditional transmission"[206]. He argues that a song must be around for at least two generations to become part of the folk tradition. In this process the origin of a song often becomes lost. Folk songs aren't static but always changing and in a state of flux, and there are different versions of most folk songs.[207]

[199] Jensen 2015, 10.
[200] S. Johnson: *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755, 201, quoted from Jensen 2015, 10.
[201] G. Gregory: *A Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 1, 1806, 197, quoted from Jensen 2015, 10.
[202] Jensen 2015, 10.
[203] Roud 2017, 24.
[204] Roud 2017, 23.
[205] Roud 2017, 24-25.
[206] Roud 2017, 25.
[207] Roud 2017, 25.

4.2.2 Single Slips, Broadsides, Garlands and Songsters

A great deal of this study is concerned with so-called 'street literature'. According to Roud, "'[s]treet literature' is the term used to describe the cheap materials that poured from the presses of jobbing printers in London, and many other places, from the late sixteenth to the late nineteenth centuries"[208]. Street literature can be divided into several categories. Most common and relevant are broadsides, chapbooks and songsters. Broadsides are single sheets of paper, printed on one side. Sometimes they were cut in half, producing two single slips. Chapbooks, also known as Garlands, contain several songs on one sheet of paper. Usually, they could be folded to make a very simple book. Songsters are small paperbound books that came into use in the nineteenth century.[209]

Not all of the broadsides contained song material, but songs made up a considerable percentage of the broadsides produced. Broadsides were printed very cheaply, though there were a few printers who produced better-quality products. Usually thin and coarse paper was printed on old presses with bad-quality type and not very well-done typesetting. A limited number of woodcuts was used to illustrate many different broadsides, often only vaguely representing the subject of the ballad. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, paper was expensive, and broadsides weren't specifically aimed at the lower classes. During that period some well-known writers also wrote for broadsides. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the quality of content and printing decreased, and broadsides became more distinctly part of a working-class culture. Middle- or upper-class writers continued to sometimes publish broadsides but no longer with the intention of appealing to their own class but to politically or morally educate the lower classes.[210]

There were two main categories of broadside writers during the time of the Napoleonic Wars. Some wrote only one or a few ballads and were mainly interested in the subject matter they addressed. They intended to influence their audience through this medium. Others wrote regularly, and their range of topics was wider.[211] When they wrote about a particular matter, they were "informed by both a wider and a deeper appreciation of the medium"[212]. Ballad writers had a bad reputation and were considered as "belonging to 'the lowest grade'"[213]. So, if the first kind of writers took up the pen, they usually justified doing so by referring to their "pat-

[208] Roud 2017, 431.
[209] Roud, Bishop 2014, xxxviii-xxxix.
[210] Jensen 2015, 16-18.
[211] Jensen 2015, 16-18.
[212] Jensen 2015, 16.
[213] Jensen 2015, 17.

riotic duty"[214]. Songwriting thus became "akin to parish charity"[215]. The distinction between the two kinds of writers and the political motivation of the first kind is relevant especially where war is concerned, because many broadsides display a patriotic sentiment of an upper and middle class that was not necessarily shared by the working classes, and because these ballads were produced by wealthy men and women and distributed (sometimes for free) in great numbers. This doesn't necessarily mean that their impact was equally great.[216] Not all writers of the second type, who habitually produced ballads, were earning their living with it. A few who did were Charles Dibdin and his family, the radical songwriter Robert Anderson or Thomas More, though they were better known for their writings intended for a more elevated audience. Others earned their livings in various professions.[217] Jensen names as examples "weavers, schoolmasters, clerks, soldiers, or shopkeepers"[218].

After a song was written, it was sold to a printer, though Jensen points out that especially songs with radical content may often have circulated in manuscript form.[219] Printers did more than print and publish songs. They sometimes wrote songs as well or might choose the tunes and illustrations for the songs. James Catnach only printed songs he personally approved of as fit for national taste. Many printers published broadsides expressing various political opinions, though there were well-known loyalist or radical printers.[220] London was the centre of broadside printing and street singing, and broadside sellers were a very common sight in London and other urban centres. There were important publishing houses in other cities as well, for example in Newcastle, York and Manchester.[221] While street singing remained a mainly urban phenomenon, ballad sellers could also be found on many village fairs.[222] There were several kinds of street singers. Some simply walked along the street, singing and selling a song. Others stood at street corners. 'Pinners-up' had a regular spot, where they pinned several sheets on lines, or they had a trestle table or something similar, like an umbrella, to display their broadsides. 'Running patterers' ran singing and shouting through a crowd to get attention, sometimes carrying paintings on placards.[223] Street singers were not considered respectable and were frequently accused of working with pickpockets, because they gathered crowds, which were an easy target for thieves. For this reason, they often got into trouble with the po-

[214] Jensen 2015, 17.
[215] Jensen 2015, 17.
[216] Jensen 2015, 47-56.
[217] Jensen 2015, 17-18.
[218] Jensen 2015, 18.
[219] Jensen 2015, 22.
[220] Jensen 2015, 24.
[221] Jensen 2015, 23.
[222] Ganev 2009, 18-19; Roud 2017, 443.
[223] Roud 2017, 438.

lice.[224] Ballad-singing was also the recourse of the poor and desolate. Hardly anyone living off ballad selling or writing even managed to make a living from it, and ballad sellers were often equated with beggars.[225] But Ganev points out that the reputation of ballad singers wasn't completely bad: "If ballad singers were pitied for their poverty and feared for their association with vagabonds, in songs they were also envied for their freedom to move where they liked, their carefree lifestyle."[226] Despite their bad reputation, ballad singers were an essential part of London. The author Douglas Jerrold (1803-1857) wrote looking back to the time of the Napoleonic wars:

> "During the war it was his [the ballad-singer's] peculiar province to vend halfpenny historical abridgements to his country's glory; recommending the short poetic chronicle by some familiar household air, that fixed it in the memory of the purchaser […] No battle was fought, no vessel taken or sunken, that the triumph was not published, proclaimed in the national gazette of our Ballad-singer. […] It was he who bellowed music into news, which, made to jingle, was thus, even to the weakest understanding, rendered portable. It was his narrow strips of history that adorned the garrets of the poor; it was he who made them yearn towards their country, albeit to them so rough and niggard a mother."[227]

4.2.3 Audiences and Oral and Written Cultures

It is difficult to say, who the buyers and audience of broadside ballads were. For one thing, there are no very definite figures on literacy, so we don't know, how many people were actually able to read the broadsides.[228] Houston argues for the period between 1640 and 1770 for a literacy rate among men of about 28% of the labourers in Lowland Scotland and 23% in Yorkshire. Among male servants he assumes that in Lowland Scotland 44% and in Yorkshire 39% were able to read and among craftsmen 81% (Lowland Scotland) and 65% (Yorkshire).[229] Amongst women literacy was significantly lower with only 10% of labourers in Scotland being literate in the period between 1700 and 1770, 12% of female servants and 28% of women in craft and trade.[230] Russell gives for Lincolnshire a literacy rate of 66.2% literacy for bridegrooms between 1800 and 1809, and of 39.9% for brides.[231] There generally was an

[224] Roud 2017, 437-438.
[225] Ganev 2009, 26-29.
[226] Ganev 2009, 29.
[227] D. Jerrold, quoted from Palmer 1988, 19.
[228] Ganev 2009, 20-23.
[229] R. A. Houston: *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity. Illiteracy and society in Scotland and northern England, 1600-1800*. Cambridge, New York etc.: Cambridge University Press 1985, 41. Houston gives figures for illiteracy. The figures for literacy are calculated from these.
[230] Houston 1985, 60.
[231] R. C. Russell: *From Cock-Fighting to Chapel Building: Changes in Popular Culture in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Lincolnshire*. Sleaford: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire 2002, 79; cf. Ganev 2009, 23.

increase in literacy during the eighteenth century, except in areas that underwent rapid industrialisation, where literacy tended to decline.[232]

Literacy rates don't necessarily tell much about the audience of broadsides, because the songs were sung in the street, and the people, who bought the broadside, sometimes brought it to a pub, where even those who couldn't read could have the ballad sung or read aloud to them. There are also numerous pictures and some texts that show that ballads often were posted on the walls in homes, workshops or alehouses.[233]

While broadsides at the price of a penny or halfpenny weren't necessarily cheap for working class people, they were still affordable. Chapbooks, which were more expensive, were probably often shared by a number of people. Contemporary sources report the popularity of ballads and suggest that the audience of broadsides were predominately the labouring classes.[234]

Before newspapers were cheaply available – which in Britain can be traced to the abolition of the stamp duty in 1855[235] – and widespread among the less well-off, broadsides had an important function in spreading news items, usually in a very sensationalistic way. Broadsides reported – sometimes in song format, sometimes in prose – political news, reports of battles, reports of crimes, sensational items of various kinds.[236] Booth argues that broadsides weren't primarily about receiving news but about the possession of certain news:

> "Furthermore, they were sung in the street by the vendor, so that their whole report was available to the buyer before he bought. Once one has heard the song itself, it is idle to pretend that one buys the ballad to learn about the strange fish. Buying shows the buyer's desire not merely to learn the facts but to take possession of them. Owning the ballad confers certain proprietary rights and opportunities. The new owner can, for example, take it back to the tavern with him and amaze a circle of listeners."[237]

Broadsides weren't limited to news items. Many folk songs that circulated in oral tradition were printed on broadsides as well.[238] Broadsides are one example of the close link between oral and written tradition. Many singers of traditional ballads learned their songs not from other singers but from written accounts.[239] Folk song is part of an oral tradition, which separates it from the musical scene of polite society characterised by printed and published sheet

[232] Ganev 2009, 22.
[233] Ganev 2009, 23-24.
[234] Ganev 2009, 23.
[235] The stamp duty was a tax on all newspapers introduced in the early eighteenth century, which drove the price of newspapers up and limited their readership to wealthier customers, cf. E. P. Thompson: *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage 1966, 620, 718-719.
[236] Booth 1981, 103-109.
[237] Booth 1981, 107.
[238] Roud 2017, 442.
[239] Roud 2017, 442-443.

music and song lyrics. Yet the separation isn't very clear. Folk songs often entered the drawing room repertoire,[240] and many composers included such material in their works (e.g. Haydn, Beethoven, Mahler, Schubert).[241] Likewise, there was a downward movement, where songs from the music hall stage and the theatre became part of traditional repertoire.[242] An example is *Poll of Plymouth*, which was originally written for the play *The Positive Man* by John O'Keefe.[243]

Many ballad writers were equally influenced by art songs and traditional ballads. McGuirk sees Carolina Oliphant and Robert Burns as "bring[ing] together art song and folk song"[244]. Davis argues that Robert Burns "does not represent a separation of oral and print cultures or of the musical and the poetic, rather he represents them in dynamic interaction as a challenge to conventional printed poetry"[245]. Likewise, with particular regard to the broadside press, it has been argued convincingly that folk songs are not separate from written culture at all but as much influenced by written publications as these are by oral tradition. Many songs that were recorded or collected as folk songs were published in print before or while they were in oral circulation.[246] Roud goes so far as to say that "[i]t has been reliably claimed that 90 to 95 per cent of the items the Victorian and Edwardian collectors noted as 'folk songs' had appeared on broadsides in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries"[247]. Many songs from oral tradition were also printed on broadsides and in songbooks from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century:

> "Two things are now abundantly clear. Firstly, once printing had been invented, there was never again a pure 'oral' tradition, but oral and print were intimately interwoven. Secondly, the songs that the ordinary people turned into 'traditional' or 'folk' songs were normally written by outsiders and reached them first in printed form."[248]

There is no purely oral tradition, but songs can't be understood as purely written word either. Folk songs bridge the chasm between oral and literal cultures.[249] Booth points out that "[s]ong verse shares some of the characteristics of true oral poetry – and also differs from it in im-

[240] "Drawing room repertoire" refers to the songs and music that were played during social events in the drawing rooms of the upper and upper-middle classes.
[241] An example is Haydn's arrangement of several Scottish songs under commission from William Napier. (J. Haydn: *A Selection of Original Scots Songs in Three Parts*. London: William Napier 1792).
[242] Jensen 2015, 10.
[243] Roud 2017, 294-295.
[244] C. McGuirk: Jacobite History to National Song: Robert Burns and Carolina Oliphant (Baroness Nairne). In: The Eighteenth Century, Vol. 47 No. 2/3, 2006, 254.
[245] Davis 2004, 196.
[246] Roud 2017, 442-445.
[247] Roud 2017, 442.
[248] Roud 2017, 443.
[249] Booth 1981, 6-14.

portant ways. Song belongs to both nonliterate and literate cultures, having originated in the former and been naturalized in the latter."[250]

4.2.4 Dating Songs and Broadsides

Folk songs are difficult to date, since they rely so much on oral tradition. They can only be dated when they stop being part of a purely oral tradition and enter a written one. At that point it is still impossible to say whether a song has been around for hundreds of years or has just been written. Besides, the written sources themselves are often not very helpful, since broadsides and chapbooks rarely bear a date.[251] It is usually easy to distinguish ballads published before 1700 from later ones, since around 1700 printers stopped printing black-letter broadsides, i.e. broadsides using a gothic or old English font, and white-letter broadsides using Roman letters became common.[252] For more precise information on dating, one has to rely on the information given in the text, but this often doesn't allow the determination of a precise date of publication. Many broadsides don't have any kind of imprint and those that do often mention only the name and address of the printer. With this information it is sometimes possible to date a song approximately to the period during which the printer was active. This usually limits the date to a period of about twenty years. Many broadsides were published by various printers in a number of different places, though. One broadside thus gives little information on where and when a song was written or how widespread and popular it actually was. Broadsides only rarely name authors or performers. Some printers kept lists of published ballads, and broadsides that are included in collections also indicate a date at which they were still in circulation, though Ganev points out that collectors often obtained their broadsides from other collectors.[253] She suggests that for practical research the "historian must often rely on librarians and archivists"[254]. For the broadsides I work with in my master thesis I have frequently had to rely on this method, since the online archives of the Bodleian Libraries and the National Library of Scotland date the broadsides in their collection based on the printers named there and other sources for dating were frequently unavailable. I could not include broadsides that bear no imprint at all, because there is no absolute way of dating them.

Songbooks are very helpful, because they usually bear a publication date and have an author. Many songs in songbooks were also published on broadsides but not necessarily at the same

[250] Booth 1981, 8.
[251] Ganev 2009, 14-15.
[252] Ganev 2009, 13.
[253] Ganev 2009, 14-15.
[254] Ganev 2009, 14.

time. Some songbooks, like Anderson's *Songs in the Cumberland Dialect*, give a date of writing for each song.[255] Others, like Bell's *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, combine traditional and newly written songs and name the authors of many of the songs.[256]

The topics of the songs can give some indication as to when they were written as well. A song that mentions Thomas Paine, the war in the Peninsula or minor battles of the Revolutionary Wars can usually be assumed to have been written close to the incidents that are described.[257] Other events like the Battle of Waterloo, the Jacobite Risings or the 1798 uprising in Ireland lived on in people's imagination, and songs were written about these events decades or even centuries later. Sometimes songs mention specific persons, for example politicians or kings, which depending on the context can indicate a date as well. Minor events are often more helpful than occurrences that lived on in the public consciousness. A good example, of how difficult dating can be, are the songs of Carolina Oliphant, Baroness Nairne (1766-1845). She was a contemporary of Robert Burns, but many people thought she lived considerably later, since her songs were at first circulated only orally.[258]

A very important source not for the origin of songs but for singing practices are written accounts, like diaries or memoirs. Yet these can be misleading, too, because people often write their memories decades after the actual events and not always remember correctly.[259]

4.2.5 Tunes and Music

Music is made up of a number of basic components: pitch, duration, timbre and intensity.[260] Pitch is the most central element in Western music and musical notation. It is measured in cycles per second, commonly known as hertz. While modern orchestras usually tune their instruments to a frequency of 440 hz, throughout history lower tunings were quite common. Folk music in general doesn't rely on an absolute pitch, but rather on relative pitch, where the distance between pitches on a musical scale is fixed but not the frequency of a certain pitch. Scales in folk music also follow a different system than orchestra music.[261] Scottish folk songs are often based on a pentatonic scale.[262] Many English folk songs are composed in dia-

[255] Anderson 1834 (1808).
[256] Bell 1812.
[257] Palmer 1977, 29-31. Palmer refers to the song *Light Horse*, which contains the lines "They leave their native country for the honour of the crown,/ And never will return till the Convention is put down" and "And we will have no peace, boys, till we get that rogue, Tom Paine,/ We will guard him to old England, safe over the main."
[258] McGuirk 2006, 258.
[259] Jensen 2015, 36-38.
[260] Slobin 2011, 9-15.
[261] Slobin 2011, 9-10.
[262] Perry 2008, 83.

tonic church mode (Gregorian mode). Sharp argues that, while it has been assumed that diatonic modes were widespread only in the time before 1600, when the scale-system that we use today became standard, English folk songs are usually in diatonic mode.[263] He further emphasises that "diatonic mode is the natural idiom of the English peasant, not one, be it noted, originally acquired from without, but one which evolved from his own instinct"[264]. Sharp considers this not as indicative of a long tradition, but rather thinks of it as "the natural vehicle of melodic expression"[265]. It seems more likely, though, that church modes are used in a considerable number of traditional songs not because they are natural, but because church services were an occasion where people came into contact with music.[266] Some of the tunes of traditional songs probably date back to a time, when diatonic modes were more common. Whatever the reason for their use, Sharp's analysis of the modes used in folk songs is still valuable:

> "The modes commonly used by the English peasant are the Aeolian (typified by the white-note scale of A), the Dorian (white-note scale of D), and the Mixolydian (white-note scale of G). The Phrygian (E) and the Lydian (F) he uses but rarely; a dozen tunes in the former mode and less than half that number in the latter are, perhaps, as many as English collectors have yet unearthed."[267]

Duration is similar to rhythm. It "is about how long the pitches last, before they give way to silence or another pitch"[268]. As opposed to that, rhythm "is more about how the durations are organized into audible and well-known patterns, so again seems more in the domain of culture"[269]. Rhythm and metre are frequently connected in folk songs, meaning that the textual stresses coincide with the musical metre. Rather than adapt a melismatic style of singing, the rhythm is varied by repeating or omitting notes, when the number of unstressed syllables between two stresses varies.[270] The concept of fixed duration can only be partially applied to traditional or folk music.[271] Slobin quotes the Irish musician Ciaran Carson, who says that "[o]ne of the beauties of traditional playing is the way a good musician can produce a pulse against the ostensible rhythm of the tune"[272]. While this is something that can be quite easily heard in a song, it is very difficult to define. As Slobin puts it: "Time is the basic medium for all folk musicians, and they both flow through it and shape it as they go. Experiments easily show that a listener moving into musical time cannot accurately estimate how much clock-

[263] Sharp 1975 (1916), xv.
[264] Sharp 1975 (1916), xv.
[265] Sharp 1975 (1916), xv.
[266] Gardiner 1838, 1-9.
[267] Sharp 1975 (1916), xv.
[268] Slobin 2011, 10.
[269] Slobin 2011, 10.
[270] Roud, Bishop 2014, xlvii.
[271] Slobin 2011, 10-11.
[272] Slobin 2011, 11.

time has elapsed. The variation in estimates is astonishingly wide."[273] Duration and rhythm are very important in traditional music, because it is often played for dancers. The rhythm of the dance determines the music, and the dancers become part of it.[274] Likewise, the rhythm of songs sung during work is usually determined by the rhythm of the activity they accompany, especially when work is done in a group that has to be coordinated. Waulking songs for example have a very particular rhythm, as do sea-shanties and marching songs.[275] Duration and rhythm are not always reliable indicators of a type of song, though. One might think that the song *The Soldier's Cloak*, which will be discussed in more detail later, is a marching song, because its rhythm would be well suited to it, and the lyrics deal with the military and with topics quite typical for soldiers' songs. Actually, the tune is probably considerably older than the lyrics and is used as the tune for several different songs with a variety of subjects. Whether the song was ever marched to, remains completely unknown.[276]

Timbre can be vaguely described as "tone colour"[277], but that doesn't really cover its meaning and it can't be represented in standard musical notation:[278] "Timbre arises from the fact that all sounds are not just one pitch, but a cluster of pitches. The brain sorts them out and locates a central focus for practical purposes. But the whole buzzing 'envelope' of the other pitches – 'overtones', 'partials', or 'harmonic' – does color the meaning of the pitches".[279] A violin sounds different than a flute or a piano. Slobin considers timbre as "basic to folk aesthetics"[280] and emphasises its importance.[281]

Intensity is commonly called volume. In folk music, intensity is often kept on one level, but it is still relevant.[282] Depending on the setting and on the instruments played, intensity will vary. The bagpipes of the Scottish regiments must have been terribly loud in a generally quieter time. A woman singing her child to sleep will sing with a different intensity than a ballad singer selling broadsides on the street. The different aspects are also interacting with each other. Intensity will affect timbre. Pitch will sound different depending on timbre and duration.[283] Other aspects affect the way music sounds as well. Kaltenecker discusses the 'sound-

[273] Slobin 2011, 11.
[274] Slobin 2011, 11.
[275] Palmer 1988, 84-85; Slobin 2011, 11. "Waulking" is a finishing process in woollen cloth-making. It was used to thicken, clean and dye the cloth by pressing and beating it or stamping on it; cf. Perry 2008, 82; Boswell 1987 (1768), 261.
[276] Palmer 1977, 134-135.
[277] Slobin 2011, 11.
[278] Slobin 2011, 11.
[279] Slobin 2011, 11.
[280] Slobin 2011, 11.
[281] Slobin 2011, 11.
[282] Slobin 2011, 12.
[283] Slobin 2011, 12-13.

scapes' of military music and points out that music in a battlefield context can't be considered by itself, but "must be analysed as one of the many elements of the altered soundscape"[284]. Wars create different ways of listening,[285] because there is no silence,[286] and noise becomes part of the music.[287]

The melody of folk songs frequently repeats itself during the song, since many folk songs in North, West and Middle Europe are based on a system of stanzas made up of two or four lines matched by a "four-phrase melody"[288]. The melody thus creates atmosphere rather than being directly connected to the lyrics but at the same time also functions as a mnemonic device:

> "The melody and stanzaic form are repeated while the words that fill them are changed in order to recount a story or evoke a scene and its attendant mood. The repetition of the melody makes it familiar and predictable, even mesmerizing to the listener as the rendition progresses. It also means that when someone else learns the song the melody is usually the first element to be picked up and in turn helps in remembering the words."[289]

Without sound recordings we often don't even know to what melody songs were sung. Broadsides frequently don't specify a tune and usually give no music notation,[290] because printing music was expensive[291]. Additionally, even when a tune is named, the song wasn't necessarily sung to that tune: "A writer or printer could each give a tune, but so too could the ballad singer who sold the song, or the purchaser who subsequently sung it."[292] Only songs with a very specific metre could not be sung to a great number of tunes.[293]

The London printer James Catnach allegedly employed a fiddler to test whether a tune was likely to be accepted. One can assume that the ballad seller would definitely sing the song, if it was sung to a new tune, so the buyers could familiarise themselves with the melody.[294] But whether a tune was specified or not, singers might misremember it, transpose it to suit their vocal range or create variations. Also, a number of airs might be known by the same name, or the tune is lost today, and we don't know which melody was actually intended. Some writers composed their own tunes, it was far more common, though, to write new lyrics to an existing and usually well-known melody. The tunes of many broadsides were thus already known to

[284] M. Kaltenecker: "What Scenes! – What Sounds!" Some Remarks on Soundscapes in War Times. In: É. Jardin (ed.): *Music and War in Europe from French Revolution to WW I*. Turnhout: Brepols 2016, 10.
[285] Kaltenecker 2016, 16-25.
[286] Kaltenecker 2016, 13.
[287] Kaltenecker 2016, 26.
[288] Roud, Bishop 2014, xlvi.
[289] Roud, Bishop 2014, xlvi.
[290] Ganev 2009, 14.
[291] Jensen 2015, 19.
[292] Jensen 2015, 19.
[293] Jensen 2015, 19-20.
[294] Palmer 1988, 22.

the buyer. The use of a well-known melody was not generally intended as satirical. It simply helped to popularise a song, if it was easy to sing for the people who bought the broadside.[295]

Very little is known about singing style. What we know is based on a few literary accounts, early sound recordings and descriptions by folk song collectors.[296] Sharp describes a predilection for solo singing:

> "A key feature of traditional singing in England is that it has been widely found to be solo in style (except where the audience joins in with a chorus), and does not use any accompanying instruments. There are exceptions to this […] and it has been suggested that unaccompanied singing is a relatively recent phenomenon."[297]

4.2.6 Singing Practices and Performance

When we deal with songs as historical documents, we face one basic problem: we don't have any reliable sources. There are broadsides, sheet music, songbooks, etc., but, as has been pointed out above, before there were means to actually record music, we don't know much about the actual performance of music or songs. And even where there are records, these are not generally indicative of singing practices. The situation, in which the recording was made, can influence what is sung and in what manner. A singer may be nervous and forget some of the words. A fieldworker might request a specific song. A singer might avoid bawdy songs, as sailors did when there were passengers on board,[298] which is why we know of certain songs only from people writing about them. Written sources are problematic for this reason as well. It is sometimes hard to tell, whether the songs we have written records of are an accurate representation of the kind of songs that were popular at the time.[299] Jensen discusses the problem of finding out, which songs were actually widely sung, opposed to those that may have been printed in large numbers but weren't received well. He tries to determine the 'fitness' of a song.[300]

> "The 'folk' orthodoxy has it that a song's entry into the reliable tradition is a reliable signifier of popularity. […] [L]oyalist songs generally failed to enter oral repertoires. Yet I would advise caution even here; we should not necessarily elide longevity with impact: surely a topical song could make a significant short-term impression."[301]

[295] Jensen 2015, 19-20.
[296] Winstock 1970, ii-iii.
[297] Sharp 1975 (1916), xiv.
[298] Roud 2017, 478-479.
[299] L. Wollstadt: Controlling Women: "Reading Gender in the Ballads Scottish Women Sang". In: Western Folklore, Vol. 61, No. 3/4 (Autumn, 2002), 295-296.
[300] Jensen 2015, 34-47.
[301] Jensen 2015, 36.

If there are no written reports about audience reactions, which is the case for the majority of songs, it is difficult to determine whether it was popular. Longevity may be an indicator, but Jensen dismisses this as a criterion. Songs may be long-lived, but that doesn't mean that they were popular all the time. Likewise, songs that dealt with recent events and actual politics may have been swiftly forgotten, but this doesn't imply that they didn't achieve great popularity.[302] This is even more true for broadsides, since they were in a way the newspapers of their day.[303] Jensen describes two ways to get information about the reception of songs: individual recollections and memories and responses of crowds or communities. *God Save The King*, for example, met with protest and riots on several occasions during the 1790s. In Edinburgh Theatre students protested against it for several nights and called for "revolutionary tunes"[304]. Similar events are reported from other towns throughout Britain during the Revolutionary Wars. In 1797 there were two riots in Dublin after the tune had been played.[305] Jensen also tries to find another way of determining if a song was, in all likelihood, well received. He bases the 'fitness' of a song on several criteria: What kind of tune is used? How well do tune and lyrics fit together? Is the song in a style that can be sung by amateur singers and even by not very good ones?[306]

Most of the knowledge we have of the performance of folk songs comes down from collectors and thus usually dates only from the second half of the nineteenth century.[307] In the eighteenth century, sources are so scarce that Roud asks, not without reason, "Where is our folk song hiding?"[308] and wonders whether there was "any such thing as 'folk song' at all"[309]. Yet there are some sources. Roud names "general literature, manuscripts, street literature, and extrapolation backwards from later periods"[310], but all of these have already been labelled problematic above. These sources tell very little about performance and singing practices. Yet I want to introduce a few sources mostly from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in this chapter that may give an impression of the contexts, in which singing took place. Roud summarises some of the most important spaces and contexts for singing:

> "Vernacular singing took place at home and at work, at fairs, Christmas parties, rural festivities (particularly harvest-home suppers, held to celebrate the high spot of the ag-

[302] Jensen 2015, 35-36.
[303] Booth 1981, 105-106.
[304] Jensen 2015, 38.
[305] Jensen 2015, 38-39.
[306] Jensen 2015, 46-47.
[307] Ganev 2009, 16-17.
[308] Roud 2017, 273.
[309] Roud 2017, 273.
[310] Roud 2017, 273.

> ricultural year), and in pubs and taverns, and much of the urban popular culture took place in the streets."[311]

A good source and according to Roud a "usually reliable witness on life in the eighteenth century"[312] is William Gardiner (1770-1853). Gardiner, the son of a stocking-maker from Leicester, was, while earning his living in the same trade, an eager singer, musician and composer. His memoirs *Music and Friends* were published in three volumes between 1838 and 1853. In these memoirs he gives detailed information about singing and music in Leicestershire during his lifetime. The music-spaces of his childhood were the harvest supper and the public house.[313] He reports that "[i]n the better sort of public houses it was not uncommon for half-a-dozen good voices to fire off song after song the night through"[314]. His harvest supper scene is slightly odd, because the song featured is probably no folk song, since the first three lines are actually from the Norse *Havamal*. Roud suggests faulty memory or even deliberate changing of the song verse:[315]

> "Joe, who was a good singer, was called upon to entertain the company. Seeing them tippling a little too fast, he admonished them in the following song:
>
> Beware of swallowing too much ale
> The more you drink
> The worse you think
> Perchance your health and purse will fail
> Beware of swallowing too much ale.
>
> The jokes grew coarser as it grew late, I was taken to bed from a scene not to be imitated; but which was permitted to intrude upon the simple manners of a country life."[316]

The events from his Leicestershire childhood described by Gardiner can be found in very similar style in the works of other writers. Thomas Hardy's novel *Far from the Madding Crowd* was published in 1874, and here it is again the harvest festival and the public house, where songs are featured most prominently.[317] Especially during the harvest supper music has a central role:

> "Supper being ended, Coggan began on his own private account, without reference to listeners: –
>
> I've lost my love and I care not,

[311] Roud 2017, 275.
[312] Roud 2017, 277.
[313] W. Gardiner *Music and Friends; Or Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante*. Vol. III. London: Longman, Browne, Green, and Longmans; Leicester: Crossley and Clarke 1853, 47-52.
[314] Gardiner 1853, 52.
[315] Roud 2017, 278.
[316] Gardiner 1853, 47.
[317] T. Hardy: *Far from the Madding Crowd*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Rosemarie Morgan with Shannon Russell. London, New York etc.: Penguin 2013 (1874), 58-60, 134-138.

I've lost my love and I care not;
I shall soon have another
That's better than t'other
I've lost my love and I care not."[318]

Coggan's performance meets with appreciation, and other singers are then encouraged to sing something or even specific songs. Some sing their own compositions: "It would be a poor plain ballet of my own composure."[319] Others sing well-known folk songs. The singing in Hardy's book is loaded with significance, foreshadowing further events, and thus has a very central position in the book.[320] Of course, Hardy himself wrote already looking backwards and creating an imaginary world with an unspoilt pastoral culture.[321]

Another literary source is Oliver Goldsmith's 1766 novel *The Vicar of Wakefield*. Goldsmith himself also wrote ballads for the broadside press to supplement his income.[322] Music plays quite a large role in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and there are numerous references to singing and music making among the lower middle class in the novel. Goldsmith even addresses the difference between social classes that are mirrored in the style of music and in the setting it is played in. At the beginning of the novel music is played in the house in the morning and in the evening.[323] In the evenings "sometimes, with the music master's assistance, the girls would give us a very agreeable concert"[324]. It is not clear whether the music is vocal or instrumental, but only music in general is mentioned. When the vicar and his family are in reduced circumstances and adapt to a simpler life, music is often played outside,[325] and they usually sing simple ballads with four lines per stanza and an iambic rhythm[326]. The music is also mainly vocal: "These harmless people had several ways of being good company; while one played, the other would sing some soothing ballad, Johnny Armstrong's last good night, or the cruelty of Barbara Allen."[327]. Not only "soothing ballad[s]"[328] feature in the novel, but also comic songs, like "An Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog",[329] and tragic songs, like "When Lovely Woman Stoops To Folly", a song the vicar's daughter Olivia sings after she

[318] Hardy 2013 (1874), 134.
[319] Hardy 2013 (1874), 135.
[320] Hardy 2013 (1874), 137-138.
[321] R. Morgan, S. Russell: Introduction. In: T. Hardy: *Far from the Madding Crowd*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Rosemarie Morgan with Shannon Russell. London, New York etc.: Penguin 2013, xxi-xxii.
[322] Roud 2017, 279.
[323] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 13-14.
[324] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 14.
[325] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 24-25, 35.
[326] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 35-40.
[327] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 23.
[328] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 23.
[329] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 76-77.

believes herself socially ruined[330]. Sometimes the singing is accompanied on the guitar[331] or the bagpipes[332], but often it is unaccompanied[333].

Not all sources are that idealising. William Hickey describes in *Memoirs of a Georgian Rake* his nineteen-year-old self, having just received his monthly allowance, being persuaded to come to a party.[334] There is singing going on, and, ignoring warnings of a friend, Hickey stays and joins in:

> "Upon my return into the room, Newton was singing one of her best and most convivial songs, in progress of which at least half a dozen bumpers were toped down. Her example was followed by Vincent in a song of the same kind. I was next called upon and sang 'Let poor priggish parsons, etc.'. By the time I had finished, so much wine was in my head that prudence and all good intention were drowned."[335]

He ends up waking in a room he doesn't know, having been robbed of all his money and valuable possessions.[336]

Of course, these events and places weren't the only occasions on which people sang. All kinds of people sang in their free time, whether in drawing rooms or country lanes, and thus created many other genres of what might be called *folk music*.

Besides singing as an occupation during their leisure time many people sang during work.[337] Whole genres of songs were created in some occupations, like the waulking songs in Scotland or the songs soldiers and sailors sang. Samuel Johnson describes songs sung during work in his account of his 1773 travels to Scotland, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (published in 1775):

> "The strokes of the sickle were timed by the modulation of the harvest song, in which all their voices were united. They accompany in the Highlands every action, which can be done in equal time, with an appropriated strain, which has, they say, not much meaning; but its effects are regularity and cheerfulness. The ancient proceleusmatick song, by which the rowers of gallies were animated, may be supposed to have been of this kind. There is now an oar-song used by the Hebrideans."[338]

[330] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 119.
[331] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 24.
[332] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 23.
[333] Goldsmith 2008 (1766), 35, 119.
[334] Hickey 1995, 59-61.
[335] Hickey 1995, 60-61.
[336] Hickey 1995, 61-62.
[337] Palmer 1988, 84-85.
[338] Johnson 1987 (1775), 77.

Boswell gives more detail on this oar song: "Malcolm sung an Erse song, the chorus of which was 'Hatlyn foan foan eri', with words of his own. The tune resembled 'Owr the muir amang the heather', the boatmen and M'Queen chorused, and all went well."[339]

Especially the textile industry seems to have generated a lot of songs.[340] Boswell writes about the process of waulking cloth on Raasay: "Last night Lady Rasay shewed him [Samuel Johnson] the operation of wawking cloth, that is thickening it in the same manner as is done by a mill. Here it is performed by women, who kneel upon the ground, and rub it with both their hands, singing an Erse song all the time."[341]

William Gardiner tells about cottage-based manufacture in Leicestershire:

> "It was a pretty sight in the villages, to see a cluster of girls spinning under the shade of the walnut trees, combining with their love-songs the whizzing of their wheels, and forming an accompaniment to their artless melody.
>
> 'As I sat at my spinning wheel,
> A bonny lad came passing by:
> I ken'd him round, and liked him weel,
> Good faith! He had a bonny eye.
> My heart now panting 'gan to feel,
> But still I turned my spinning wheel.'"[342]

William Henry Pyne describes the practices in his father's weaving workshop in London, where "many curious prints, old martial songs and dismal ditties, old even then (now seventy years ago) […were] pasted on the walls"[343]. Singing even became political in the workshop. Pyne describes two songs, *Old Rowley* and *The Turnip Hoer*, that were sung at each other by a Jacobite and a Whig weaver.[344]

In his case study of Newcastle between 1797 and 1822, Jensen mentions that street singing was possible only on specific occasions like the keelmen's annual meeting, because on other occasions any attempt at singing and selling broadsides on the street would be met with police intervention. Instead, singing usually took place within public houses.[345] He argues that unlike in London "[t]raditional street performances by solitary ballad singers appear to have been virtually non-existent"[346]. Jensen also suggests that the songs sung in different environments differed in topic and style:

[339] Boswell 1987 (1786), 251.
[340] Roud 2017, 281-282; Palmer 1988, 97-107.
[341] Boswell 1987 (1768), 261.
[342] Gardiner 1853, 112.
[343] W.H. Pyne, quoted from Roud 2017, 282.
[344] Roud 2017, 282.
[345] Jensen 2015, 136-138.
[346] Jensen 2015, 142.

> "Many songs feature boisterous audience interaction, and when performed, were relatively free from interfering authorities by virtue of their sheltered indoor setting. By contrast, laments about the press gang, stressing the plight of abandoned women, may have been sung by communities of wives and widows engaged in group work, most often in the home."[347]

Several writers suggest that eighteenth century songs differed from later songs especially in their 'grossness'. Francis Place argued that 'bawdy' songs were common throughout the eighteenth century but had disappeared by 1820. He collected a number of these songs but censored some of them later, especially those dealing with sexuality.[348]

Eighteenth century art songs were "increasingly under the spell of Italic operatic models"[349]. This rather complex music appealed, while gaining in popularity during the century, to only a small part of the population. As opposed to that, popular songs were characterised by ballads that were according to H. Diack Johnstone "a wide range of utterly unpretentious and generally rather sentimental strophic songs which, in their breezy square-cut tunefulness, often have a distinctly English flavour not so very different from that of a good deal of authentic folk-song"[350]. Ballads were written on any number of topics, from politics to sensational news to romance.[351] The London Magazine mockingly describes typical topics of popular ballads:

> "One tells: How a footman died for love of a young lady, and how she was haunted by his ghost and died of grief. Another: How the coachman ran away with his young mistress, took to hedging and ditching and she to knitting and spinning, and lived vast happy and in great plenty. And a third: How the young squire, master's eldest son, fell in love with the chambermaid, married her at the Fleet, was turn'd out of doors, kept an inn, got money as fast as hops, till the old gentleman died suddenly without a will, and then his son got all, kept a coach, and made his wife a lady, who bore him twins for twelve years altogether, who all lived to be Justices of the Peace, etc."[352]

John Thomas Smith's *A Book for a Rainy Day*, published in 1845, contains songs sung in the pleasure gardens that were a typical feature of eighteenth century leisure activity and influenced popular songs to a significant degree.[353] Smith finds that there are fashions of names and topics typical for a certain time:

> "It appears that in poetry, as well as in painting and prints, and also dwellings, decorations, and dress, there has ever been a fashion for a time. Battishill was the composer of that justly celebrated glee, commencing with 'Underneath this myrtle shade'. Myrtles, after, had a great run, were succeeded by Cupid's darts; and that little rogue Love

[347] Jensen 2015, 142.
[348] Roud 2017, 283-286.
[349] Roud 2017, 298.
[350] H. Diack Johnstone, quoted from Roud 2017, 298.
[351] Roud 2017, 275-296.
[352] *London Magazine*, quoted from Roud 2017, 281.
[353] Roud 2017, 299.

> played old gooseberry with the hearts of Chloes and Colins, Robins and Robinets; then the ever-blooming lasses of Patterdale and Richmond attracted our giddy notice. These were succeeded by 'Bacchus in green ivy bound', giving 'Joy and pleasure all around'. After that, moonlight meetings were preferred, and 'Buy a broom, ladies' was continually dinning our ears 'through and through'."[354]

The songs sung in the countryside were probably different only in some respect. There exist many songs that concern agricultural work. There are songs of complaint against unjust treatment, against social inequality, against enclosure.[355] But many subjects were in all likelihood the same, and a lot of broadsides reached the countryside. Ganev points out that many printers had a rural origin, so some songs from the countryside probably found their way into the urban broadside market as well.[356]

The Celtic fringe – Ireland, Scotland and Wales – deserves special mention, when song culture and singing practices are discussed. Perry argues that "[e]ighteenth century Scotland was a nation of ballad singers and ballad lovers"[357] and claims that folk music was "prized by the Scots as nowhere else in Europe as the sacred signifier of their culture"[358]. At least in Scotland, texts and treatises on folk music had been written for a long time before the folk revivals of the nineteenth century.[359] Samuel Johnson reports the topics of several Gaelic songs he heard on Raasay, an island of the Inner Hebrides: "I inquired the subjects of the songs, and was told of one, that it was a love song, and of another, that it was a farewell composed by one of the islanders that was going, in this epidemical fury of emigration, to seek his fortune in America."[360]

[354] J. T. Smith: *A Book for a Rainy Day*, quoted from Roud 2017, 299.
[355] Ganev 2009, 42-106.
[356] Ganev 2009, 19.
[357] Perry 2008, 81.
[358] Perry 2008, 82.
[359] Perry 2008, 83-86; Farmer 1970, 259-260.
[360] Johnson 1984 (1775), 75.

"Down in the meadows where violets do grow,
I saw pretty Polly milking her cow,
The song that she sung made the vallies ring,
Since Billy is gone from me to serve George our King.
And I wish that the wars were all over,
Crying, O! that the wars were all over.

I stepped up to her, and thus I began;
I said, pretty Polly, can you fancy me:
No, no, sir, said she, that never can be,
I ne'er shall be happy till Billy I see.
And I wish, &c.

I dress myself up in some young man's array,
And like a bold sailor so neat and so gay,
So free for his sake to serve George our King,
And fight till the wars are all over.
And I wish, &c."[361]

5. Gender and War in Popular Songs

5.1 'Pull Proud Oppressors Down' – Political Songs

I have already mentioned military music, but war has also been the topic of many other forms of songs. Broadside ballads were very concerned with war, because they dealt with sensational news, with tragedy, triumph and politics, and war had plenty of all those. War was the subject of many political songs, and the songs I will discuss in subsequent chapters were part of this debate, even if it wasn't the focus of these songs. For that reason, I will briefly discuss some aspects of political debate through the medium of song.

Street ballads were a common medium to voice discontent as well as loyalty, and many political dissenters and radicals took to song as a means to express their opinions and to convince people of their cause. Though there are many songs about the Napoleonic Wars, most critical writings did not focus on war but on topics closer to home. When they concerned themselves with the war, then usually only as it affected other issues, for example the economic situation of veterans.[362]

Jensen discusses the Newcastle music scene during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in detail. There was little interest in the war at the beginning.[363] Jensen claims that "[a]side from attacking the press gang, Newcastle's popular voices had little to say concerning the war

[361] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 302, J. Davenport, London, 1799-1800.
[362] Palmer 1988, 291-298.
[363] Jensen 2015, 142.

with Revolutionary France."[364] A central political figure during the early years of the Revolutionary War was Thomas Paine. He published *The Rights of Man* in 1791 as an answer to Edmund Burke's critique of the French Revolution. In it he defended the values of the French Revolution – *liberté, égalité, fraternité* – and considered the idea of a government based on true justice.[365] *The Rights of Man* proved crucial in spreading the ideas of Jacobinism in Britain,[366] though Jacobin supporters grew fewer with Napoleon's rise to power, since his return to monarchy didn't meet with much support from English republicans.[367] Thomas Paine's works were, like other Jacobin writings, prohibited but passed from hand to hand or were sold under the counter.[368] In Britain, Paine became a symbol for radical and republican thinking and frequently appears in songs written by his supporters as well as his enemies. The most noticeable example is *God Save Great Thomas Paine*. It was written by Joseph Mather (1737-1804), a journeyman filemaker from Sheffield, who composed and performed in taverns in the evenings, in the streets on Saturdays and at festivals, fairs and races. He could read but not write, and most of his songs were not published. Only two of his songs were printed on broadsides.[369] He wrote songs on a great variety of topics, on local events, on news items, complaint songs as well as comic ones. He had a particular talent for satiric songs.[370] In 1811, after Mather's death, his songs were gathered and published by John Crome.[371] *God Save Great Thomas Paine*, written in the early 1790s,[372] is one of his best-known songs. In Sheffield, after a Town Hall meeting had passed an illiberal resolution in 1793, a crowd of radical sympathisers accompanied the editor of the Sheffield Register to his lodgings and sang *God Save Great Thomas Paine*.[373] It was sung to the tune of *God Save The King* and became so popular that the tune for other songs was sometimes given as *God Save Great Thomas Paine* instead of *God Save The King*.[374] It is quite explicit in his critique of current politics:

> "Pull proud oppressors down,
> Knock off each tyrant's crown,
> And break his sword;
> Down with aristocracy,

[364] Jensen 2015, 143.
[365] T. Paine: *Rights of Man, Common Sense and Other Political Writings*. Oxford, New York etc.: Oxford University Press 2008, 86-331.
[366] Thompson 1966, 74.
[367] Thompson 1966, 454-455. For a detailed discussion of Jacobinism in Britain, see Thompson: *The Making of the English Working Class*.
[368] Thompson 1966, 498.
[369] Palmer 1988, 25-26.
[370] E. D. Mackerness: *A Social History of English Music*. Westport: Greenwood Press 1964, 136-137.
[371] J. Mather: *The Songs of Joseph Mather*. With Introduction and Notes by Joseph Wilson. Sheffield: Pawson and Brailsford 1862.
[372] Palmer 1988, 26.
[373] Mackerness 1964, 137; Mather 1862, 35.
[374] Jensen 2015, 11.

Set up democracy,
And from hypocrisy
Save us good Lord."[375]

The popularity of the song is amazing, considering how explicitly it demands the overturn of the political system, claiming that "Thousands cry 'church and king'/ That well deserve to swing"[376] and promising that "Despots may howl and yell,/ Tho' they're in league with hell/ They'll not reign long"[377]. The song then touches on the subject of war:

"Facts are seditious things
When they touch courts and kings,
Armies are rais'd,
Barracks and bastiles built,
Innocence charged with guilt,
Blood most unjustly spilt,
Gods stand amazed."[378]

God Save Great Thomas Paine is a good example of some aspects mentioned in the previous chapter. For one thing, it is one of the songs where it is quite unnecessary to name a tune, because the rhythm and metre of *God Save The King* are quite specific.[379] In combination with the title and first line, there can be little doubt about the intended tune. The loan of entire phrases from another song is also a typical characteristic of ballad writing.

The parody of loyalist songs also occurs frequently in protest songs of the late eighteenth century, though loan of a tune doesn't always imply satiric intent. *Paddy's Resources*, the songbook of the United Irishmen, contains *Brethren Unite* to the tune of *God Save The Rights of Man*,[380] referring to Mather's song rather than the national anthem. There are several other examples in the book: *Rule Hibernians*, unsurprisingly to the tune of *Rule Britannia*, *Liberty's Call* to the tune of *Hearts of Oak* and *The Coming Golden Age* to the tune of *The Volunteers' March*. It also contains *Ça Ira*, which was considered a revolutionary and anti-British tune, though it was later adopted by the British army, the *Marseillaise* and an English translation of the *Marseillaise*.[381] The songbook clearly has a republican interest and the songs "mirror the

[375] Mather 1862, 57.
[376] Mather 1862, 56.
[377] Mather 1862, 57.
[378] Mather 1862, 57.
[379] Jensen 2015, 19-20.
[380] *Paddy's resource. Being a select collection of original and modern patriotic songs: compiled for the use of the people of Ireland. To which is added, Arthur O'Connor's Address. O'Connor, Arthur, 1763-1852. Address to the free electors of the county of Antrim*. New-York: Printed by R. Wilson, 149, Pearl-Street; at the request of a number of Hibernians in this country, who were desirous of having copies of them, 1798, 36-37.
[381] P. O'Connell: Military Music and Rebellion, Ireland – 1793 to 1816. In: É. Jardin (ed.): *Music and War in Europe from French Revolution to WW I*. Turnhout: Brepols 2016, 133-134. There are apparently several versions of *Paddy's Resource*, which was originally printed in 1795. The only version I could find is from 1798 and is apparently somewhat different. Of the abovementioned songs it contains only *Brethren Unite*.

rhetoric of and sentiments of the French Revolution. There are frequent references to the Tree of Liberty, the Rights of Man, Liberty, Fraternity and Equality"[382].

Most English protest songs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were only indirectly concerned with the war. Common topics were complaint against superiors, against landlords, large-scale farmers, millers, as well as poverty and the economic situation, unjust laws and current politics.[383] The war was linked with these topics but not central to the songs. From 1800 onwards, ballads became increasingly important as a medium of protest, and they frequently had the opposition between social classes at the centre:[384] "While popular songs always defended labourers' culture against the culture of the elite and mocked the aristocracy, animosity towards the privileged and anger about social injustice grew greater by 1800."[385] The period also saw the beginnings of Luddism[386], which entered its major phase in 1811. The first actions were taken by framework-knitters, but Luddism soon spread to other trades like the croppers and weavers. It also inspired many songs. An example is *General Ludd's Triumph*, which is sung to the tune of Charles Dibdin's *Poor Jack* and contains the following stanza:[387]

> "The guilty may fear but no vengeance he aims
> At the honest man's life or Estate,
> His wrath is entirely confined to wide frames
> And to those that old prices abate.
> These Engines of mischief were sentenced to die,
> By unanimous vote of the Trade
> And Ludd who can all opposition defy
> Was the Grand executioner made."[388]

The economic situation of people, especially in the countryside, grew worse in the 1790s. During the war, most people probably had employment. Many men were away in the war as part of the militia or volunteer regiments, so there were jobs aplenty, but wages for agricultur-

[382] O'Connell 2016, 134.
[383] Ganev 2009, 42-106.
[384] Ganev 2009, 7, 46, 67-68.
[385] Ganev 2009, 7.
Palmer (*The Sound of History*, 1988) and Ganev (*Songs of Protest. Songs of Love*, 2009) discuss in more detail the development of protest songs and songs of social complaint. Palmer gives an overview over several centuries, focussing on specific situations that gave rise to new songs, like for example strikes. Ganev focusses on the countryside and looks specifically into the emergence of a specific rural identity and on aspects of class and social injustice in eighteenth-century songs.
[386] Luddism was a protest movement especially among textile workers in the early nineteenth century. Arguing that the increasing use of machinery would become a threat to the livelihoods of skilled craftsmen, the Luddites destroyed machinery as a form of protest. The movement was especially influential in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire between 1811 and 1816. (Thompson 1966, 529-573).
[387] A. Cockburn: *An edition of the daybook of John Reddish*, 1780-1805. MPhil thesis. University of Nottingham 1979, 165-166; Thompson 1966, 529-573.
[388] Cockburn 1979, 166; Thompson 1966, 534.

al labourers decreased and there were several bad harvests.[389] There was a famine in 1794-6 and another one in 1800-1, when food prices increased to a degree that caused the real wages of labourers to reach their lowest level since 1600.[390] In songs this is mirrored in complaints about the economic situation, but the period between 1790 and 1815 also saw a rise in songs celebrating agricultural labour.[391]

In *The New Keel Row*, published in *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, a condemnation of the press-gangs is combined with worry about the economy:

> "Wour lads, like their deddy,
> To fight the French are ready,
> But gie's a peace that's steady,
> And breed cheap as lang-syne;
> May a' the press-gang perish,
> Each lass her laddy cherish;
> Lang may the coal trade flourish
> Upon the dingy Tyne."[392]

Political songs were not always songs of complaint. There was also a tradition of writing and singing about Napoleon that wasn't necessarily combined with republican sentiment, though there was considerable republican and Bonapartist sentiment in some places in England, for example in Manchester, where the influence of the United Irishmen was feared by the authorities, and in Sheffield, where Joseph Mather's songs were popular and the colonel of the local militia reported the distribution of seditious handbills.[393] The first Bonapartists in Britain were not to be found in England or Scotland but – not surprisingly – in Ireland. Bonapartism in Ireland was closely connected to the 1798 rebellion.[394] The rebellion is very present in Irish song but so is Napoleon, who was seen by many as a hope for Ireland's freedom.[395] But the songs about Napoleon frequently came from a different tradition than the songs the United Irishmen sang. While the latter had a "progressive, revolutionary agenda"[396], most Irishmen were not convinced of these principles:[397]

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[389] Ganev 2009, 42-43.
[390] R. J. Wells: *Wretched Faces: Famine in Wartime England 1793-1801*. London: Breviary Stuff Publications 2011, 3.
[391] Ganev 2009, 107-108.
[392] Bell 1812, 7.
[393] Jensen 2015, 65.
[394] Cf. chapter 2.
[395] Jensen 2015, 40. One of the oldest Irish songs about Napoleon, *Ó a bhean an tí*, thematises general Hoche's failed attempt to land in Bantry Bay, when the French tried to invade in 1796, but expresses a pro-French attitude and focusses on Napoleon's rise to power to make light of Hoche's failure. Songs from the 1798 rebellion, like *Na Franncaigh Bhanc*, depict him as Ireland's deliverer from English rule. (Jensen 2015, 40-41).
[396] Jensen 2015, 42.
[397] Jensen 2015, 41-42.

> "Despite the best efforts of the United Irishmen, most of their countrymen were religiously and politically conservative, a mentality espoused rather than attacked in the majority of their songs. Their use of Napoleon reflects this, for far from being idealised as an enlightened, atheist liberator, he was incorporated by popular writers into a far older tradition. […] In popular sentiment, he was simply the latest incarnation of the saviour across the water."[398]

Napoleon thus enters the stage more in the tradition of Bonnie Prince Charlie[399] than Thomas Paine. But this was not always apparent in the songs. Like the songs of the '45, the music of the 1798 rebellion dealt with injustice, poverty, hope for freedom and similar topics. These interests conservatives shared with more progressive singers, who dreamt of democracy.[400]

In Scotland, Napoleon was quite a different figure. Like in Ireland, the 1790s saw a rise in Jacobitism[401] with a new wave of Jacobite songwriting, but unlike in Ireland this rather worked to strengthen the ties to the British monarchy. Scottish Jacobitism had at this point become a symbol not of the Stuart dynasty but of Scottish national identity. This was seen as threatened not by Hanoverian monarchs but by the spreading republican sentiment:[402] "Jacobitism was thus revived as a component in an aggressive counter-revolutionary movement determined to enhance the power of the British state by presenting the Hanoverians as a focus of kingly mystique, even if this meant appropriating the traditions of their dynastic rivals."[403] This was also mirrored in the music of the wars. Music was used "to depict the French as the natural enemies"[404] in songs like *The Gathering of the Clans*, "a swaggering re-interpretation of 'The Campbells are Coming'",[405] with a listing of highland clans going to fight against Napoleon. Napoleon appears in Scottish song not as a successor of the Stuarts, but as a kind of Johnny Cope.[406]

Napoleon was seen as both enemy, liberator and king across the water by different kinds of people. While not all of them agreed with his politics, Napoleon became in one way or anoth-

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[398] Jensen 2015, 42.
[399] Charles Edward Stewart was the oldest son of the exiled King James III. He led the Jacobite Rising of 1745. After successful battles at Prestonpans and Falkirk, he marched with his army into England, but decided to turn back at Derby. After the for the Jacobites catastrophic battle of Culloden he fled to France. Depending on people's political sentiments he was either known as the Young Pretender or as Bonnie Prince Charlie.
[400] Jensen 2009, 40-42.
[401] The term *Jacobites* refers to the supporters of the Stuart dynasty, after it had been replaced first by William of Orange and later by the Hanoverian kings. Jacobite sentiments were particularly strong in Tory circles, among Catholics and in Scotland and Ireland. There were several Jacobite risings. The most important ones took place in 1689, 1715 and 1745.
[402] Donaldson 1988, 91-94.
[403] Donaldson 1988, 94.
[404] Donaldson 1988, 92.
[405] Donaldson 1988, 91.
[406] Donaldson 1988, 91. General John Cope led the British troops at the Battle of Prestonpans in 1745, but allegedly was so afraid of the Highlanders that he fled before his men did and was the first to return with news of the defeat. The story is mostly fiction but continues to be well-known.

er a very popular figure in British songs. Yet in England there was very little interest in Napoleon at first. He entered the English stage only in the aftermath of the battle of the Nile. But then the French commander Admiral Brueys was barely mentioned, and the broadsides depicted the battle as a conflict between Nelson and Napoleon. Both the victory itself and the person of Nelson were celebrated in song.[407] *The New Century, a New Song* claims that "to heroes like our's ev'ry Frenchman must bow"[408], and John Tye, a songwriter from Birmingham, writes in a song that "[t]heir great Buonaparte so suc[c]essful on land,/ On ocean's wide field now refuses to stand"[409]. *A Dumpling for Buonaparte*, sung to the tune of *Hearts of Oak*, while praising Nelson and the other British admirals, is actually quite positive about Napoleon,[410] though the intent may be ironic, and the praise of Napoleon only serves to praise Nelson even more[411]:

> "But now let us sing of the great Buonaparte,
> Of that wonderful hero I'll something impart,
> They say that bold Nelson has stopt him awhile,
> And has dish'd his grand fleet at the Mouth of the Nile.
> Huzza for brave Nelson, &c."[412]

When battles had been won, there usually were a great number of broadsides celebrating the victories. To what degree they had a life beyond their value as a news item is difficult to say. Likewise, when there was fear of a French invasion, there were many patriotic songs either mocking the French or praising British valour, for example the Newcastle song *Kiver Awa'*:[413]

> "Like the wolves of the forest, ferocious and keen,
> The French our blest shores may invade!
> But in arms are the *Gotham Invincibles* seen,
> And who's of invasion afraid?
> With ardour heroic each bosom inflames,
> No dangers impress them with awe;
> And merry they seem, when thus --- exclaims, –
> 'Kiver awa', Kiver awa', Kiver awa'."[414]

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[407] Jensen 2015, 42-45.
[408] Jensen 2015, 43.
[409] Jensen 2015, 43.
[410] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(143), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807; cf. Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 22(69), 1798.
[411] Jensen 2015, 43-44.
[412] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(143), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807; cf. Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 22(69), 1798; cf. Jensen 2015, 43-44.
[413] Bell 1812, 14-15. The word *kiver* means *cover* in Scots and in North English dialects. *Kiver-awa* is a command in drilling. (J. Wright [ed.]: *The English Dialect Dictionary. Being the Complete Vocabulary of all Dialect Words Still in Use During the Last Two Hundred Years. Founded on the Publications of the English Dialect Society and on a Large Amount of Material Never Before Printed*. Volume III. H-L. Oxford, London etc.: Henry Frowde 1905, 465).
[414] Bell 1812, 14.

The Invasion in Anderson's *Ballads in the Cumberland Dialect* mocks not just the fear of invasion but volunteers and army as well:

> "How fens te, Dick? There's fearfu' news –
> Udsbreed! The French are comin!
> There's nought at Carel but parades,
> And sec a drum, drum, drummin:
> The volunteers and brigadiers
> Are aw just mad to meet them;
> And England e'en mun hing her head,
> If Britons dunnet beat them."[415]

The song was clearly written by someone with revolutionary sentiment – Robert Anderson's radical sympathies are apparent in many of his songs – saying the French "plant[ed] the tree o' liberty"[416], but seems also quite disillusioned with the revolution, since the ballad continues to say that "millions water't wi' their tears"[417]. Even though the song ends with a promise to defend England, the tone remains mocking and the volunteers that supposedly proudly defend Britain are in the end defending "my bit lan"[418]:

> "I've thowt and thowt, sin I kent ought,
> Content's the greatest blissin, –
> And he that seizes my bit lan
> Desarves a guid soun drissin.
> Auld England, though we count thy fau'ts,
> For iver we'll defend thee!
> To foreign tyrants sud we bow, –
> They'll mar, but niver mend thee!"[419]

Anderson uses dialect in combination with not very patriotic everyday vocabulary as a means of parody.

There was also a wave of loyalist and patriotic broadsides that flooded the London broadside presses. Many of these differed from other broadsides in that they were written by persons with a middle- or upper-class background. The writers printed large numbers and sometimes sold but often simply had them distributed on the streets, in churches and schools. They not only tried to speak out against radicalism and to inspire loyalist sentiment, but also to discourage any Bonapartist feeling or sympathy for Napoleon that might exist in the population.[420]

[415] Anderson 1834 (1808), 68-69.
[416] Anderson 1834 (1808), 69.
[417] Anderson 1834 (1808), 69.
[418] Anderson 1834 (1808), 70.
[419] Anderson 1834 (1808), 69-70.
[420] Jensen 2015, 45-59.

An example are Hannah More's *Cheap Repository Tracts*. These were published between 1795 and 1817 and were intended as an alternative to the broadside ballads and chapbooks whose morals More so much disliked.[421] More wasn't the only one who used ballads for educational or patriotic purposes, but more than other writers Hannah More tried to create a rural setting in her writings that she hoped would appeal to her readers, and she was, despite her "mistrust of imaginative literature"[422], inspired by popular literature in her writings:

> "When she was planning the Cheap Repository she once said its purpose was to replace ballad singing with sermons and hymns. Though she felt compelled to adopt the genre of the street ballad for a number of the tracts, she was very unhappy with the form. Nevertheless, she thought it was her duty to do this work. More tried to make the tracts as similar to real popular literature as possible."[423]

Despite her efforts it seems improbable that people were unable to tell the difference between the moralising texts of More and the folk songs she was imitating. Jensen points out that the rural idyll More's songs were set in was unlikely to speak to rural listeners, if it ever reached them, during a period of several failed harvests.[424] There is at least one response to the *Cheap Repository Tracts* that makes it clear that people weren't taken in by them. The agricultural labourer Joseph Mayett was a devout Baptist and received several such educational tracts from his minister. He comments that

> "at this time there was a great many tracks Came out and their Contents were Chiefly to persuade poor people to be satisfied in their situation and not to murmur at the dispensation of providence for we had so much punishment as our sins deserved and in fact there was but little else to be heard from the pulpit or the press and those kind of books were often put into my hands in a dictatorial way in order to Convince me of my errors for instance there was the Sheperd of Salsbury plain […] the Farmers fireside and the discontented Pendulum and many others which drove me almost into despair for I could see their design."[425]

The impact of the *Cheap Repository Tracts* is disputed. While it has sometimes been suggested that the impact of the *Tracts* was quite significant, both Jensen and Ganev think this improbable.[426] Jensen points out that More's ballads and even more those of some of the other writers would presumably not appeal to the people they were intended for. He notes that some broadsides name prices for the hundred, which suggests that they were not necessarily purchased by the people they were intended for, but rather bought in larger numbers by wealthy

[421] Ganev 2009, 186-187.
[422] Ganev 2009, 187.
[423] Ganev 2009, 187.
[424] Jensen 2015, 55.
[425] J. Mayett, quoted from Ganev 2009, 206.
[426] Jensen 2015, 47-56; Ganev 2009, 201-208.

philanthropists and then – as Mayett reports – distributed among the poor.[427] Ganev argues similarly that "first, the millions sold were seldom purchased by the poor themselves; second, that the proverbial entertainment value of the tracts is dubious, with the exception of some of the more subtle ballads; and, third, that the poor were fully capable of recognising the overtly didactic tracts as propaganda"[428]. While the importance of the *Cheap Repository Tracts* as well as other loyalist broadsides and songs was probably not proportionate to their number, it cannot be considered completely negligible either. Charles Dibdin, who received a government pension for "raising the level of patriotism throughout the country"[429], toured various towns with his repertoire of sea songs.[430] They were thought very effective in recruiting volunteers for the navy. That they were actually sung by at least some people is supported by the inclusion of *Poor Jack*, *The Soldier's Adieu*, *A Sailor's Life* and several other songs by Dibdin as well as other loyalist songs into the songbook of the Reddish family in Nottinghamshire. The songs in their songbook were copied mostly from other songbooks and broadsides.[431] Ganev argues that wealthy farmers would sing drawing room songs by Charles Dibdin, as the distance in social status between farmers and agricultural labourers grew.[432] She also points out that Hannah More herself didn't doubt the impact of her writing: "Hannah More certainly believed her tracts made a significant impact. At first, she thought they would not be able to change the dangerous political situation in England for the better but, once persuaded by Bishop Porteous, she became convinced of their effectiveness."[433] I will discuss Hannah More again in the next chapter.

5.2 Negotiating Femininity and Gender Relations in Songs

5.2.1 Female Singers and Songwriters

Military history and gender history have often been treated as separate fields. Military history was for a long time the history of battles and military strategy. It was a history of men written by men.[434] Only when military history began to consider war in its wider social context, gen-

[427] Jensen 2015, 47.
[428] Ganev 2009, 201.
[429] Cockburn 1979, 162.
[430] Cockburn 1979, 162.
[431] Cockburn 1979, 157-194.
[432] Ganev 2009, 46.
[433] Ganev 2009, 201.
[434] Martschukat, Stieglitz 2018, 124.

der aspects gained importance.[435] Women have always been part of military actions, whether as part of the military train, as nurses or even in a few cases as soldiers in the field, or at home, where they were not only concerned with the fate of their loved ones but also took over jobs from the men, who were away at war, did welfare work and were part of how war was debated, criticised, approved or disapproved of, and of how war was perceived in public.[436]

This is especially true where songs are concerned. Many of the broadside buyers were women[437] and so were many broadside sellers.[438] We do not know much about any of these groups, and we likewise know of only a few female broadside writers, but women have a particular importance for traditional song beyond writing broadside ballads. Perry argues that, at least in Scottish folk song, women and song are closely connected:

> "Women sing the lullabies and ballads to soothe, to comfort children, they tell stories of heroes and heroines to give them strength and examples, and they reward and punish the young according to the belief system of the society. The values, mores, tall tales, and proverbial sayings of the society as well as its songs are in their keeping."[439]

Women cared for the preliterate children "teaching them and entertaining them when they were just learning to talk, with stories and sayings and songs and rhymes that were exclusively verbal and marked by the qualities of oral artefacts"[440]. Perry also argues that women were closer to oral tradition, because in the eighteenth century they were much more frequently illiterate than men[441] and thus "preserved longer the older oral modes of communication – and the capacity to memorize – that had been widespread in an earlier time"[442]. For that reason, women were the most important sources of traditional ballads for collectors of such songs in the eighteenth century.[443] Rowland explains that "the image of an old woman singing to children remains an important validating scene for the ballad collections. The significance of the scene, however, is as much a function of the child's early, authentic listening as it is of the

[435] C. Hämmerle: Von den Geschlechtern der Kriege und des Militärs. Forschungseinblicke und Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Debatte. In: T. Kühne, B. Ziemann (eds.): *Was ist Militärgeschichte?* Paderborn 2000: Ferdinand Schönigh, 229-230.
[436] Hämmerle 2000, 231-237.
[437] Perry 2008, 86.
[438] Jensen 2015, 30.
[439] Perry 2008, 87.
[440] Perry 2008, 89.
[441] Perry 2008, 88.
[442] Perry 2008, 88.
[443] A. W. Rowland: "The fause nourice sang": childhood, child murder and the formalism of the Scottish ballad revival. In: L. Davis (ed.): *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*. Cambridge, New York etc.: Cambridge University Press 2004, 225.

nurse's authoritative singing".[444] She emphasises the specific connection between childhood and orality and considers childhood a "privileged oral/aural state"[445].

The ballad writer Robert Anderson describes how his interest in songs and ballads developed during his childhood:

> "Among our neighbours was a decent industrious old woman, born in the Highlands of Scotland: proud did I feel to run her errands; and at her fireside I spent many a winter evening, delighted beyond measure, with the wild Scottish ballads which she taught me, while labouring at her wheel. […] From this cheerful, kind-hearted, well-informed creature, I imbibed the love of song, which has to the present day so particularly engaged my attention."[446]

Especially in the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland and Ireland and in the Welsh-speaking parts of Wales, women were more likely to keep up a singing tradition in these languages, since they were less in contact with people from other regions and thus less likely to speak English or Scots.[447]

Lynn Wollstadt argues in an article about gender aspects in Scottish folk music that women have a different musical tradition than men. She bases her analysis on recordings of the School of Scottish Studies made between 1951 and 1997. The list of the ten most frequently recorded songs by women has only two songs in common with the ten most frequently recorded songs by men.[448] Wollstadt thinks that this may be in part due to songs "addressing issues of female power"[449]. For the time considered here, the difficulty is that we don't know who many of the singers and writers of broadside ballads were, because broadsides rarely name writers or singers. Additionally, songs that are narrated from the point of view of a woman or feature strong female characters or that address female power, aren't necessarily written by women.[450] A good example is Robert Anderson's *Jenny's Complaint*, which will be discussed in detail later.[451] The writers aren't usually a good indicator of gender aspects in song. Because of this, the following chapters will not focus on songs written by women compared to songs written by men. Under examination here are not female versus male singers either, because likewise there are too few sources for the time period to tell us who actually

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[444] Rowland 2004, 230.
[445] Rowland 2004, 231.
[446] R. Anderson: *The Poetical Works of Robert Anderson. Author of "Cumberland Ballads," &c. To which is Prefaced the Life of the Author, Written by Himself. An essay on the Character, Manners, and Customs of the Peasantry of Cumberland; and Observations on the Style and Genius of the Author by Thomas Sanderson.* Volume 1. Carlisle: Scott 1820, xvii-xviii.
[447] Perry 2008, 88.
[448] Wollstadt 2002, 295-296.
[449] Wollstadt 2002, 296.
[450] Jensen 2015, 144-145.
[451] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49-50.

sang what. We know especially little about female poets and singers, because their works often appear only in publications by men.[452] Many female ballad singers "did not seek public recognition in print but instead often circulated their ballad books among select circles, and likewise performed their ballads before a limited audience"[453]. For that reason, the following chapter will focus on what the songs themselves tell us about gender. Yet I don't want to completely leave out women writers and singers. Therefore, I have decided to first discuss three women from different backgrounds who wrote, sang or collected songs during the time of the Napoleonic Wars and who thematised politics and war in their songs.

The first of them, Hannah More, is today probably best known for her *Cheap Repository Tracts*, which have been already discussed in the context of loyalist song writing. She was born in Fishponds near Bristol in 1745, as the fourth daughter of the schoolmaster Jacob More. In 1758, Jacob More opened a girls' school, and Hannah was at first a pupil and later a teacher there.[454] Later she and her sister Martha established several Sunday schools that focussed on teaching people to read as well as on religious, moral and practical education, especially spinning.[455] Hannah More's books sold well, some extraordinarily well, and her community work led her to be respected in her circles.[456] She became a spokeswoman for conservative values in a time of political upheaval. Her first works were poetic and dramatic, but in the late 1780s and especially after the French Revolution they became more serious in nature. She was categorically opposed to revolutionary ideas.[457] Her pamphlet *Village Politics* was published in 1792 and is an answer to Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*. *Village Politics* is quite typical for More, since it addresses readers from the lower classes. More was a philanthropist and the education of the poor was one of the topics which concerned her most.[458] Ganev suggests that, while More insisted on the importance of literacy for the poor, her focus was on religious and moral education[459] and that "the Mores' central concern was with preserving order and social harmony rather than with improving the lives of the poor (whether material or spiritual)"[460]. More disapproved of any kind of complaint or protest, especially the food riots, and wanted people to accept everything that happened as God's will.

[452] A. Cracuin: Romantic Spinstrelsy: Anne Bannerman and the sexual politics of the ballad. In: L. Davis (ed.): *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*. Cambridge, New York etc.: Cambridge University Press 2004, 204-224, 207.
[453] Cracuin 2004, 207.
[454] M. Scheuermann: *In Praise of Poverty. Hannah More Counters Thomas Paine and the Radical Threat*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky 2015, 1-8.
[455] Ganev 2009, 185.
[456] Scheuermann 2015, 1-10.
[457] Scheuermann 2015, 2, 12.
[458] Scheuermann 2015, 11-13.
[459] Ganev 2009, 185.
[460] Ganev 2009, 185.

In her view, social inequality and even things that were clearly influenced by the government, like taxes, were given by God and had to be accepted.[461] People who refused to adhere to these principles, More counted among the "undeserving poor"[462].

The second songwriter I want to talk about is Carolina Oliphant (later Baroness Nairne). She was born in Gask in Perthshire in 1776. She was the daughter of Laurence Oliphant and his wife Margaret Robertson.[463] Both her parents came from strongly Jacobite families, whose families were exiled to France after the uprising of 1745. Her parents only bought back their estates and returned to Scotland in 1764. Jacobite sympathies in the family were still strong, and Carolina was even named after Charles Edward Stuart. She was an accomplished poet, musician and painter and was known in the area as the "Flower of Strathearn".[464] Carolina married her maternal cousin William Murray Nairne in 1806. His parents' estates had also been forfeited in 1746. He was a major in the British army and assistant inspector-general of barracks in Scotland.[465]

Nairne's songs were at first circulated by performance and in oral tradition and only published from 1820 onwards. Even then, she insisted on the strictest anonymity, writing under several pseudonyms, among them *Mrs. Bogan of Bogan* and *B.B*. She took care not to send her writings to the publisher from her own address and disguised her handwriting. The first publication of her songs was in the six-volume song anthology *The Scottish Minstrel* that was published between 1821 and 1824. The anthology suggested that the songs published in it were not newly written but came from a long folk tradition. Nairne's songs appeared as "Sent by B.B.". Nairne again took great care to keep her secret, even going so far as to disguise herself to meet her publisher:[466]

> "Pressed to visit her publisher Purdie, who insisted on meeting his best contributor, 'Mrs. Bogan' appeared in his office, in a scene comically reminiscent of Richardson's *Pamela*, 'appareled as a gentlewoman of the olden time'. Swathed in rustic linen and telling no falsehoods, she nonetheless led Purdie to believe that she had journeyed to Edinburgh from the countryside: 'To the music-dealer it never occurred that his ingen-

[461] Ganev 2009, 191-195.
[462] Ganev 2009, 196.
[463] Her parents were married, but until well into the twentieth century it was quite common in Scotland for women to keep their own family name, after they were married, cf. E. Ewan; S. Innes; S. Reynolds; R. Pipes (eds.): *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women. From the earliest times to 2004*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2006, xxvi, 286.
[464] R. Chambers; T. Thomson: *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Originally Edited by Robert Chambers. Revised Throughout and Continued by the Rev. Thomas Thomson. Editor of the "Comprehensive History of England" etc. With a Supplement Continuing the Biographies to the Present Time. Illustrated by Numerous Authentic Portraits on Steel*. Vol. III, Half-Vol. V. London: Blackie and Son 1875, 190.
[465] C. Rogers (ed.): *Life and Songs of the Baroness Nairne. With a Memoir and Poems of Caroline Oliphant the Younger. With a Portrait and Other Illustrations*. Second Edition, enlarged. London: Charles Griffin and Co. 1869, 37-38.
[466] McGuirk 2006, 253-257.

> ious contributor was resident in a suburb of the city: and certainly, he still less imagined that her husband held office in connection with Edinburgh Castle, not many hundred yards from his shop.'"[467]

The reasons for concealing her identity so thoroughly are not completely clear. Nairne didn't even tell her husband, and part of the reason for keeping her secret in the early years might have been to protect him. For the wife of a British officer to write songs celebrating Jacobite rebels might have caused embarrassment, even more so, since he was at the time litigating to regain his lands and titles that had been lost after the battle of Culloden.[468] There was little reason for her secrecy later, though, and McGuirk suggests that she didn't like Walter Scott's dishonesty about his authorship of *Waverley*. Nairne preferred complete silence.[469]

A further reason – and possibly the main one – was that Nairne enjoyed the popularity of her work and feared that it would suffer if it became known that she was a woman. While she used Mrs. Bogan in her earliest submission to *The Scottish Minstrel*, she used neutral pseudonyms from thereon.[470] Nairne herself was acutely aware of the lesser value placed on women's writings:

> "If, by any chance […] Purdie were to be asked, 'Who is B.B.,' I think he would do well […] to make no mention of a lady. As you observed, the more mystery the better: and still the balance is in favour of the 'Lords of the Creation.' I cannot help […] undervaluing beforehand what is said to be a feminine production."[471]

The first songbook containing solely Nairne's own writings was published only a year before her death in 1845. It was edited by her sister Mrs. Keith and was published under the title *Lays of Strathearn* or *Lays from Strathearn*. The original intention was for anonymous publication, but after Nairne's death her family revealed her authorship and the *Lays from Strathearn* were published under her own name.[472]

Lady Nairne's songs – like those of Robert Burns, with whom she is often compared – exist in a sphere between folk and art songs: "Their national songs bring together art song and folk song, dialect Scots and standard English, Lowland and Highland cultures."[473] The songs are thus instrumental in creating a Scottish identity based on the Jacobite tradition she grew up with: "At the core of Nairne's songs of the 1790s is an elegiac account of the mid-century

[467] McGuirk 2006, 257.
[468] McGuirk 2006, 258.
[469] McGuirk 2006, 258.
[470] McGuirk 2006, 257.
[471] From a letter written by Carolina Oliphant, quoted from McGuirk 2006, 257.
[472] McGuirk 2006, 253-259.
[473] McGuirk 2006, 254.

struggle and exile of her own parents and grandparents."[474] Scotland is thus created as a unified song landscape and country. The songs create a shared history that in reality never existed:

> "Their songs' hybridity (beyond the interplay of words and music) lies in their evocation of 'Scotland' as a site of stubborn yet evocative dissonance, a place where fish vendors inspire art songs, royal princes weep as homeless outcasts, and every single speaker […] has a problem with social consensus and/or historical outcome. Scottishness, in their writings, departs from history in being portrayed as a harmonious, unified consciousness. In 1746, most Presbyterian Lowlanders rejoiced at the defeat of the Highland-Gaelic-Episcopalian Jacobite coalition. Yet as Nairne and Burns reconstruct this crisis point in Scottish time, speakers drawn from all over Scotland recoil as from a crushing blow. Burns's and Nairne's neo-Jacobite songs are hybrid in their emphasis on interaction between what were (historically) divided or antagonistic Scottish communities."[475]

Some of Nairne's better-known songs are *Will ye no' come back again*, *Wha'll be King but Charlie* and *Charlie is my darling*. *Will ye no' come back again* is set after the escape of Charles Edward Stuart to France and expresses hope for his return.[476] *Wha'll be King but Charlie* is set during the rising of 1745. It tells of Charles Edward's arrival in Scotland, claims that all the Highland clans and all the lords in the Lowlands have declared for him and calls on the people to join him:[477]

> "There's ne'er a lass in a' the lan',
> But vows baith late an' early,
> She'll ne'er to man gie heart nor han',
> Wha wadna fecht for Charlie.
> Come thro' the heather, around him gather,
> Come Ronald, come Donald, come a'thegither,
> And crown your rightfu', lawfu' king!
> For wha'll be King but Charlie?"[478]

Charlie is my darling is also set during the 1745 rising and is a much more cheerful song written from the point of view of a Jacobite girl. There are versions of this song written by other writers, most notably by Robert Burns.[479]

Nairne's songs were celebrated among her contemporaries. Especially from 1800 onwards, her songs gained popularity in Scotland and became well-known throughout Britain after the publication of the *Scottish Minstrelsy*. Her songs even remained popular in the twentieth century, "but like Burns's, whose unsigned Scottish songs also often go unrecognized, Nairne's

[474] McGuirk 2006, 254.
[475] McGuirk 2006, 254.
[476] Rogers 1869, 209-210.
[477] Rogers 1869, 199-200.
[478] Rogers 1869, 199-200.
[479] Rogers 1869, 291.

visibility as an author is to this day reduced because of her songs' original circulation as traditional, anonymous, 'Unknown'"[480].

Both Lady Nairne and Hannah More are quite well-known even today. The third woman I want to introduce here is not so well remembered. Anna Gordon, also known as Mrs. Brown of Falkland, is mostly known as a ballad collector. She was the daughter of a university professor and married a minister. Most of the songs she collected, she had learned from her aunt, and also from her mother and a maidservant. Though her father and husband moved in learned circles, it appears that the songs she knew were transmitted almost exclusively among women. Today, Anna Gordon is remembered primarily as a ballad collector, but as part of an oral tradition she did change and influence the songs.[481] Thomas Pettitt summarises the interaction between the traditional ballad and the creative input of the collector: "Any ballad which we receive from Mrs. Brown's lips is likely to be a special amalgam of the traditional ballad as she received it, the changes she introduced within the organic processes of that tradition, the impact of printed versions, and a specific literary contribution of her own."[482]

Mrs. Brown's ballads survived in three manuscript collections: 1.) the Jamieson-Brown MS, which was compiled in 1783 by Mrs. Brown's nephew "from her recitation"[483]. It contained 19 ballads with two text variants for one of them and was an important source for Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 2.) the Tytler-Brown MS, also from 1783, gave tunes as well as texts for fifteen of the nineteen ballads. It was used by Sir Walter Scott for his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 3.) the Fraser-Tytler-Brown MS was especially compiled for Sir Walter Scott in 1800. It was composed of nine ballads without music, two of which had already been recorded in the first collection. A few more ballads of Mrs. Brown's are known from other sources. Her ballads were the most important source for Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. He included thirty of her ballads in his publication. No other contributor was included with an equally large number of ballads.[484] Child claimed that "no Scottish ballads are superior in kind"[485].

Thomas Pettitt points out several characteristics of Mrs. Brown's songs. He notes that they are "emphatically a Scottish collection"[486] and are remarkably similar in style and subject:

[480] McGuirk 2006, 259.
[481] T. Pettitt: Mrs. Brown's "Lass of Roch Royal" and the Golden Age of Scottish Balladry. In: Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung, 29. Jahrgang (1984), 14-20.
[482] Pettitt 1984, 18.
[483] Pettitt 1984, 15.
[484] Pettitt 1984, 14-17.
[485] Pettitt 1984, 14.
[486] Pettitt 1984, 17.

> "With few exceptions Mrs. Brown's ballads are of the romantic, frequently sentimental type, with the thwarting or destruction of true love, provoking adventures and confrontations which reveal the resourcefulness of hero and heroine, the machinations of the villain, and which culminate in dramatic resolution or pathetic tragedy."[487]

Mrs. Brown's collection is a good example for the connection between oral and written cultures that is so typical for ballads and folk songs. Her ballads are partly traditional, but she certainly made an innovative contribution, changing and developing certain elements of text and tune. Furthermore, Mrs. Brown's ballads had not previously been written down. She knew them from oral tradition, specifically a women-centred oral tradition. They only entered written tradition through her recitation, and many of the creative decisions were thus hers.[488] Every folk singer is aware that there are always different versions available even to a single performer, and no song is always the same.

5.2.2 'She Said My Jolly Soldier How Could You Serve Me So' – Love Songs and Seduction-and-Abandonment-Songs

Gammon describes six basic categories for the depiction of sexuality in song: love songs, songs about sexual encounters, about ribald situations, obscenity, unhappy relationships and gender role rejections.[489] The songs I discuss fall into four of these categories: love songs, songs about unhappy relationships, songs about sexual encounters and songs about the rejection of gender roles.

Seduction-and-abandonment-songs often serve to warn young girls to avoid extramarital relations by allowing a 'fallen' woman to lament her fate and accuse the man who wronged her. In most songs it is not the woman who is blamed but the man who abandoned her. Yet the songs make it clear that it is the women who will suffer the consequences, so the ballads warn them to take care against this happening. There are hundreds of these songs. Well known examples are *Blackwaterside*[490] and *The Banks Of Allan Water*[491]. The latter, partially quoted in Thomas Hardy's novel *Far From The Madding Crowd*, but appearing in broadsides earlier on[492] and probably taken from oral tradition, summarises the topic quite well:

> "For his bride a soldier sought her
> And a winning tongue had he,

[487] Pettitt 1984, 17.
[488] Pettitt 1984, 18.
[489] V. Gammon: *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900*. Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate 2008, 20.
[490] A. Briggs: *Anne Briggs*. Vinyl. London: Cargo Records 2008.
[491] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 157, J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.
[492] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 157, J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.

On the banks of Allan-Water
None was so gay as she.
[…]
For the summer grief had brought her
And the soldier false was he;
On the banks of Allan-Water,
None was so sad as she."[493]

The title of this subchapter quotes a song called *The Gentleman Soldier* or *The Soldier's Cloak*. There are several broadsides with this song throughout the nineteenth century. The version discussed here can be found in the Harding collection in the Bodleian Libraries. It was published by Burbage and Stretton in Nottingham and can be dated to the period between 1797 and 1807.[494] The ballad tells the story of a young woman being seduced by a soldier, in many versions a "gentleman soldier"[495]. She is then abandoned by him, possibly pregnant, because "marry'd I am already,/ And children I've got three"[496]. To give context to my remarks below, I'll quote the broadside in full:

"Twas one Monday Evening,
On centry he did stand,
He kindly did salute me.
With kisses and with jokes,
And order'd me into an entry,
Wrapt up in a soldiers Cloke.

And there he did detain me,
Until the break of day,
The drums did beat and trumpets sound,
The band did sweetly play,
The drums did beat and trumpets sound,
The band did sweetly play.
He said my dearest Molly,
I can no longer stay.

She said my jolly Soldier,
How could you serve me so,
My Mammy she'll be angry,
When she does come to know.
Your Mammy will not be angry,
Unless you tell the joke,
That you was kiss'd in an entry,
Wrapt up in a Soldier's Cloak.

For marry'd I am already,
And Children I've got three,

[493] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 157, J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.
[494] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.
[495] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11(3013), W. Forth, Hull, no date.
[496] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.

Two wives I have in the army,
But one's too many for me;
Your Mammy will not be angry,
Your family to increase,
If you have a little drummer boy,
He'll come of a noble race."[497]

The song incorporates another common motive for women in songs about war that will be discussed later in detail: crossdressing.[498] The narrator enters the camp "Wrapt up in a soldiers Cloke"[499]. The soldier then "kindly did salute me"[500] and "there he did detain me"[501]. The language used casts the woman almost into the role of a subordinate officer, with what is actually going on as not very subtle subtext. The tune supports this military feeling. It sounds quite military, and one could easily assume that it was a marching song or one originating in the army, but the melody is used for a number of different songs and was probably originally a dancing tune. It is in Scotland commonly known as *Drumdelgie*, a bothy ballad telling of the hardships of farm work. In Wales it is called *Dydd Llun y Boreu* and is a romantic song.[502] My source for the tune is John Clare (1793-1864), as quoted by Roy Palmer, who played the song on the fiddle.[503]

The humorous take on the seduction-and-abandonment-theme differs from the other examples mentioned above, because the sadness and bitterness that often characterise similar songs is missing. The song rather claims that "Your Mammy will not be angry,/Unless you tell the joke,/That you was kiss'd in an entry,/Wrapt up in a Soldier's Cloak"[504]. The prospect of having a child outside of marriage is likewise considered as more of a joke: "Your Mammy will not be angry,/ Your family to increase,/ If you have a little drummer boy,/ He'll come of a noble race."[505] Altogether, the song shows very little concern for the future and prospects of the woman. Ganev and Roud both make the argument that extramarital sexual relations were not considered a serious matter or were even seen as a matter of course throughout the eighteenth century,[506] but popular songs are unusual in that they allow women to express sexual desire.[507] Ganev argues that eighteenth-century songs are characterised by a celebration of lower-class and especially rural lower-class sexuality. This includes the light and even comic

[497] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.
[498] Roud, Bishop 2014, 4-5.
[499] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.
[500] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.
[501] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.
[502] Palmer 1977, 135.
[503] Palmer 1977, 135.
[504] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.
[505] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.
[506] Roud 2017, 284-287; Ganev 2009, 149-162.
[507] Ganev 2009, 173-174.

treatment of possible pregnancy and successive illegitimacy.[508] The eighteenth-century has been referred to as the "century of illegitimacy", because from approximately 1750 onward, the numbers of illegitimate children rose to a significant degree both in England and on the continent. This rise is reflected in literature and popular culture, for example in novels like *Tom Jones*, and it can be assumed that it affected the way illegitimate children were treated in society as well.[509] Ganev claims that illegitimate children were for the rural population no moral problem, but only became problematic when parish charity was overburdened with the great number of illegitimate children.[510] Yet this is probably a rather simplistic explanation. Zunshine suggests that the treatment of 'bastards' depended primarily on class. In middle class families, illegitimate children were considered mainly in terms of property, as a threat to the inheritance of the legitimate offspring. In the aristocracy, illegitimacy was easier to tolerate, since the families were usually wealthy enough to support their illegitimate offspring as well as their legitimate. Illegitimate children of aristocrats might still marry well and gain a good standing in society.[511] Ganev is not completely wrong in her assessment of illegitimacy among the rural poor. Because many marriages were formed by cohabitation, the difference between legitimate and illegitimate children was often vague. 'Bastards' were registered in the parish registry, but since all children were expected to work and there was no property to inherit, the difference was not great. The group, for whom illegitimate children were the biggest problem, were the abandoned mothers. Having a child without being married meant certain loss of employment and becoming a social outcast. Many concealed their pregnancies or tried to abort their child. Some, who could afford it, gave their child to a wet nurse, who for a fee agreed to slowly starve the child to death. Infanticide was common.[512] Women usually bore the blame and consequences, but popular ballads allow women a lot of agency to accuse and blame their seducer. In the ballads, women are also able to make fathers take responsibility for their children. Some songs clearly depict the woman as the one making the decisions and taking action, sometimes tricking or even killing the man who wants to abandon her.[513] In

[508] Ganev 2009, 151-171.
[509] L. Zunshine: *Bastards and Foundlings. Illegitimacy in Eighteenth-Century England*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press 2005, 1, 86-100.
[510] Ganev 2009, 162.
[511] Zunshine 2005, 2-3.
[512] Zunshine 2005, 3-4.
[513] Ganev 2009, 172-175. Sailors on shore leave are particularly often tricked by women, not only in seduction-and-abandonment songs. In *The Tars' Frolic or British Sailor* (British Library: Roxburghe Collection [EBBA 31124], T. Evans, London, 1800-1815) a sailor's shore leave almost ends with him being robbed, but he turns the tables and robs the woman instead:

> "She danced round the room and I followed my blow
> I gave her no time to put on her clothes,
> She opened the door and down staias she run,
> I fastened it after and laughed at the fun."

The Politick Maid of Suffolk or The Young Lawyer Outwitted, which can be found in broadsides from the eighteenth century onwards, Nell is abandoned pregnant by her lover, a lawyer. She then disguises herself as the devil and haunts him. He becomes so frightened that he returns and asks her to marry him. And they live happily ever after.[514]

The Soldier's Cloak is older and doesn't show this trope at all. The female narrator remains decidedly passive. *The Soldier's Cloak* almost exclusively recounts the actions of the soldier: He salutes, he orders, he detains, he said. But the ballad form still allows the narrator to complain about his betrayal. Though he makes light of it, the song emphatically depicts the soldier as the guilty party. No blame is put on the woman.[515]

While *The Soldier's Cloak* treats its subject matter humorously, other broadside ballads are more tragic. In *The Maid of Woe* (and many similar songs) the only way to resolve the conflict is for the woman to die:

> "A treach'rous swain, her pity mov'd,
> And rais'd the tender sigh,
> Contented when he knew she lov'd,
> He left the maid to die.
> Her heartfelt grief,
> Found no relief,
> No joy from hope would grow;
> She griev'd, she sigh'd,
> Soon droop'd, and died!
> The lovelorn maid of woe."[516]

This way, the songs also serve to warn girls and women to be wary of men and their intentions.

Besides the gender aspect, *The Soldier's Cloak* is also concerned with class. This is reflected in the alternative title *The Gentleman Soldier* (a gentleman soldier is a soldier belonging to a yeomanry regiment). The song even suggests that having a child by the soldier is something to be proud of, because "he'll come of a noble race"[517]. Depicting a man from the upper classes in a relationship with a woman of lower social status is also a very common ballad topos.[518] Ganev describes the "female body as a site of class struggle"[519] in songs. While in *The Soldier's Cloak* the female narrator has very little agency and can only complain and lament, in other songs the woman is much more active. The protagonist in one of many ballads called

[514] Bodleian Libraries: Douce Ballads 2(180b), 17--.
[515] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.
[516] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 374, T. Evans, London, 1790-1813.
[517] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.
[518] Ganev 2009, 162-171.
[519] Ganev 2009, 172.

The Milk Maid has a lover of higher rank than herself as well – she addresses him as "kind sir"[520] – but is not at all dependant on him.[521] When he asks her what she would do if she became pregnant, she points out to him that "my father is a linen draper"[522] and "my brother is a cradlemaker"[523]. When he mentions leaving her, she is equally unimpressed and answers "The de'l he wo'd follow you sir"[524]. In the end he talks about marriage, but the last line of the song seems ambivalent about this outcome, saying that "Your red rosy check would be paler then"[525].

The Soldier's Cloak is not only related to similar seduction-and-abandonment-songs but also to comic songs that tell about the (amorous) adventures of soldiers, like *The Rambling Sailor* (also known as *The Rambling Soldier*). *The Rambling Sailor* tells about a sailor who has decided not to go to war anymore but instead travels through the country and tries to charm as many girls as he can.

> "I am a sailor stout and bold, long time I've
> plough'd the ocean,
> To fight for my king and country too, for
> honour and promotion,
> I said brother sailors, I'll bid you adieu, I
> I will go no more to the seas with you,
> But I'll travel the country thro' and thro'
> And be a Rambling Sailor.
> […]
> And if you want to know my name, my
> name it is young Johnson,
> I have got a commission of William our
> King to court all girls that's handsome,
> With my false heart and flat'ring tongue,
> I'll court all girls both old and young,
> I'll court them all marry none, and still be
> A rambling sailor."[526]

[520] Bodleian Libraries: 2806 c.17(280), R. Evans, Chester. The broadside I quote can't be dated precisely but is from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. There is an earlier version from the seventeenth century in the Bodleian Libraries: Bodleian Libraries: Douce Ballads 2(156b), W. Thackeray, London, 1688-1689. Many elements of the story are identical, but the milkmaid offers to accompany the knight: "I'll put on Armor and travel with you". Female warrior ballads will be discussed in more detail in part 5.2.3.
[521] Bodleian Libraries: 2806 c.17(280), R. Evans, Chester, cf. Ganev 2009, 173.
[522] Bodleian Libraries: 2806 c.17(280), R. Evans, Chester.
[523] Bodleian Libraries: 2806 c.17(280), R. Evans, Chester.
[524] Bodleian Libraries: 2806 c.17(280), R. Evans, Chester.
[525] Bodleian Libraries: 2806 c.17(280), R. Evans, Chester.
[526] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 1230, W. Taylor, London, 18--. The oldest broadside versions of the song I have found are the one quoted above and a Catnach broadside that can be dated between 1813 and 1838 (Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 256, J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838), but Roud writes that the earliest texts are from before 1800 (Roud, Bishop 2014, 389) and the mentioning of King William (III, 1689-1702) also suggests that the song is older.

The Rambling Sailor is another example of eighteenth-century ballad depiction of sexuality. The protagonist brags about his freedom as well as his sexual prowess, two topics that can be found in many street ballads. Ganev even argues that a celebration of rural sexuality was quite typical for eighteenth-century popular ballads. Similar in narrative to *The Rambling Sailor,* many songs celebrate the amorous conquests of ploughmen and milkmaids.[527] So do the protagonists of many broadsides featuring soldiers. In *The Jolly Soldier* the narrator praises his profession, especially regarding his success with women:[528]

> "For when that we come in a town,
> We make ourselves be known,
> We hug and kiss the pretty girls,
> And call them all our own."[529]

The song also compares the soldier to the ploughman, whom Ganev describes as a symbol for rural lower-class virility[530]. In *The Jolly Soldier*, though, the ploughman is described as "silly"[531], because he can't escape marriage the way soldiers do:[532]

> "As for the silly ploughman,
> That follows the plough tail,
> The marriage cause, which we make whores,
> Or else must go to jail.
>
> So to conclude, and make an end,
> We love all jovial lives,
> And ne'er intend to marry, boys,
> While other fools keep wives."[533]

Both *The Rambling Sailor* and *The Jolly Soldier* explore and idealise a vagrant life with no fixed abode. This is again related to other eighteenth-century ballads characterised by a rural setting, a praise of country life, and especially a celebration of freedom.[534] *The Gipsy's Tent* praises this way of life: "Let the lord boast his castle, the baron his hall;/but the home of the Gipsies is widest of all."[535] In *The Rambling Sailor*, it is freedom from duty as well as sexual freedom that are explored.

It should be pointed out that, while there are many publications of seduction-and-abandonment songs, many ballads also depict faithful relationships**.** Sailors usually came off

[527] Ganev 2009, 162.
[528] Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.31(97), J. Evans, London, 1780-1812.
[529] Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.31(97), J. Evans, London, 1780-1812.
[530] Ganev 2009, 157-170.
[531] Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.31(97), J. Evans, London, 1780-1812.
[532] Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.31(97), J. Evans, London, 1780-1812.
[533] Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.31(97), J. Evans, London, 1780-1812.
[534] Ganev 2009, 88.
[535] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11(175), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834; cf. Ganev 2009, 88.

rather well in the broadsides and feature as faithful lovers. For example, in *Sailor and his truelove*, a typical sentimental song of the eighteenth century, William has to sail to the Indies but, before he leaves, promises to marry Nancy upon his return:[536]

> "O then from off his fingers a golden ring he gave,
> Saying, take this as a token for more you shall have,
> I'm bound unto the ocean where the billows loud do roar,
> For the sake of lovely Nancy, the girl I adore."[537]

In *Happy Lovers*, a similar story is combined with praise of the navy in general:

> "So here's to this couple so true,
> And happy for e'er may they reign;
> And here's to all sailors that plough the salt seas,
> That have conquer'd and conquer'd again."[538]

5.2.3 'And So Boldly I Fought When I Was but a Wench' – Female Warrior Ballads

Women donning male guise, living under a male identity, working in male employments and even marrying women have existed throughout Europe for several centuries. We know them from stories, ballads, diaries and court cases, and it is reasonable to assume that they existed in far greater number than we know, because we only learn of the ones who have been discovered. While there are cases of women working as men in factories, as messenger boys and in many other jobs, the best-documented cases come from army and navy. [539] Women always formed an important part of armies, whether they were tending to the wounded, washing soldiers' clothes or working as prostitutes.[540] So it is maybe not surprising that some also became soldiers. Stories about women working as soldiers or sailors by disguising themselves as men go back to at least the late middle ages. Female warrior ballads frequently claim to be inspired by real events and persons, and there are indeed several confirmed reports of women being discovered among the ranks of both army and navy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and even examples from World War I.[541] There exist at least twenty verifiable cases of women having joined the Royal Navy or the Marines in the period between the late seventeenth and the early nineteenth century. Eighteenth-Century examples are Hannah Snell, Mary Lacy and Mary Ann Talbot; the latter I will discuss in more detail later.[542] In the French Revolu-

[536] National Library of Scotland: Crawford. EB.1568, J. Jennings, London, 1802-1809.
[537] National Library of Scotland: Crawford. EB.1568, J. Jennings, London, 1802-1809.
[538] National Library of Scotland: Crawford. EB.2206, J. Jennings, London, 1802-1809.
[539] J. Wheelwright: *Amazons and Military Maids. Women Who Dressed as Men in Pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness*. London, Boston etc.: Pandora 1989, 1-20.
[540] Hämmerle 2000, 231-232.
[541] Wheelwright 1989, 7-8, 165-172.
[542] Roud, Bishop 2014, 5.

tionary Army women were known to put on uniform and fight in the ranks, even without disguising their sex.[543]

In ballads, female warriors first appear at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[544] The earliest English ballad fitting the topos is *Mary Ambree* and tells the story of a woman who goes to war to revenge her lover. The song caused quite a stir upon its first publication but remained popular throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[545] So did a great number of other ballads with the same narrative pattern.[546] In the eighteenth century, such ballads, for a while, even entered polite – middle- and upper-class – society.[547] One influential reinvention of the theme appears in *Polly*, John Gay's sequel to *The Beggar's Opera*, published in 1728.[548]

While there were perhaps not as many real female warriors as there are songs, the idea of a crossdressing woman was not as strange to an eighteenth-century audience as it may be to a twenty-first-century audience. For one thing, there was a fashion for disguise and masquerades in general, and crossdressing was a popular subject of literature as well as song for centuries – one needs only to look at Shakespeare. Even the ordinary clothes and makeup of the eighteenth century had an element of disguise. Men and women alike wore a lot of makeup, and female riding dress was very similar to male dress. Eighteenth-century women – especially those of the lower classes – also were familiar with practising 'male' sports. There are many reports of women participating in boxing or sword fighting.[549] The women, who formed part of the military train or lived on ships, might even see action. The sailor John Nicol describes events happening during the Battle of the Nile in 1798:

> "Any information we got was from the boys and women who carried the powder. The women behaved as well as the men, and got a present for their bravery from the Grand Signior. […] I was much indebted to the gunner's wife, who gave her husband and me a drink of wine every now and then which lessened our fatigue much. There were some of the women wounded and one woman belonging to Leith died of her wounds, and was buried on a small island in the bay. One woman bore a son in the heat of the action; she belonged to Edinburgh."[550]

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[543] D. Hopkin: The World Turned Upside Down. Female Soldiers in the French Armies of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In: A. Forrest, K. Hagemann, J. Rendall (eds.): *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians. Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2009, 79.
[544] Dugaw 2016, 271-278.
[545] Dugaw 1996, 50-51.
[546] Dugaw 1986, 23-42; Dugaw 1996, 91-117.
[547] Dugaw 1996, 51-52.
[548] Dugaw 1996, 191-211.
[549] Dugaw 1996, 121-176.
[550] J. Nichol: *The Life and Adventures of John Nichol, Mariner*. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood 1822, 193-94, quoted from Dugaw 1996, 128.

Songs dealing with female warriors have a very standardised narrative pattern that undergoes barely any change over time. Ballads from about 1600 are hardly different from songs written in the eighteenth century, and only in the nineteenth century the heroines begin to undergo a change in their character. In earlier ballads they are assertive, courageous and playful:[551]

> "Their heroines are models of heroic love and valor, and more often than not, possess a playful ironic spunk: they refuse to take 'no' for an answer; they seem to revel in their dissembling; they trick and test their boyfriends and parents. Admitting that their heroines are 'to the wars inclined,' the most martial of the Female Warrior ballads render the details of their valor as well as their love with admiring enthusiasm."[552]

A mid-seventeenth century version of *Mary Ambree* illustrates this characteristic. It describes her actions in a battle at sea:

> "The Sky then she fil'd with the Smoak of her Shot,
> And her Enemies Bodies with Bullets so hot:
> For one of her own Men a Score killed she
> Was not this a brave bonny Lass, Mary Ambree?"[553]

There is usually a reason, why women in ballads become soldiers or sailors: In most cases they go with their lovers or husbands into battle, so they don't have to leave them; sometimes the reason for joining the army is to escape parents, who don't allow the woman to marry whom she chooses and have arranged for her betrothed to be pressed into service; or women join the army or navy to look for their lover,[554] like Polly in *I Wish The Wars Were All Over*, who becomes a sailor:[555]

> "I dress myself up in some young man's array,
> And like a bold sailor so neat and so gay,
> So free for his sake to serve George our King,
> And fight till the wars are all over."[556]

There are also a number of ballads where no man is present at the outset of the song, and the women join the army, because they want to have adventures or for other reasons, but these songs are the minority.[557] The protagonists come from different social classes. They have in common a "desire for male privilege and a longing for escape from domestic confines and

[551] Dugaw 1996, 67-69.
[552] Dugaw 1996, 69.
[553] Bodleian Libraries B 39(209), W. and C. Dicey, London, 1736-1763.
[554] Dugaw 1996, 91-115.
[555] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 302, J. Davenport, London, 1799-1800. There is a longer version on a garland printed approximately 1792 (Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 25[397], J. Butler, Worcester; G. Lewis, Worcester; S. Hazell, Gloucester). It contains the line "And the Americans will kill him, so great is my fear", which suggests that the song dates back to the American War of Independence (1775-1783).
[556] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 302, J. Davenport, London, 1799-1800.
[557] Dugaw (1986, 24-25) describes the separation of lovers as one of the basic structural elements of the female warrior ballads. An exception with no man present at the outset of the song is *The Female Drummer* and will be discussed further down.

powerlessness"[558] and are described as "conventional hero[es]"[559], as "the bravest of the brave and the strongest of the strong"[560]. When they are beaten, it is by deception. Mary Ambree, for example, is deceived by her gunner. The female drummer, who I will discuss below, is also betrayed. They pass unnoticed for a long time, fight bravely, are sometimes discovered but frequently leave the army voluntarily[561] and usually marry in the end and return to their expected role in society. Love and glory are omnipresent.[562] The aforementioned ballad *Mary Ambree* is unusual, because the heroine remains unmarried.[563] *Billy Taylor*, a ballad still sung today, can be considered a parody of the genre, but still shows its typical characteristics.[564] The protagonist of the song, like many other examples, looks for her lover, Billy Taylor, who has been pressed into the navy. But she is not only rather unsuccessful in her disguise, being recognised in her very first engagement,[565] when "a Cannon Ball did cut her Jacket open,/ And diskiver'd her lilly white breast"[566]. She also has to discover that her lover is unfaithful.[567] In true tradition of the female warrior she doesn't remain passive, but takes action and kills him:

> "Forthwith she call'd for Sword and Pistol,
> Which did come at her command.
> And she shot her Billy Taylor,
> With his fair one in his hand."[568]

The captain applauds her behaviour and "made her first Lieutenant,/ Of the Gallant THUNDER BOMB"[569].

To what degree female warrior ballads in general can be considered subversive has led to considerable debate. The ballads offer women agency and possibilities usually reserved for men, and the women are very well able to live up to the new gender role they are taking on. This way, traditional gender roles are questioned and transgressed. The women easily pass as men both in behaviour and looks. The female warriors are "gender-crossing"[570] and "gender-

[558] Wheelwright 1989, 19.
[559] Dugaw 1996, 40.
[560] Dugaw 1996, 40.
[561] Dugaw 1996, 155.
[562] Dugaw 1996, 41.
[563] Dugaw 1996, 91-115.
[564] Dugaw 1996, 73; cf. Déanta: *Déanta*. CD. Nashville: Green Linnet Records 1993.
[565] Bodleian Libraries Harding B 10(13), Laurie and Whittle, London, 1804. Dugaw also discusses the song and dates it to the 1790s. (Dugaw 1996, 73).
[566] Bodleian Libraries Harding B 10(13), Laurie and Whittle, London, 1804.
[567] Bodleian Libraries Harding B 10(13), Laurie and Whittle, London, 1804.
[568] Bodleian Libraries Harding B 10(13), Laurie and Whittle, London, 1804.
[569] Bodleian Libraries Harding B 10(13), Laurie and Whittle, London, 1804.
[570] Dugaw 1996, 162.

confounding"[571] hermaphrodites and switch easily between male and female gender roles.[572] Dugaw describes an "ideal of transgendering"[573] in the ballads. The distinction between sex and gender is central to the ballads.[574] Dugaw points out that "[t]he ballads also underscore the extent to which gender and sexuality might be and indeed in the past have been understood as performance"[575] and that "the cross-dressing and gender-masquerading heroine was a model, a comprehensive ideal"[576] in early modern Britain. Dugaw also explains the gradual decline of female warrior ballads in the nineteenth century with changing perceptions of female gender roles and sees signs of this in ballads of the later nineteenth century that transform the female warrior "from a virago to a suffering helpmate"[577]. Forrest, Hagemann and Rendall describe a perception of female soldiers in the nineteenth century as "associated with revolution and social disorder"[578] and perceive a connection to the progressing masculinisation of armies in the nineteenth century, which led to women being increasingly banned from participating in military actions.[579]

The ballads combine a transgression of gender boundaries with the topic of sexuality. Wheelwright considers the breach of sexual boundaries that can be found in many female warrior stories even a central element of their attraction.[580] There is often a homoerotic element present in the songs and men as well as women might be attracted to the female warrior.[581] Gender and sexuality are shown to be performative and fluent. The disguise is so successful that gender seems determined only by its bodily performance. Male dress suffices to be perceived as a man. Judith Butler compares this constitution of meaning to the theatre.[582] In addition to the blurring of gender identities, concepts of women's 'nature' in general are questioned and undermined,[583] since, while the female warriors disguise themselves and live as men, the ballads still emphasise that they are women, and especially seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ballads depict a "bi-gendered yet clearly female heroism"[584].

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[571] Dugaw 1996, 162.
[572] Dugaw 1996, 162.
[573] Dugaw 1996, xiv.
[574] Dugaw 1996, 143-162.
[575] Dugaw 2016, 288.
[576] Dugaw 2016, 277.
[577] Dugaw 1996, 67-68.
[578] A. Forrest, K. Hagemann, J. Rendall: Introduction: Nations in Arms – People at War. In: A. Forrest, K. Hagemann, J. Rendall (eds.): *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians. Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2009, 15.
[579] Forrest, Hagemann, Rendall 2009, 14-15.
[580] Wheelwright 1989, 13.
[581] Dugaw 1996, 161.
[582] Butler 2002, 303-305.
[583] Dugaw 2016, 288-289.
[584] Dugaw 2016, 278.

Easton argues that ballads allow the women both industrious freedom, like service in the military, and disorderly freedom, like homosexual relations.[585] The subversion is usually temporary, though, because the status-quo and the social norms are re-established at the end of the song.[586] There is because of this return to 'normality', a carnivalesque element in these songs, not only because of the disguise, but because, like during a carnival, the world is turned upside down. The rules of society are temporarily suspended, and social positions are reversed. This allows the people to criticise and re-enact the lives of the ruling classes but, this way, provides an outlet for discontent and afterwards even strengthens previous conditions.

> "The female soldiers' flirtations with other women, their bold caricatures of male behaviour were both mocking and affirming of male power. But they showed that the world of men was not beyond their reach. The heroines moved across the murky channels that separated male and female spheres, using their knowledge and experience of both to their own ends. When they courted women it was often to bolster their disguise and vent their resentment against the hegemony of male authority. In the eighteenth century the female soldier who took on a masculine identity generally elicited charmed admiration for her assumption of manly virtues. Her sexual play was a theatrical flaunting of her attempt at total immersion in a forbidden world."[587]

Dugaw questions the perception of the female warrior ballads as "a world turned upside down"[588], and says that in the ballads gender is simply encoded independent of biological sex and that the understanding as "a temporary release from 'reality'"[589] doesn't sufficiently explain the songs.[590] But, while I wouldn't deny that the female warrior ballads are to some degree subversive, the heroic narratives depicted in songs were outside the possibilities of most women, even those who had real-life experiences of military and war. The honours and recognition they receive in the ballads were in reality still reserved for men.[591] The questioning of gender identities and the allusions to homosexuality are also reversed by the end of the songs, usually by means of a heterosexual marriage. Thus the status quo is re-established. The popularity of the ballads, which Dugaw cites,[592] is in my opinion no argument against this. Songs about the Jacobite risings were also popular at the end of the eighteenth century without risings being 'normal' or a common occurrence.

A very popular female warrior ballad is *The Female Drummer*. The song dates from the end of the eighteenth century and appears in various chapbooks and songsters around the turn of

[585] F. Easton: Covering Sexual Disguise: Passing Women and Generic Constraint. In: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, Volume 35, 2006, 113-114.
[586] Dugaw 1986, 26-27.
[587] Wheelwright 1989, 55.
[588] Dugaw 1996, 148.
[589] Dugaw 1996, 148.
[590] Dugaw 1996, 148.
[591] Dugaw 1996, 129.
[592] Dugaw 1996, 162.

the century.[593] The narrative is inspired by the life of Mary Anne Talbot.[594] In her autobiography, she tells how in 1792, when she was fourteen years of age, a Captain Bowen was entrusted to take her to London to a friend. He instead made her his mistress and forced her to accompany him to the West Indies, first dressed up as his foot boy, then blackmailed her to enlist as a drummer boy. She describes her experiences during the siege of Valenciennes, where she received two wounds. She tells how she "carefully concealed them, from the dread of their discovering my sex, and effected a perfect cure, by the assistance of a little basilicon, lint, and a few Dutch drops"[595]. After Bowen's death she deserts and escapes by passing herself off as a sailor. Her duty on the ship is "to serve at the second gun on the quarter deck, and hand cartridge to the men; or to speak in the seamen's phrase, to act in the capacity of *powder-monkey*"[596]. She is again wounded in battle but, after being released from hospital, enlists on another ship. She points out how she undertook even dangerous tasks that others refused:[597]

> "It was necessary for some one on board, to go to the jib-boom, to catch the jib-sheet, which in the gale had got loose. The continual lungeing of the ship rendered this duty particularly hazardous, and there was not a seaman on board, but rejected this office. I was acting in the capacity of Midshipman, though I never received pay for my service in this ship, but as a common man. This circumstance I mention only, to shew that it was not my particular duty to undertake the task; which on the refusal of several who were asked, I voluntarily undertook. Indeed the preservation of us all depended on this exertion. On reaching the jib-boom, I was under the necessity of lashing myself fast to it; for the ship every minute making a fresh lunge, without such a precaution I should inevitably have been washed away. The surges continually breaking over me, I suffered an uninterrupted wash and fatigue for six hours, before I could quit the post I occupied."[598]

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[593] The songsters and chapbooks I have found date between 1796 and 1801: Peter Mair: *The Black-Bird. A Collection of Songs, Scots, English, and Irish: With Toasts and Sentiments*; P. Mair: Falkirk 1796 (Reproduction. Farmington Hills: Cengage Gale 2009), 50-51; National Library of Scotland: *Five excellent new songs*. Edinburgh: John Morren; John Cumming ca. 1800; University of Glasgow: *The Caledonia Garland. To which are added, Teasing me so. The beautiful damsel of Virgin City. The female drummer*. Glasgow: J. & M. Robertson 1801. The broadsides either can't be dated accurately or are slightly later. The earliest broadside I have found that can be dated at least roughly was printed by James Catnach in London between 1813 and 1838: Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11 (1187). There are more English broadsides throughout the nineteenth century. So, perhaps the song is Scottish in origin – Catnach himself was a Scot – and only later became widespread in England as well.

[594] Palmer 1977, 165.

[595] M. A. Talbot: *The Life and Surprising Adventures of Mary Ann Talbot, in the Name of John Taylor, A Natural Daughter of the late Earl Talbot; Comprehending an Account of her extraordinary Adventures in the character of Foot-Boy, Drummer, Cabin-Boy, and Sailor. Also of her many very narrow Escapes in different Engagements, while in the Land and Sea Services, and of the Hardships which she suffered while under cure of the Wounds received in the Engagement under Lord Howe, June 1, 1794, &c., &c., &c.* London: R. S. Kirby 1809, 14.

[596] Talbot 1809, 19-20.

[597] Talbot 1809, 24-25.

[598] Talbot 1809, 24-25.

Later, Talbot is taken prisoner by the French and after her release serves on a merchantman. The Captain's niece falls in love with her, and a rival for the girl's affection tells the press-gang that she is English and not American. To avoid being pressed into service again, she reveals her sex. She then returns home but continues to switch between women's and men's dress and to sometimes keep the company of her old messmates.[599] She describes how her wounds continued to trouble her and ascribes this to her "too free use of spirituous liquors"[600]. By the turn of the century Talbot had become somewhat of a celebrity and worked as an actress in the theatre. Her circumstances took a turn for the worse, though, and she was imprisoned for debt. She died impoverished in 1808.[601] Her autobiography appeared in 1809.[602] Its authenticity is sometimes questioned[603] and some of it may be exaggerated, but, whether factual or not, it gives an interesting insight into a female warrior story of the Napoleonic Wars.[604]

The song *The Female Drummer* begins like this:

> "A maiden I was at the age of fifteen;
> From my friends ran away and a soldier I became.
> I 'listed in a regiment, a drummer I became,
> And I learnt for to beat upon a drum-adum-dum-dum.
>
> It's many a prank I've seen in the field,
> And many a Frenchman I have forced for to yield;
> Many's the slaughter I have seen of the French,
> And so boldly I fought when I was but a wench."[605]

The song is unusual in that there is no man involved in her running away to join the army. Otherwise it fits the standard narrative of the female soldier songs quite exactly. The protagonist is depicted as very skilled in what she does. After she is found out, her officer says: "'Tis a pity we should lose such a drummer as you made."[606] She is also very brave: "And for your noble courage at the siege of Valenciennes/ A bounty shall be allowed you, my girl, from the queen"[607]. In the last stanza she even offers to fight again, should the need arise: "And if the

[599] Talbot 1809, 25-38.
[600] Talbot 1809, 38.
[601] Talbot 1809, 38-59.
[602] Palmer 1977, 165.
[603] Roud, Bishop 2014, 5.
[604] For more details on the life of Mary Anne Talbot see her autobiography *The Life and Surprising Adventures of Mary Anne Talbot* and J. Wheelwright's *Amazons and Military Maids* (1989, 46-48).
[605] Palmer 1977, 163.
[606] Palmer 1977, 164.
[607] Palmer 1977, 164.

duke is short of men before the French are slain,/ So boldly I will march to fight for him again."[608] She is never discovered by the men, of whom she amusedly remarks:

> "And every night to my quarters when I came,
> I was no ways ashamed to lie with a man;
> In pulling off my breeches to myself I often smiled,
> To think I lie with a man and a maiden all the while."[609]

The triumph of the maiden over the men, who do not recognise her, which frees her from their power, is not ended by men, who are completely unaware of any deception, but by another woman,[610] and it is again the question of sexuality and possible homosexuality that provides the turning point of the song:

> "They sent me to London to keep guard at the Tower,
> Where I might have been a maid unto this very hour.
> A young girl fell in love with me, I told her I was a maid,
> And she to my officers the secret conveyed."[611]

Her life as a man is finally no state of things that can remain, but the song is completely free of any critique or censure of her actions. After she is discovered, she returns home, is rewarded and marries. She then teaches her husband to take over her duties: "Now I've got a husband and a drummer he became;/ I have learnt him to beat upon the drum-a-dum-dum-dum."[612]

While the depiction of the female drummer is entirely positive in the song, women often play the role of trickster in other ballads. Mary Ambree, who reveals her female identity when she is about to lose a battle, is an example.[613] The women switch easily from female to male identity and back. War is a carnival in the female warrior ballads. Social norms are temporarily suspended in wartime, and the female warriors can become heroes with very male characteristics. But with returning home this is no longer accepted and they have to fulfil social expectations, which usually means marriage.

5.2.4 'I Wish the Wars Were All Over' – Gender, Lament and Social Complaint

Political songs that criticise war have already been discussed in part 5.1, but Jensen claims that direct criticism of events and persons is less likely to be found in songs sung by people of the lower classes of society: "More vernacular compositions, even when engaging with the

[608] Palmer 1977, 164.
[609] Palmer 1977, 164.
[610] Palmer 1977, 164.
[611] Palmer 1977, 164.
[612] Palmer 1977, 164.
[613] Dugaw 1996, 40.

specifics of the Wars, are by contrast remarkable for their neglect of great men and the minutiae of dates and place names, focusing instead on the plight of ordinary men and women."[614] I would argue that, especially where war is concerned, a woman's voice was often used to lament and criticise events. Songs that oppose war are disproportionately often told in a woman's voice. Of the ten broadsides in the Bodleian Libraries that deal with press-gangs and can be dated to the period between 1750 and 1800, eight refer to a woman in the first line.[615] Compared to that, Ganev's analysis of protest songs that deal with agricultural labour, class relations and enclosure aren't that female-centred but provide male and female points of view.[616] When in serious songs about war a man is the speaker, it usually is a disillusioned soldier, who either has already fought and thus proven his valour or is a new recruit who objects not to war but to the rules and customs of the army.[617] Songs, where this isn't the case, are almost exclusively comic songs.[618]

A great number of songs about war are told by women.[619] They may have been written by men as well as women but employ a female perspective to discuss war.[620] Songs narrated from a woman's point of view often lament war. This of course fits the usual pattern, that war is male and cannot be understood by women. Yet these songs often were written by men. I would suggest that a female narrator offers the chance to criticise practices in a way that, were the narrator male, would discredit him as acting cowardly or dishonourably. Concepts of masculinity play an important part here. Virtues, like valour or honour, form part of a hegemonial masculinity that determines what is acceptable for a man to do or say.[621] The performative effect of a song is different if the speaker in the song is a woman. If a man laments or protests war, the message the listener receives may not be that the speaker is critical of war but that he fears for his own life, because he doesn't conform to this hegemonial masculinity. For that reason, the listener may not accept the rational or moral arguments presented to him or her, because the message he or she receives is that the speaker is too much of a coward to fight. When a woman is the narrator in a song, it is easier to present criticism. For one thing she can't be accused of self-interest, but only of concern for people close to her, so the message

[614] Jensen 2015, 96.
[615] http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/themes/Press-gangs/?query=&d=1750, 17/01/2019.
[616] Ganev 2009, 42-99.
[617] An example is *Beaumont's Light Horse* in Bell's *Rhymes of the Northern Bards*. (Bell 1812, 85).
[618] Examples are *Bob Cranky's Adieu* (Bell 1812, 31-32) and *O No, My Love, No* (Bell 1812, 33), which will be discussed later.
[619] Jensen 2015, 142.
[620] Jensen 2015, 144-145. Jensen points out that John Bell's manuscript collection contained numerous songs lamenting and protesting against the press-gang, but that the only one Bell published was one where the writer – Henry Robson – was known. Jensen suggests that Bell discriminated by gender or class and that some of the other writers might have been women or men using a female character for their songs. (Jensen 2015, 144-145).
[621] Meuser 2016, 220-221.

will be different. At the same time her arguments can be more easily discarded, because politics were at the time very much a male domain. The context and the speaker change the message.

This can be illustrated by a ballad from early in the Napoleonic Wars called *The Death of Parker*. There was considerable discontent in the navy at the end of the eighteenth century.[622] Besides the press-gangs some of the main grounds for complaint were "the badness of the provisions and the cheats of the purser"[623]. Further reasons for protest were delayed pay and the severe discipline in the navy. In 1797, there were two mutinies, one in the Channel Fleet at Spithead and one in the North Sea Squadron at the Nore. The mutineers at Spithead were relatively successful, and many of their demands were met. When the mutiny at the Nore continued after the settlement at Spithead, the leader, Richard Parker, and 28 of the mutineers were hanged and several others flogged round the fleet.[624] The ballad *The Death of Parker* deals with the outcome of the mutiny.

> "Ye gods above, protect a widow! And with pity look on me
> Help, O help me out of trouble, out of sad calamity!
> It was by the death of Parker fortune prov'd to me unkind;
> And though hung for mutiny, worse than he were left behind."[625]

By making Richard Parker's widow the narrator of the song, it becomes possible to criticise the navy, because naturally a widow will mourn for her husband, and this lends legitimacy to her complaints against the navy and her claims that "worse than he were left behind"[626]. She laments that she did not even receive permission to see him again before his death: "Again I ask'd, again I tried them – three times o'er and o'er, in vain"[627]. Not even her husband's body is released to her, but she is forced to steal it in the night.[628] The song invariably moves the listener to pity for the widow and subsequently to understanding and sympathy for the mutineers. Not the mutineers but the navy and its arbitrary cruelty bear the blame in the song.

While women are allowed to lament war, often quite explicitly, men are still eulogised as heroes in most songs, so that laments often don't imply protest against the war in general. The songs thus aren't necessarily anti-war but speak to a certain sentimentality in the listeners. This could be very opportunistic, as soldiers' widows sometimes became street-singers out of

[622] R. Palmer: *A Ballad History of England. From 1588 to the Present Day*. London: B. T. Batsford 1979, 82.
[623] Palmer 1979, 82.
[624] Palmer 1979, 82-83.
[625] Palmer 1979, 82.
[626] Palmer 1979, 82.
[627] Palmer 1979, 82.
[628] Palmer 1979, 82.

poverty, the same way many veterans did.[629] A good example for a sentimental but unpolitical song is *The Blue Bells of Scotland*, written by Anne Grant of Laggan, which was popular on the continent as well as in Scotland[630] and is still well-known today. The ballad tells of a young soldier going to fight in either the French Revolutionary or the Napoleonic Wars. The version quoted here was printed on a broadside, now kept in the National Library of Scotland, between 1800 and 1815:[631]

> "O where, and oh, where is my highland laddie gone,
> He's gone to fight the French, for king George upon the throne,
> And it's oh in my heart I wish him safe at home.
> […]
> Suppose and suppose that your Highland lad should die
> The bagpipes shall play over him and I'd sit me down to cry,
> And it's oh in my heart I wish he may not die."[632]

The events in another song, *The Soldier's Death*, can be dated to the Napoleonic Wars. The ballad is probably from the same period, since the specific battles and characters mentioned are unlikely topics for a song written after the war, when Waterloo overshadowed all. It was published in a book of Scottish songs in 1821, and this version is quoted here: [633]

> "Now lanely I sit 'neath the green spreading willow,
> The loss o' my Johnny in tears to deplore:
> Loud blows the wind o'er the white foaming billow;
> But the wild howling storm can awake him no more!
> Bravely he fought on the hills of Vimiera,
> Was doom'd at Corunna, with Moore, to lie low;
> But bravely he fell, his brave comrades declare a',
> While fearless he press'd on the ranks of the foe."[634]

The song begins with a typical folk song opening, which already establishes it as a mourning song. Natural metaphors are employed to create a desolate scene. While the willow is "green", it is also "spreading" like a corpse on a battlefield. The willow itself is a symbol of sadness. The theme is repeated in the second stanza, where the parting of the lovers happens near a "bare naked tree". The wind is also a recurring theme. In the first stanza it blows "loud […] o'er the white foaming billow" and there is a "howling storm". The stormy scene is mirrored in the second stanza, which describes the lovers' happier past.[635] The death of Johnny is al-

[629] Jensen 2015, 30.
[630] Perry 2008, 90.
[631] National Library of Scotland: L.C.Fol.178.A.2(083), 1800-1815.
[632] National Library of Scotland: L.C.Fol.178.A.2(083), 1800-1815.
[633] J. Struteers: *The Harp of Caledonia. A Collection of Songs, Ancient and Modern, (Chiefly Scottish.)* With an Essay on Scottish Song Writers. Glasgow: Printed by Khull, Blackie & Co. for Archibald Fullarton, & Co. Edinburgh, 145-146; cf. Palmer 1977, 248.
[634] Struteers 1821, 145.
[635] Struteers 1821, 145.

ready foreshadowed at the time of the parting of the lovers. The natural metaphors are linked to the feelings of the narrator. In that respect the song is close to romantic poetry. While his lover mourns for him, Johnny is eulogised and compared to Moore. Johnny's death is lamented, but there is no critique of war:[636]

> "Pale glides his ghost on the hills of Corunna:
> Fancy, O waft the dear shade to my view!
> Fearless, alone I'd converse wi' my view!
> Fearless, alone I'd converse wi' my Johnnie,
> Nor tremble to meet him beside the lone yew.
> Down by yon hawthorn, so lately in blossom,
> That drooping and wither'd now seems in decay,
> There aft was I prest to that dear manly bosom,
> That, sairly lamented, lies cauld in the clay."[637]

There are several laments that explicitly express an anti-war stance. Some versions of *The Bonny Light Horseman* have the woman wishing only "to die on the field where my true love was slain"[638]. The song was widespread in broadside publications. The Bodleian Libraries alone collect fourteen broadside versions, but none of these can be dated exactly.[639] Moylan describes the song as widespread in many parts of Ireland but English in origin.[640] It is usually considered an anti-war song, especially because of the refrain. In a London broadside printed between 1802 and 1819 it is: "Broken-hearted I wander, broken-hearted I wander,/ My bonny light-horseman is slain in the war."[641] It is never clearly stated in the song that war is opposed to or should be abolished, but the theme of sadness that permeates the song is very clear, and compared to the songs quoted above, there is very little mention of typical patriotic themes. It is pointed out that "when mounted on horse he so gay did appear,/ And by all his regiment respected he were"[642]. The concept of honour that is so typical of many war songs is here twisted into something quite different, because the only time it appears in the song is in the last stanza of some versions, when the soldier's lover states that "I would count it an honour if I could obtain/ For to die in the field where my darling was slain"[643].

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[636] Jensen 2015, 96-97.
[637] Struteers 1821, 145-146.
[638] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 25(260), W. Armstrong, Liverpool, 1820-1824. This version and some others are also a female warrior narrative: "I shall dress in men's apparel, to the regiment I will go/I will be a true subject and fight all his foes,/ I would count it an honor if I could obtain,/ For to die in the field where my darling was slain."
[639] http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/roud/1185, 17/01/2019.
[640] T. Moylan: *The Age of Revolution in the Irish Song Tradition. 1776 to 1815.* Dublin: The Lilliput Press 2000, 139.
[641] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 25(1107), J. Pitts, London, 1802-1819.
[642] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 25(1107), J. Pitts, London, 1802-1819.
[643] Bodleian Broadsides: Harding B 25(260), W. Armstrong, Liverpool, 1820-1824.

I Wish The Wars Were All Over, which has already been mentioned above, also speaks out against war in the refrain: "And I wish that the wars were all over,/Crying, O! that the wars were all over."[644] The repetition of the lines throughout the song emphasises this message, especially since the song itself is very sad with Polly claiming: "I ne'er shall be happy till Billy I see."[645]

High Germany is even more explicit in condemning all war, though the reason the narrator gives is mainly that she fears for her lover, which is not so different from the previous examples.[646] *High Germany* was published in various broadsides around the time of the Napoleonic Wars. Its origin is from sometime in the eighteenth century, probably the Seven Years' War, because there wasn't any occasion for British soldiers to fight in high – that is southern – Germany later, but the broadsides I found date from the first half of the nineteenth century. The song tells of a soldier, who tries to convince his lover to accompany him to the wars in Germany. She refuses because "My feet they are sore I cannot march away,/ Besides my dearest Billy I am with child by thee/ Not fitting for the wars in High Germany"[647]. Especially the last stanza is quite outspoken against war in general:

> "Woe be to the wars that ever they began,
> For they have prest my Billy & many a clever man
> For they have prest my Billy no more I shall him see
> And so cold will be his grave in High Germany."[648]

Anderson's *Jenny's Complaint*, which I will discuss at length in the context of recruiting songs, makes a rather different and moral argument against war in general. The narrator wishes her lover had "better geane to the gallows"[649] than become a soldier and also would rather die than continue to live with Jemmy so changed:[650]

> "What can I de? I nought can de,
> But whinge and think about him:
> For three lang years he follow'd me,
> Now I mun live widout him?
> Brek heart, at yence, and then it's owre!
> Life's nought widout yen's dearie.
> I'll suin lig in my cauld, cauld grave,
> For, oh! Of live I'm weary!"[651]

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[644] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 302, J. Davenport, London 1799-1800.
[645] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 302, J. Davenport, London 1799-1800.
[646] Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 302, J. Davenport, London 1799-1800.
[647] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1536), J. Catnach, London 1813-1838.
[648] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1536), J. Catnach, London 1813-1838.
[649] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49.
[650] Anderson 1834 (1808), 50.
[651] Anderson 1834 (1808), 50.

Given Anderson's political inclination, the song was certainly intended as an anti-war song. The critique of war his song makes is a moral one. It is not fear for Jemmy's life that makes his lover so desperate that neither his nor her own life matter to her anymore, but the fact that he has become a soldier as such, as well as the change in his character: "It's war than deeth to hear him"[652] and "he jeybes and cracks his jwokes"[653]. It is this that his lover finds unbearable.[654]

While a great majority of laments are told from a woman's perspective, there are examples told from a male point of view, like the sailors' song *Poll of Plymouth*. The song tells about a young man being pressed into the navy, but it is quite different from the songs I have discussed until now, because it was originally written for John O'Keefe's 1782 play *The Positive Man* and then continued to be reprinted in chapbooks, songsters and broadsides. The narrator of the song is pressed into the navy, and his lover Polly grieves over his leaving her. When his ship returns to England, he tries to convince the press gang to allow him to visit her, but they refuse, and Polly dies from grief.[655]

> "The press gang bold I ask'd in vain
> To let me once on shore
> I long'd to see my Poll again
> But saw my Poll no more.
>
> And have they torn my love away
> And is he gone, she cry'd
> My Polly sweetest flower of May
> Then languish'd, droop'd and died."[656]

We know many songs, where women object to and lament war, but we may remember a disproportionate number of these songs because of more recent history. Many of the folk songs that are still popular today have been republished, rewritten or written during the second British Folk Revival (1945-1969). Folksong was very political especially during the 1960s, and this is also reflected in the published song books. Buchan's *101 Scottish Songs*, for example, is still in print and most songs popular among Scottish folk singers can be found in there.[657] But if one goes back to the broadsides, sentimental laments are probably still in the majority.

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[652] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49.
[653] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49.
[654] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49-50.
[655] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 28(46), R. and W. Dean and Co., Manchester, c.1805. There is an older broadside version printed in 1786 in the Bodleian Libraries (Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12[208], C. Sheppard, London, 1786), but the bottom of the sheet is unreadable, so I have quoted the later one. The text of both broadsides is almost identical.
[656] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 28(46), R. and W. Dean and Co., Manchester, c.1805.
[657] N. Buchan (ed.): *101 Scottish Songs. The Wee Red Book*. 2nd edition. Glasgow, London: Collins 2016 (1962).

There are other kinds of songs, though. John Shields' *O No, My Love, No* is published in John Bell's *Rhymes of the Northern Bards* accompanied by a second song *Delia's Answer*, which is a response to *O No, My Love, No*.[658] *O No, My Love, No*, written by John Shields, emphasises the soldier's duty to his family and lover rather than his country. It again uses a familiar tune – in this case a sentimental London stage tune – and parodies it:[659]

> "Though I wear not a red coat, my honour's untainted, –
> To Coventry ne'er was I fated to go;
> But, whilst with the plan of removal acquainted,
> Can I, cruel, desert thee? O no, my love no."[660]

The two songs share many lines and are parallel in structure, but they reach opposite conclusions. *Delia's Answer* interprets Colin's behaviour like this:

> "WHILST the dread voice of war thro' our island rebellows,
> And aspects terrific proud Frenchmen still show,
> Do you think, O my Colin! to join our brave fellows
> I e'er would forbid you? O no, my love, no."[661]

The narrator of *O No, My Love, No* sees it as his duty to stay at home and to take care of his lover instead of joining the volunteers and fighting for his country. Desertion in *O No, My Love, No* applies not to the military but to Delia.[662] *Delia's Answer* on the other hand praises the "brave fellows"[663] that volunteer. And like them, Delia is ready to make sacrifices for her country:[664]

> "At the dawn of the day, my bed cheerly forsaking,
> I'd scamper thro' bogs, or where prickly whins grow;
> On a view of your martial manoeuvres partaking,
> I vow ne'er to leave you: O no, my love, no."[665]

Delia's Answer suggests that his arguments are just an excuse and that he acts out of cowardice:

> "What means then, my Colin! that cold sweat appearing?
> Why, why should your brow such timidity show?
> And where are those glances so cold and uncheering?
> Shall I think you a poltroon? O no, my love, no."[666]

[658] Bell 1812, 33-34.
[659] Jensen 2015, 72.
[660] Bell 1812, 33.
[661] Bell 1812, 33.
[662] Jensen 2015, 72.
[663] Bell 1812, 33.
[664] Bell 1812, 34.
[665] Bell 1812, 34.
[666] Bell 1812, 34.

The song also questions whether Colin can keep his honour intact without volunteering, demanding he "wear a red coat, while your honour's untainted"[667].

Delia's Answer ridicules the entire situation, because Colin doesn't really go to war in the way soldiers in other songs do. The question in both *O No, My Love, No* and *Delia's Answer* is simply whether he should go to the nearby volunteer camp to enlist and be trained to fight, should a French invasion occur.[668] We don't know when exactly both songs were written; at the time Bell's book was published, the war was by no means over, but a French invasion in the north of England or in Scotland was very unlikely. Both Colin and Delia are playing at war, it's not the real thing. Delia talks about bravery, but she is mainly interested in "a view of your martial manoeuvres"[669] and that he will be "[a]rray'd in full splendour, your arms brightly shining"[670]. Patriotism has very little place in the song, which mocks Colin but on a secondary level mocks Delia as well:

> "Array'd in full splendour, your arms brightly shining,
> On guard or on picquet, when proudly you go,
> Or on permanent duty, do you think that, repining,
> I'd sighing reprove you? O no, my love, no,"[671]

5.3 Soldiers and Sailors – Military Masculinity in Songs and Music

5.3.1 'Come now Brave Boys, We're on for Marching' – Music and Song in Army and Navy

The following chapter is based to a lesser extent on broadsides and more on soldiers' writings. The broadsides are unable to present a picture of what was sung in the army, as they were aimed at the people back home. Therefore, this chapter is very much indebted to Lewis Winstock's *Songs & Music of the Redcoats* and Roy Palmer's *The Rambling Soldier*. Both books explore songs sung by the soldiers themselves in connection with texts written by soldiers. We know more about army music in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars than in any previous period, because the number of educated men in the ranks, who were able to record their experiences in writing, was higher than ever before.[672] Winstock argues that the conflict with France "became a life-or-death struggle for Britain"[673] and that subsequently the "ideological impulses […] leavened the usual rag-tag of the ranks with a core of intelligent, lettered men,

[667] Bell 1812, 34.
[668] Bell 1812, 33-34.
[669] Bell 1812, 34.
[670] Bell 1812, 34.
[671] Bell 1812, 34.
[672] Winstock 1970, 88-89.
[673] Winstock 1970, 88.

who had enlisted because they felt a strong obligation – to defend their country"[674]. Because of this, there are a lot of memoirs by soldiers in the ranks as well as by officers.[675]

Broadsides are relevant in a discussion of army songs mainly because they were used to motivate men to enlist. That songs and the fife and drums induced many a recruit to join the ranks was not a new development. There are a number of memoirs from the eighteenth century which list music as the main reason for enlisting, and this continued during the Revolutionary Wars.[676] Winstock quotes a soldier who writes that upon hearing a military band for the first time "[e]nthusiasm seized me and I felt as if the soldier's life was the only station for which nature had designed me"[677]. I will say more about recruiting songs in part 5.3.2. Unlike in the army, where conscription was only introduced in 1916, recruiting for the navy was possible by coercion, but the percentage of men pressed into service is disputed among historians with numbers given varying from 16 to 75 percent. Davey argues for a rather low number and that, similar to the army, songs played an important part in motivating men to enlist.[678]

During a military campaign music had several functions. As with army music in general, not only songs were relevant here but also instrumental music. During the Peninsular War with its many long marches quicksteps played during the march were particularly important to keep up spirits.[679] There is a report that *St. Patrick's Day* was played during the march into Thomar in Portugal in 1811 and enlivened "the most tired and dejected"[680]. The fife and drums and regimental bands also played during parades. *God Save The King* was a common choice, but music was not reserved for triumph and also played on many other occasions.[681] *The Roast-beef of Old England* was usually played at the time of the officers' dinner,[682] *The Dead March in Saul* was played for military executions, and miscreants were drummed from camp with *The Rogues March*[683]. *The Rogues March* is first found in Rutherfoord's *Compleat Tutor for the Fife*, published about 1750,[684] and lyrics were written to it by the soldiers. There were several versions, usually containing boasts about the number of lashes one had received.[685]

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[674] Winstock 1970, 88.
[675] Winstock 1970, 89.
[676] Winstock 1970, 90-91.
[677] Winstock 1970, 90.
[678] J. Davey: Singing for the Nation: Balladry, naval recruitment and the language of patriotism in eighteenth-century Britain. In: The Mariner's Mirror, 103:1, 2017, 43-44.
[679] Winstock 1970, 93-94.
[680] Winstock 1970, 94.
[681] Winstock 1970, 90-95.
[682] Winstock 1970, 268-269.
[683] Winstock 1970, 94-95.
[684] N. Nourse: Australia's First (British) Musical Import: The 'Rogue's March'. In: F. Huss (ed.): CHOMBEC News. Centre for the History of Music in Britain, the Empire and the Commonwealth. University of Bristol. No. 13, Summer 2012, 1.
[685] Winstock 1970, 97.

The loyalty soldiers felt to their regiment was usually greater than their loyalty or attachment to the army in general. The colours of the regiment had huge significance and so had its music.[686] Certain regiments and special departments of the army had their own songs. The grenadiers, for example, had several songs. One of them, *The British Grenadiers*, is played as a march in the British army until today.[687]

The bagpipes often played tunes associated with Jacobite history. *Hey Johnny Cope*, which was originally a not very factual satire on General John Cope and his actions during the battle of Prestonpans in 1745, is still used as a regimental march in the British army.[688] It was played by the pipes on several occasions during the Napoleonic Wars.[689] During the battle of Maya in 1813 the pipes played *Gathering of the Cameron* and *The Haughs of Cromdale*.[690] At the storming of Badajoz the piper of the 74th Regiment played *The Campbells Are Coming*.[691]

Whether these tunes were limited to the bagpipes or also sung is hard to tell from the sources. There are several reports of pipers playing during battle as well as on other occasions, but it is unclear whether bands played in battle. There are few certain accounts of it. Usually bandsmen acted as medical orderlies during battle, sometimes they were expected to actively join in the fight. A band led the 43rd regiment during the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo in 1812, but this was noted as extraordinary. There is also a report that in the battle of Talavera the 48th advanced with their band playing, but Winstock notes that the same report claims that even the bandsmen had been ordered to fight in the ranks during the battle, which seems inconsistent with the previous statement. There are more reports of bands playing during battle, but at the same time contemporary reports firmly dismiss the idea of a battle accompanied by music. More often bands played immediately before the battle.[692] Before the advance against Badajoz, the band of the 88th Connaught Rangers played "haunting Irish melodies"[693] and the song *Savourneen deelish*,[694] also known as *Ileen Oge* in a broadside publication[695]. The song tells of a soldier forced to leave his love to go to war, who, when he returned, found she had died in his absence.[696] The last stanza goes as follows:

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[686] Herbert, Barlow 2013, 219.
[687] Winstock 1970, 26-33.
[688] Winstock 1970, 45-46.
[689] Winstock 1970, 135-140.
[690] Winstock 1970, 139.
[691] Winstock 1970, 138.
[692] Winstock 1970, 97-102.
[693] Winstock 1970, 98.
[694] Winstock 1970, 98-101.
[695] British Library: Roxburghe Collection EBBA 31307, Davenport, London, 1790-1808.
[696] British Library: Roxburghe Collection EBBA 31307, Davenport, London, 1790-1808; cf. Winstock 1970, 99-101.

"Long have I fought for my country, far, far from my true love,
Ah Vurneen delish ileen oge,
All my pay and arrears I hoarded up for you love,
Ah Vurneen delish ileen oge.
But peace was proclaimd, I escape from the slaughter
Landed at home, my sweet girl, I sought her,
But sorrow, alas! to her cold grave had brought her,
Ah Vurneen delish ileen oge." [697]

Apparently, similarly sentimental songs were a great favourite among soldiers in the British army, especially among the Scots.[698]

There are several accounts by soldiers of their experiences in the Napoleonic wars, but not all of them have very much to say about music. Thomas Pococke's *Journal of a Soldier of the 71st or Glasgow Regiment, Highland Light Infantry, from 1806 to 1815*, is invaluable as a source, since it mentions not only music in general but also specific tunes and songs and the situations in which they were played.[699] He describes an experience in 1811, shortly before the battle of Badajoz:

> "One evening, as I lay in the wood, thinking upon home, sweeter than all the surrounding sweets, almost overcome by my sensations, I heard, at a small distance, music. I listened some time ere I could be satisfied it was so. It ceased all at once; then began sweeter than before. I arose, and approached nearer, to avoid the noise of a small burn that ran rippling where I had been reclining. I soon knew the air; I crept nearer, and could distinguish the words; I became rivetted to the spot: That moment compensated me for all I had suffered in Spain. I felt that pleasure which softens the heart, and overflows at the eyes. The words first struck my ear, were,
>
> 'Why did I leave my Jeanie, my daddy's cot, an' a',
> To wander from my country, sweet Caledonia.'
>
> I looked through the underwood and saw four or five soldiers seated on the turf, who sung in their turn, Scotland's sweetest songs of remembrance."[700]

Pococke's book begins by describing his childhood and youth. Though his family is not rich he receives a good education, but, because he wants to become an actor, he quarrels with his parents. He spontaneously decides to enlist in the 71st regiment and then thinks that the seven years' service are a good method of doing penance and of sending money to his family. He later finds out that has to serve nine, being only sixteen when he enlists. The seven years are counted from his eighteenth birthday. After some training his regiment is shipped to South America, and he stays for a while in Monte Video, fighting in Argentina against the Span-

[697] British Library: Roxburghe Collection EBBA 31307, Davenport, London, 1790-1808; cf. Winstock 1970, 99-101.
[698] Winstock 1970, 111-112.
[699] Pococke 1819.
[700] Pococke 1819, 143-144.

ish.[701] He describes music and song on several occasions. When General Whitelocke is defeated in Buenos Aires in 1807, his friend Donald M'Donald considers staying in Argentina, since as a catholic he feels very much at home there. But when Pococke, trying to dissuade him, sings *Lochaber No More*, he changes his mind:[702] "Donald was still wavering, yet most inclined to stay. I sung to him, 'Lochaber no more!' the tears started into his eyes – he dashed them off – 'Na, na! I canna stay, I'd maybe *return to Lochaber nae mair*.'"[703]

Lochaber No More is a bagpipe tune that might be either Irish or Scottish in origin. Allan Ramsay wrote lyrics to it in the first half of the eighteenth century and published it first as a broadside[704] and then in his 1727 *Tea-Table Miscellany*[705]. The song appears in various songbooks throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, among them William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* of 1733[706] and Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* published in 1776[707]. The song was apparently widespread in both England and Scotland, in books as well as broadsides.[708] The Roud Folksong Index lists versions from Edinburgh, Newcastle, London and Durham among others.[709] The oldest broadside version I have found was published approximately 1723 under the title *A New Song* and is almost identical with the text in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*.[710] The story of *Lochaber No More* is similar to *Savourneen deelish* in that it is a story of a soldier leaving his lover to go to war, though without the sad ending.[711] The first two stanzas go like this:

> "FAREWELL to *Lochaber*, and farewell my *Jean*,
> Where heartsome with thee I've mony a day been;
> For *Lochaber* no more, *Lochaber* no more,
> We'll may be return to *Lochaber* no more.
> These tears that I shed, they are a' for my dear,
> And no for the dangers attending on weir,
> Tho' bore on rough seas to a far bloody shore.
> Maybe to return to *Lochaber* no more.
>
> Tho' hurrycanes rise, and rise every wind,

[701] Pococke 1819, 1-46.
[702] Pococke 1819, 45.
[703] Pococke 1819, 45.
[704] National Library of Scotland: Ry.III.a.10(046), 1723.
[705] Ramsay 1740 (1727), 110-111.
[706] W. Thomson: *Orpheus Caledonius: Or, A Collection of Scots Songs*. Set to Musick by W. Thomson. Vol. II. London 1733, 50-51.
[707] Herd, Paton, Gilpin 1776, 256.
[708] Examples for broadsides from the second half of the nineteenth century are *Farewell to Lochaber*: Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 20(53), Harkness, J., Preston, 1840-1866 and *Donald's Farewell to Lochaber*: National Library of Scotland: L.C.Fol.178.A.2(122), 1860-1890.
[709] Roud Folksong Index at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: https://www.vwml.org/search?q=Lochaber%20No%20More&collectionfilter=RoudFS;RoudBS&is=1, 15/01/2019.
[710] National Library of Scotland: Ry.III.a.10(046), 1723.
[711] Ramsay 1740 (1727), 110-111.

They'll ne'er make a tempest like that in my mind.
Tho' loudest of Thunder on louder waves roar,
That's naething like leaving my love on the shore;
To leave thee behind me, my heart is fair pain'd,
By ease that's inglorious, no fame can be gain'd.
And beauty and love's the reward of the brave,
And I must deserve it before I can crave."[712]

The first stanza of the song creates an atmosphere of longing for a home and a past that seems irretrievably lost: *Lochaber No More* is repeated in every stanza of the song. The home and the girl that the soldier had to leave behind are linked, one goes with the other: Lochaber is not only home, it also means being with Jean. At the same time Jean is firmly locked within Lochaber as a place and an idea. She has no existence outside of it. She is only there in the nostalgic memory of the soldier, in his farewell, and in his hope for return in the last stanza. Nothing apparently happens to her in the interim, which is a significant difference to *Savourneen deelish*, which emphasises the passing of time and the changes during the soldier's absence. Jean is part of what Lochaber means. While the speaker claims to shed tears only "for my dear"[713], at the end of the stanza it is again Lochaber that cannot be returned to. The song stresses that it is not cowardice that motivates the homesickness and nostalgia, but the lament of one who does not shed tears "for the dangers attending on weir"[714], who is a brave soldier, and thus emphasises the deep connection to Lochaber and to Jean even more.[715] The song affirms a certain ideal of masculinity that is defined by honour, bravery and hard work, by glory to be won.[716] It also touches a theme that has already been discussed in the context of Shield's *O No, My Love, No*, namely the question whether the duty to one's lover and family or the duty towards one's king and country is the priority.[717] The answer in *Lochaber No More* is quite clear. To be worthy of one's lover means to live up to this ideal of manhood. Thus, going to war and winning honour and glory equals being able to marry and take care of Jean, which would not be possible otherwise, because "[w]ithout it I ne'er can have merit for thee"[718], as the last stanza of the song puts it:

"Then glory my *Jeany*, maun plead my excuse,
Since honour commands me, how can I refuse?
Without I ne'er can have merit for thee,
And without thy favour I'd better not be.
I gae then, my lass to win honour and fame,

[712] Ramsay 1740 (1727), 110.
[713] Ramsay 1740 (1727), 110.
[714] Ramsay 1740 (1727), 110.
[715] Ramsay 1740 (1727), 110-111.
[716] Cf. Meuser 2016, 220-221.
[717] Jensen 2015, 94-95.
[718] Ramsay 1740 (1727), 110.

> And if I should luck to come gloriously hame,
> I'll bring a heart to thee with love running o'er,
> And then I'll leave thee and *Lochaber* no more."[719]

After returning from Argentina and a short stay in Ireland and England, Pococke's regiment is sent to the war in the Iberian Peninsula in September 1810. This is the main focus of his narrative. His story pays particular attention to his own experiences. He describes the hardships and long marches in more detail than the battles, and it seems that the war in Spain and Portugal was mostly characterised by hard marches, few supplies, unsuitable equipment and bad weather. When he speaks about battles, he concentrates on what happens to himself.[720] He writes in detail about the people he meets and their customs, usually comparing them with his native Scotland. This includes music and dancing. He recounts how the soldiers used to amuse themselves with singing and that bands played, so they could dance.[721] He also describes the music and dancing of the people in Spain:

> "The peasants used to dance to the sound of their rattles, consisting of two pieces of hard wood, which they held between their fingers, and by shaking their hands, kept time, in the same manner as the boys in Edinburgh and other parts, play what they call '*cockledum ditt*'. They call them *castanetts*. They have one dance which I never saw in any other place: they call it the *fandango*…"[722]

Pococke even describes scenes where the French and the British, having just fought each other, made music and danced together:

> "As soon as the wounded were all got in […] the French brought down a number of bands of music to a level piece of ground, about ninety or a hundred yards broad, that lay between us. They continued to play, until sunset; whilst the men were dancing, and diverting themselves with foot-ball."[723]

While music is part of many peaceful descriptions in his journal, it also plays a role in battle. In fact, Pococke's battlefield scenes are frequently concerned with music. He, for example, describes the piper playing *Hey Johnny Cope* and the band *The Downfall of Paris* before battles.[724]

Other authors were more impressed with the French music than interested in reporting their own. William Surtees tells in his *Twenty-Five Years in the Rifle-Brigade* of an experience happening shortly after he enlisted:

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[719] Ramsay 1740 (1727), 110-111.
[720] Pococke 1819, 46-172.
[721] Pococke 1819, 172-180.
[722] Pococke 1819, 176-177.
[723] Pococke 1819, 136.
[724] Pococke 1819, 147-152, 182.

> "I was suddenly aroused from my reverie by the beating of drums and sounding of trumpets and music, &c., all along the French line. I could not conjecture the cause of all this, for although it is customary to sound and beat the reveille at this hour, yet never having heard the French do before, I concluded something more than ordinary had occurred to cause them to do so on this occasion, and I need hardly inform my reader that I kept a good look-out, in order that they should not catch us napping."[725]

It turns out that there is an armistice, and he assumes the French troops were celebrating this.[726] Since Surtees mentions music very rarely in his narrative, the French music must have been impressive.

But let us come back to Pococke's journal: His regiment returns to Cork in June 1814, but he still has more than a year left to serve. His regiment is sent to America, but on the way, they receive orders to turn around and go to Belgium, where he fights in the battle of Waterloo.[727] When he returns from Waterloo and finally receives his discharge, it is again music that marks this event:

> "At length we marched to Flanders to winter quarters; and I got my discharge. I left my comrades with regret; but the service with joy. I came down to the coast to embark, with light steps and a joyful heart, singing, '*When wild war's deadly blast was blawn*.' I was as poor as poor could be; but I had hope before me, and pleasing dreams of home."[728]

The song he sings is *The sodger's return*, written by Robert Burns. It describes the end of a war – "When wild war's deadly blast was blawn,/And gentle peace returning,/ Wi' mony a sweet babe fatherless,/ and mony a widow mourning"[729] –, but quickly leaves this dreary scene and describes the soldier's return home, where he passes places he remembers from his childhood and youth and finally meets his lover. He disguises his voice to test, whether she has remained faithful to him, and she doesn't recognise him at first.[730] The lover returning home, disguising himself and not being recognised is a familiar story pattern that can be traced as far back as Homer's *Odyssey*.[731] In *The sodger's return* the lover has remained faithful:[732]

> "Sae wistfully, she gazed on me,
> And lovelier was than ever;
> Quo' she, a sodger ance I lo'ed,

[725] Surtees 1833, 30-31.
[726] Surtees 1833, 31.
[727] Pococke 1819, 213-228.
[728] Pococke 1819, 228.
[729] R. Burns: *Collected Poems of Robert Burns*. With an Introduction and Bibliography by Tim Burke. Ware: Wordsworth 2008, 395.
[730] Burns 2008, 395-396.
[731] Dugaw 1996, 8.
[732] Burns 2008, 396.

Forget him shall I never:
Our humble cot, and hamely fare,
Ye freely shall partake it;
That gallant badge – the dear cockade,
Ye're welcome for the sake o't."[733]

The woman then recognises him after all, and the soldier is rewarded not only by being able to marry the girl he loves but also with riches. The song ends with a moral on the value of soldiers to their country, emphasising values like glory and honour:[734]

"For gold the merchant ploughs the main,
The farmer ploughs the manor;
But glory is the sodger's prize;
The sodger's wealth is honour:
The brave poor sodger ne'er despise,
Nor count him as a stranger;
Remember he's his Country's stay
In day and hour o' danger."[735]

A similarly sentimental song that was popular during the Napoleonic Wars is *The Girl I Left Behind Me*.[736] It employs a natural imagery indebted to romanticism, with the landscape mirroring the emotions of the narrator:

"I'm lonesome since I crossed the hill,
And o'er the moor and valley,
Such grievous thoughts my heart do fill,
Since parting with my Sally.
I seek no more the fine or gay,
For each does but remind me,
How swift the hours did pass away,
With the girl I've left behind me."[737]

Winstock describes nostalgic songs like these as typical for soldiers' songs in the eighteenth century[738] but doesn't explain whether this changed significantly later.

In all the songs mentioned here war and gender are inextricably linked. Though they were sung by soldiers during campaigns, the war is in a way merely playground, testing ground for a specific type of masculinity. When the war is over, the real life begins – or is shattered into

[733] Burns 2008, 396.
[734] Burns 2008, 396-397.
[735] Burns 2008, 397.
[736] Winstock 1970, 67.
[737] Winstock 1970, 67. The song was popular during the Napoleonic Wars, but probably originated in the Seven Years' War. The second stanza contains a reference to Brighton Camp, which was built in 1758, but given up in 1759. (Winstock 1970, 67) It is also included in Mair's *The Black-Bird*. (Mair 2009 [1796], 54).
[738] Winstock 1970, 111-112.

pieces like in *Savourneen deelish* –, but the war is necessary to 'make a man' of the protagonist. In these songs, the military is indeed considered a school of the nation.[739]

In other songs, like *Over the Hills and Far Away*, which will be discussed further on, soldiering is an excuse to escape this real life.[740] Some songs deal more explicitly with the war itself and the battles, though the connection to a lover at home may still be present, like in the Irish song *Love Farewell*, especially popular with the 88th Connaught Rangers.[741]

> "Come now brave boys, we're on for marching,
> First for France and then for Holland,
> While cannons roar and men are dying,
> March, brave boys, there's no denying,
> Love, farewell!"[742]

There were many songs about famous battles. These songs often claim to have been written by persons who took part in these battles,[743] though it is doubtful whether this was true for the majority of the songs. But Winstock argues that, in all probability, it was true for at least some of the broadside ballads, because many soldiers wrote, and veterans sometimes tried to make a living by publishing narratives of their experiences.[744] Many of the songs have quite a simple metre and are easily mastered. Some of them were also sung in the army. The 15th Hussars remember Lord Paget's victory over the French in Sahagun in a ballad.[745] *Sahagun* describes the events of the battle, praising the 15th Hussars, who according to the song "never fear"[746]. The ballad claims that the English and Spanish forces defeated the French despite their superiority in numbers. It probably exaggerates this difference in numbers to a considerable degree.[747]

> "They formed themselves up, and the play it began,
> Thinking to dismay we brave Englishmen.
> But with glittering broadswords upon them we flew
> They went threes about, and away they did go."[748]

The French beg for mercy: "Have mercy, you English, or else we must die."[749] The contrast between their own English army and the French could not have been made much clearer. The

[739] Cf. Martschukat, Stieglitz, Albrecht 2016, 118.
[740] G. Farquahar: *The Recruiting Officer*. Project Gutenberg 2011 (1706), 25-31.
[741] Winstock 1970, 116-118.
[742] Winstock 1970, 117.
[743] Winstock 1970, ii.
[744] Winstock 1970, 89.
[745] Winstock 1970, 122-125.
[746] Winstock 1970, 124.
[747] Winstock 1970, 124-125.
[748] Winstock 1970, 124.
[749] Winstock 1970, 124.

English army is victorious with many French dead or taken prisoner. *Sahagun* ends with a praise for the commander Lord Paget and with a song:[750]

> "Here's a health to Lord Paget, and long may he live,
> Likewise Colonel Grant, and our officers brave.
> With a full flowing bowl, we'll drink, and we'll sing.
> Success to the 15th and God save the King."[751]

While the song is concerned with a battle, few details of the battle are actually described. In the eleven stanzas quoted by Winstock "eight of the French on a bridge we did take"[752], and it is mentioned that "with glittering broadswords upon them we flew"[753] and "[c]ut through the brave helmets"[754], but otherwise the battle action is hardly mentioned. The song is more concerned with praising the soldiers and their officers.

The Royal Irish Fusiliers also had a song about a battle of the Napoleonic Wars.[755] In the earliest version the song is known as *Barrosa plains*.[756] While in *Sahagun* the Spaniards are in the background, in *Barrosa plains* they betray the British and lead them into a French ambush.[757] Despite this the British manage to win, "put them in confusion and their eagle took away"[758]. This negative view of the Spanish isn't present in all accounts. Pococke sometimes speaks quite positively about the Spanish allies, calling them "a courageous people"[759], who "[u]nmindful of themselves […] braved a superior enemy to assist a friend who was unable to afford them further relief – whom they had no prospect of ever seeing again"[760].

Not all songs sung by soldiers during the Napoleonic Wars were concerned with the present war. The volunteers of Selkirk sang *Up wi' the souters of Selkirk*, a song about the battle of Flodden in 1513.[761] Jacobite songs in particular had a revival around the turn of the century.[762] Apart from traditional songs and songs written by themselves, soldiers also sang songs

[750] Winstock 1970, 124.
[751] Winstock 1970, 124.
[752] Winstock 1970, 124.
[753] Winstock 1970, 124.
[754] Winstock 1970, 124.
[755] Winstock 1970, 125.
[756] Winstock 1970, 125.
[757] Winstock 1970, 125-128.
[758] Winstock 1970, 127.
[759] Pococke 1819, 95.
[760] Pococke 1819, 96.
[761] Winstock 1970, 91; cf. J. Johnson: *The Scots Musical Museum*; *Consisting of Upwards of Six Hundred Songs, With Proper Basses for the Pianoforte. Originally Published by James Johnson; And now Accompanied with Copious Notes and Illustration of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland, by the late William Stenhouse. With some Additional Illustrations*. Vol. V. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons 1839 (1797), 390-391.
[762] Donaldson 1988, 91-94.

that were in fashion at home.[763] Especially the songs of Robert Burns, like the above quoted *The Sodger's Return*, were popular among soldiers.[764]

There are a lot of sailors' songs among the broadsides in the Bodleian libraries. If one searches the archive for the period between 1750 to 1800, the result includes 160 publications about sailors, more than on any other subject.[765] The most frequent topics after this are parliamentary elections with 89 broadsides about them and soldiers, about whom there are 69.[766] It is of course doubtful whether the majority of these songs were ever sung by sailors. Most of them fall in one of two categories. They are either loyalist songs, expressing pride in the navy, or romances. The broadsides are usually very positive about the navy.[767] For the same period (1750-1800) there are only ten songs in the archives that deal with the press gangs.[768] This supports Davey's claim that the press gangs were probably of less importance in recruiting for the navy than is often thought,[769] but Jensen's discussion of Newcastle shows that in some places they were a considerable concern[770].

To determine what songs were actually sung by sailors in the navy is even more difficult than the songs sung by soldiers. Most written reports are from officers, and it is likely that the songs sung in the wardroom by the commissioned officers were not identical with the songs sung before the mast. The debate on what kinds of songs where sung on ships is consequently based very much on assumptions. Cecil Sharp, for example, argued that soldiers and sailors would not sing the so-called national songs, but there is evidence that in certain situations those heroic, patriotic songs were sung on ships and in army camps as well as at home.[771] Robert Hay tells in his memoir *Landsman Hay* about his time in the navy in the years between 1803 and 1811. He mentions fiddlers and a band playing and dancing, and also discusses singing.[772] After a long voyage his ship strikes soundings in the English Channel and the crew respond with music:[773] "All our favourite national songs were chanted that day with great

[763] Palmer 1977, 5.
[764] Winstock 1970, 112-115.
[765] Bodleian Libraries: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/themes/Sailors/?query=&d=1750. 16/01/2019.
[766] Bodleian Libraries: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/?query=adv&d=1750, 16/01/2019.
[767] Bodleian Libraries: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/themes/Sailors/?query=&d=1750, 16/01/2019.
[768] Bodleian Libraries: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/themes/Press-gangs/?query=&d=1750, 16/01/2019.
[769] Davey 2017, 43-45.
[770] Jensen 2015, 137-142.
[771] Roud 2017, 460-464, Winstock 1970, 276-277.
[772] R. Hay: *Landsman Hay*. *The Memoirs of Robert Hay*. Edited with an introduction by Vincent McInerney. Barnsley: Seaworth Publishing 2010 (1953), 93.
[773] Hay 2010 (1953), 153-154.

humour. The one in which these two lines occur: 'Bear a hand be steady boys soon we'll see/Old England once again' was chorused and encored till the decks were made to ring."[774]

There are several reports that claim that lyrics to many sailors' songs were too obscene to be quoted, but when passengers were carried, the sailors were apparently under orders to avoid rough language, so there is hardly any record of this kind of song.[775] Because today we don't know these songs, the ballads that have been written down and that we know today may not be representative of the songs sailors actually sang. There are a lot of broadsides that feature sailors, but it is impossible to be sure if any of them were popular in the navy. The songs collected by Palmer are said by him to have been "expressly written to cater for the lower deck"[776], but that doesn't mean they were popular there. It is probable that some of them were, though, and the ambivalence Palmer detects in the songs he analyses, seems likely to appeal to people pressed into the navy but trying to make the best of it:[777]

> "The viewpoint expressed in the songs is curiously ambivalent. It is bitterly critical of conditions afloat, of the press gang, for instance, but exults in the skill and collective strength of the seamen and the victories they won for their country. Yet the facile patriotism – akin to that of composers like Charles Dibdin in the 'jolly Jack Tar' songs – is frequently tempered with a feeling, implicit or explicit, of revulsion; for all his bravery, the valiant sailor (in the song of the same name) wished himself at home 'all along with my Polly on the shore'."[778]

Palmer also analyses typical topics in songs that feature sailors and emphasises, how conventionalised they are, with even the names of the characters reoccurring in numerous songs: "Polly, Nancy, Jack: the names are not individual, nor are the emotions. Yet they are none the less strong: the anguish of separation, the fear of death, the yearning for home and, in some cases, the joy of return – these and other feelings are vividly conveyed."[779] The one song in Palmer's collection that was certainly sung on board of a ship is *All hail, brother seamen*. It formed part of a manuscript collection found, when the *Repulse* was retaken in 1797. The song begins by asking providence to watch over the "brave British tars"[780] and describes a rather subdued navy with "honest Jack [having been] so shamefully thrashed"[781]. But then Neptune arrives at the Nore and bids the sailors arise:[782]

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[774] Roud 2017, 465-466.
[775] Roud 2017, 478-479.
[776] Palmer 1973, 5.
[777] Palmer 1973, 5.
[778] Palmer 1973, 5.
[779] Palmer 1973, 5.
[780] Palmer 1973, 32.
[781] Palmer 1973, 32.
[782] Palmer 1973, 32.

> "Your brothers, says he, are all firmly resolved
> To banish all tyrants that long did uphold
> Their cruel intentions to scourge when they please:
> Such a set of base villains you must instantly seize."[783]

The song then praises the valour of the sailors, saying that "[t]heir hearts are all good, they're like lions"[784], and wishes for "[s]uccess to King George and his glorious fleet"[785].

5.3.2 'My Love Has Listed' – Recruiting and Anti-Recruiting Songs

George Farquahar's *The Recruiting Officer* was first performed in 1704, but recruiting parties were a common sight a hundred years later as well.[786] Farquahar's Sergeant Kite gives a quite good impression of what motivated soldiers to enlist in the British army, the army that Wellington would later claim was composed of the "scum of the earth"[787]:

> "If any gentlemen soldiers or others, have a mind to serve his majesty, and pull down the French king; if any 'prentices have severe masters, any children have undutiful parents; if any servants have too little wages, or any husband too much wife, let them repair to the noble Serjeant Kite, at the sign of the Raven, in this good town of Shrewsbury, and they shall receive present relief and entertainment. – [Drum.] – Gentlemen, I don't beat my drums here to insnare or inveigle any man; for you must know, gentlemen, that I am a man of honour: besides, I don't beat up for common soldiers; no, I list only grenadiers; grenadiers, gentlemen. – Pray, gentlemen, observe this cap – this is the cap of honour; it dubs a man a gentleman, in the drawing of a trigger; and he, that has the good fortune to be born six foot high, was born to be a great man – Sir, will you give me leave to try this cap upon your head?"[788]

While to serve the king is the first reason Sergeant Kite gives for joining the army, it is by no means the only one. Personal considerations play a major part. Poverty, difficulties in the family or ill-treatment at work are mentioned as well. This is probably a good representation of the reasons people had for joining the army. Patriotism or a thirst for adventure presumably played a part for some, but many enlisted because of poverty or to escape jail. The quotation also makes it clear that recruiting officers often inveigled men into enlisting, for example by making them drunk or by lending them some money, which was later interpreted as them taking the King's shilling.[789]

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[783] Palmer 1973, 32.
[784] Palmer 1973, 32.
[785] Palmer 1973, 32.
[786] Palmer 1977, 9-10.
[787] A. Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, quoted from R. Holmes: The Soldier's Trade In A Changing World. In: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/trail/wars_conflict/soldiers/soldier_trade_in_world_03.shtml, 24/03/2018.
[788] Farquahar 2011 (1706), 5.
[789] Holmes 2014.

The reputation of the army was notoriously bad and whoever turned soldier "was at once set down among the catalogue of persons who had turned out ill"[790]. Sergeant MacMulloch described it in the middle of the nineteenth century as the "*dernier ressort* of the idle, the depraved and the destitute"[791]. There was no conscription in Britain until 1916, though the *Recruitment Acts* made compulsory enlistment in the regular army temporarily possible in the eighteenth century, and recruitment for the militia was partly by ballot to fulfil each county's contingent.[792] But usually regiments had to convince men to join the army voluntarily, and music played a considerable part in this process. A recruiting party received a beating order from the commanding officer of their battalion and then 'beat up' a certain area.[793] The recruiting party praised their regiment in public houses and on the streets and tried to convince potential recruits with tales of honour and glory, of the impression a uniform supposedly made on women, as well as considerable amounts of alcohol.[794] The recruits were given the King's shilling and then had to see a doctor. If a recruit was passed fit, which most of them were, he received his bounty, which at the time of the Napoleonic Wars was £ 2.12s. 2 guineas were deducted for the knapsack, so the recruit was left with only 10s. The recruits were also issued clothing on enlistment.[795] They were mustered by a sergeant and then marched to the nearest depot, where they were allocated to their companies. The recruits were drilled two or three times a day for six or seven months. When the training was complete, they were considered fit for active service and received the pay of a trained soldier and the regimental headdress.[796]

Military bands motivated many recruits to enlist, and the recruiting sergeants often sang or played as well. In the 1890s, the popularity of the song *Fighting with the 7th Royal Fusiliers* allegedly led to such a number of new recruits that recruiting for the regiment had to be stopped for a year, while in other regiments recruits were scarce at the time.[797] When a lieutenant of the 31st brought Irish recruits to the regiment's base in Kent, he played Irish tunes on his flute to keep the recruits in good temper. Music played an important part in the raising of volunteer regiments as well, and each regiment usually had its own music. The songs were

[790] Palmer 1977, 12.
[791] Palmer 1977, 12.
[792] C. D. Hall: *British Strategy in the Napoleonic War*, 1803-1815. Manchester: Manchester University Press 1999, 2.
[793] B. Fosten: *Wellington's Infantry (1)*. Oxford: Osprey 1981 (=Osprey Men-At-Arms Series 114), 14-15.
[794] Holmes 2014.
[795] In 1795 linen trousers, a waistcoat and red slop jackets were issued in summer and additionally cotton drawers and sleeved flannel waistcoats in winter. (Fosten 1981, 15).
[796] Fosten 1981, 14-15.
[797] Palmer 1977, 12.

not necessarily connected to the present war but thematised some historical event important to the locals.[798]

Various musical pieces are played in Farquahar's *The Recruiting Officer*, military marches as well as songs. One of the songs is *Over the Hills and Far Away*.[799] The verses of the song in *The Recruiting Officer* are as follows:

> "Our 'prentice Tom may now refuse
> To wipe his scoundrel master's shoes,
> For now he's free to sing and play
> Over the hills and far away.
> […]
> We shall lead more happy lives
> By getting rid of brats and wives,
> That scold and brawl both night and day,
> Over the hills and far away.
> […]
> Over the hills, and far away.
> Courage, boys, it's one to ten
> But we return all gentlemen;
> While conq'ring colours we display,
> Over the hills, and far away."[800]

The song reiterates the motivations Farquahar's play considers likely to motivate a man to enlist. The use of some of the lyrics in several similar songs or adaptations of the original song speaks for the enduring popularity of the song.[801] *Over the Hills and Far Away* was also played by military bands, and a soldier describes that the band of the Royal Horse Artillery playing it in 1797 "kindled a flame in my boson which nothing but death can extinguish"[802].

A different take on the reasons for enlisting is presented in *John Diggons*, published as one half of a broadside by Angus of Newcastle between 1800 and 1810 and sung to the tune of *Old England's Roast Beef*. The second song on the broadside is *Trafalgar's Battle*.[803] The song is also published in Bell's *Rhymes of the Northern Bards*.[804] The titular character John Diggons's father has been trying to convince his son to enlist in either army or navy, but John Diggons is reluctant, "for the Frenchmen, they say, are so given to strike,/Yes; unto an Eng-

[798] Winstock 1970, 90-92.
[799] Cf. Winstock 1970, 36-39.
[800] Farquahar 2011 (1706), 25-31.
[801] One version is commonly known as *Twa Recruiting Sergeants* but also referred to under a number of other titles, among them *List, Bonnie Laddie* und *The Recruiting Sergeant*. The song is still sung today in different versions for different regiments, the most common one is about the 42nd Highlanders, the Black Watch, cf. The Corries (R. Williamson, R. Browne): *A Complete Vision of The Corries*. Volume 1. DVD. Produced by David Martin and directed by Mary Williams. London: BBC 2009 (1987).
[802] Winstock 1970, 91.
[803] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1907), D. Bass, Newcastle, 1800-1810.
[804] Bell 1812, 17.

lishman"[805]. The navy he likes even less, because "it must be much worse for a poor country lad,/ To fight where he can't run away"[806]. His father convinces him to go to Newcastle to enlist, but he immediately wants to turn around and go back home. Then he hears a beggar singing about Nelson's death, and the wish to revenge him convinces John Diggons to join the navy:[807]

> "But now I'm determined since this is the case,
> To write to Lord Collingwood straight for a place,
> For they say he's right fond of a North Country face,
> So I may chance to revenge Nelson's wrongs,
> So I may chance to revenge Nelson's wrongs."[808]

Another song, *Follow the Drum*, was published by G. Walker of Durham[809] and by J. Catnach of Seven Dials, one of the most important printers in London at the time[810]. The Walker broadside dates between 1797 and 1834[811] and the Catnach broadside between 1813 and 1838[812]. The song is paired on the latter broadside with a sad ballad about emigration to America titled *Irish Stranger*.[813] To combine a rather funny song like *Follow the Drum* with a sad song was quite usual at the time, giving the buyer greater variety.[814] The broadside published by Walker begins with "Twas in the merry month of May"[815], which is a typical folk-song opening:

> "Twas in the merry month of May
> When bees from flower to flower did hum,
> Soldiers through the town march'd gay,
> The village flew to the sound of the drum;
> From windows lasses looked a score,
> Neighbours met at every door,
> Serjeant twirled his sash and story,
> And talked of wounds, of honour and glory."[816]

Men of various professions "follow the drum" in the verses of this song. Among the people that enlist is Roger, apparently a farmer or agricultural labourer, who will "thrash his foes instead of the barley"[817], and a tailor, who promises to "leather his foes"[818] and that "[t]he

[805] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1907), D. Bass, Newcastle, 1800-1810.
[806] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1907), D. Bass, Newcastle, 1800-1810.
[807] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1907), D. Bass, Newcastle, 1800-1810.
[808] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1907), D. Bass, Newcastle, 1800-1810.
[809] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.
[810] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11(1240), J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.
[811] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.
[812] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11(1240), J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.
[813] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11(1240), J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.
[814] Jensen 2015, 26.
[815] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.
[816] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.
[817] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.

French should find he didn't wheedle,/ When he had a spear instead of a needle"[819]. In the last stanza even the old women – "the first was lame,/ The second was blind the third nigh dumb"[820] – follow the army. The tone of the song is comic and mocking and clearly suggests that a lot of what the various people plan to do as soldiers is only talk. Still, the song is clearly a loyalist song, describing a population with a high regard for the army and generally pro-war attitudes. Also, if even old women are eager to enlist, a bad light is thrown on any young man who is less eager.

Crimping – recruiting that was less than voluntary – and the press-gangs didn't meet with general approval. Thompson argues that "[n]o institution was as much hated, in the 18th century, as the press-gang"[821]. Several so-called crimping-houses that the army used for recruiting were mobbed and destroyed during riots in 1794.[822] There are many songs which criticise the recruiting practices of both army and navy. At the centre of the narrative is often the separation of two lovers. Many of these songs also criticise the army in general. One of the most outspoken anti-recruiting songs is *Jenny's Complaint*:

> "O, lass! I've fearfu' news to tell!
> What thinks te's come owre Jemmy?
> The sowdgers hev e'en pick'd him up,
> And sent him far, far, frae me:
> To Carel he set off wi' wheat;
> Them ill reed-cwoated fellows
> Suin will'd him in – then meade him drunk:
> He'd better geane to th'gallows.
> […]
> When Nichol tells about the wars,
> It's war that deeth to hear him;
> I oft steal out, to hide my tears,
> And cannot, cannot bear him;
> For aye he jeybes, and cracks his jwokes,
> And bids me nit forseake him;
> A brigadier, or grandidier,
> He says, they're sure to meake him."[823]

Robert Anderson published his collection of *Ballads in the Cumberland Dialect* in 1808 during the Napoleonic wars. Despite Anderson's radical political views,[824] most songs of the collection don't touch the subject of war. *Jenny's Complaint* is a rather well-known example of

[818] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.
[819] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.
[820] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.
[821] Thompson 1966, 81.
[822] Thompson 1966, 81.
[823] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49.
[824] Jensen 2015, 61.

the genre of anti-recruiting songs, though. The ballad is today better known as *The Recruited Collier* or *The Collier Recruit* and was written by Anderson in 1803. Anderson states the tune for *Jenny's Complaint* as *Nancy's to the Greenwood gane*, a well-known tune with several variants, better known as *Robin's to the Greenwood Gone* and probably dating back to the Renaissance.[825] It is still sung in a version of this melody today.[826] The song tells the story of a young woman – Jenny – whose lover has been recruited into the army. The young man had been in the next town, depending on the version either because it was payday or to sell wheat at the market. Meeting a recruiting party, he gets drunk and enlists.[827] Jenny's father tries to "pay the smart"[828], but the sergeant refuses, because Jemmy has not just taken the shilling but "kiss'd the buik"[829]. The song quite strongly condemns the recruiting party: "Them ill reed-cwoated fellows/Suin wil'd him in – then made him drunk"[830] and continues with a condemnation of soldiering as such, stating: "He'd better geane to th'gallows"[831]. Jenny laments the change in her lover's character that has been brought about by his becoming a soldier. Jemmy, who depending on the version used to be an agricultural worker or a collier, rather takes to life as a soldier and thinks about his career, while Jenny can't bear to listen to him and feels she has lost him.[832] National symbols like the uniforms of the soldiers and Jemmy's cockade are given a negative connotation in Anderson's song,[833] and Jensen points out that the use of dialect "sets up a peculiarly Cumbrian mood of antipathy to the army"[834]. More than that, it implies also a subversion of British national identity by creating a separate Cumbrian identity with its own language and the British army as invaders into the life of the people.

Similarly, Burns, who was a major influence on Anderson,[835] used Scottish songs to emphasise the opposition between British and Scottish literary culture and "to create an alternative cultural economy"[836]. Discussing Scottish song culture, Davis argues that the setting up of a specific regional identity can work as a challenge to mainstream – in this case southern English – culture and that the "representation of Scottish songs in printed collections served not just to promote the cultural hegemony of a London-based Britain, but in many cases to chal-

[825] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49.
[826] Jensen 2015, 61; cf. K. Rusby: *10*. CD. Nashville: Compass Records 2003.
[827] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49-50; cf. Rusby 2003.
[828] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49.
[829] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49.
[830] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49.
[831] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49.
[832] Anderson 1834 (1808), 49-50; cf. Rusby 2003.
[833] Jensen 2015, 61.
[834] Jensen 2015, 61.
[835] Anderson 1820, xxix.
[836] Davis 2004, 196.

lenge the basis of its power".[837] The importance of dialect for subversive songwriting will be further discussed in the context of *Bob Cranky's Adieu*, another song from northern England, in the following section on volunteer songs.

Jenny's Complaint is only one example of a whole genre of songs that criticise the recruiting practices of the British army. Another example is *My Love Has Listed*, also known as *The White Cockade*.[838] The oldest broadside version I could find has the title *The Light Blues* and can be dated to 1794.[839] The process of enlisting is again told analogous to the first example.[840]

> "It was one Monday morning as I was going to mass,
> I had no thoughts of 'listing till the light blues did me pass,
> Bad company enticed me to drink the beer that's brown,
> The bounty that they gave me two guineas and a crown."[841]

In this case the woman blames both the recruiting party and her lover for his fate.[842] Another version of the same song, *The Inconstant Lover or The Blue Cockade*, that cannot be dated exactly, condemns him even more:

> "My [l]ove you'll never prosper my love you'll never thrive
> Nor any thing you take in hand, as long as your alive
> The very ground you stand on the grass shall never grow
> Since you've been the occasion, of my sorrow, grief and woe."[843]

High Germany, which has already been mentioned, is even more explicitly anti-war. Especially the last stanza is quite eloquent in its condemnation of war in general and of the recruiting practices of the army in particular. It even refers to the soldier as being "prest" into the army:[844]

> "Woe be to the wars that ever they began,
> For they have prest my Billy & many a clever man
> For they have prest my Billy no more I shall him see
> And so cold will be his grave in High Germany."[845]

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[837] Davis 2004, 188-196.
[838] Buchan 2016 (1962), 126. In broadsides this song appears under a variety of names, for example as *The Light Blues* (Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.15[83], J. Evans, London, 1794), as *The Inconstant Lover or The Blue Cockade* (Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11[2458], J.V. Quick, London, 18--), as *White Cockade* (Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11[4161], J. Harkness, Preston, 1840-1866), as *The soldier's return*. (Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 15[302b], E.M.A. Hodges, London, 1846-1854).
[839] Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.15(83), J. Evans, London, 1794.
[840] Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.15(83), J. Evans, London, 1794.
[841] Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.15(83), J. Evans, London, 1794.
[842] Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.15(83), J. Evans, London, 1794.
[843] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11(2458), J.V. Quick, London, 18--.
[844] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1536), J. Catnach, London 1813-1838.
[845] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1536), J. Catnach, London 1813-1838.

Not all songs are that clear in their position. *Ye madcaps of England*, published in D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*[846] and in Sibbald's *The Charmer*, for example, is quite ambivalent towards the army.[847] In the first stanza it seems to be a recruiting song, but becomes more critical with every stanza:

> "You madcaps of England who merry would make
> And for your brave valour would pains undertake,
> Come over to Flanders and there you shall see,
> How merry we'll make it, how frolic we'll be.
> Boys drink, boys drink.
> […]
> Your sergeants and officers are very kind,
> If that you can flatter and speak to their mind,
> They will free you from duty and all other trouble,
> Your money being gone, your duty comes double.
> Hard case, hard case.
>
> At last when you come to your enemies' walls,
> Where many a brave gallant and gentleman falls,
> And when you have done the best that you can,
> Your captain rewards you, there dies a brave man.
> That's all, that's all."[848]

In the port cities the press-gangs of the navy were greater cause for lament than the recruiting sergeants, and many songs speak of young men pressed into service. Especially in the north-east, where seamen worked in the merchant and fishing fleets, and where traditionally there hadn't been a Royal Navy presence in the ports, the pressing of men into service during the Napoleonic Wars caused discontent. There were riots against the press-gangs in North Shields in 1793. The riots were misinterpreted as a French invasion and caused Lord Falkenberg to lead the York Militia halfway to North Shields and then back again, after the report had been corrected. Falkenberg's march was quickly immortalised and mocked by Newcastle's song-writers in two songs published by John Bell in *Rhymes of Northern Bards*.[849] In *The French Invasion* the mayor not only sends for the militia but informs King George, who promptly orders his sheep and cattle to be brought away to Windsor, but decides not to send ships to

[846] T. D'Urfey (ed.): *Wit and Mirth, Or, Pills to Purge Melancholy*: *Being a Collection of the best Merry Ballads and Songs, Old and New. Fitted to all Humours, having each their proper Tune for either Voice, or Instrument: Most of the Songs being new Set*. Vol. III. London: Printed by W. Pearson for J. Tonson 1719.
[847] Winstock 1970, 38.
[848] Winstock 1970, 38-39; cf. J. Sibbald.: *The charmer: a collection of songs, chiefly such as are eminent for poetical merit; among which are many originals and others that were never before printed in a songbo*ok. In two volumes. Vol. 1. Fourth edition, with improvements. Edinburgh: J. Sibbald 1782, 318.
[849] Jensen 2015, 137-138.

Newcastle to fight against apparently invading ships.[850] Lord Falkenberg meanwhile prepares to "spend my last,/Last drop of noble blood"[851].

The Lowlands of Holland, also known as *The Maiden's Complaint*, tells of a young man pressed into the navy directly after his wedding. The song suggests that he eventually dies. His wife waits and worries for him and blames the press-gangs for her ill fortune:

> "Neither handkerchief shall bind my head,
> Or the comb go through my hair,
> Neither fire, light, nor stars so bright,
> Shall shew my beauty fair.
> Nor neither will I married be,
> Until the day I die,
> For I had no other but one true love,
> And he was press'd from me."[852]

In *The New Keel Row* Thomas Thompson complains not only about the press gang but also about the war in general, though the song remains very cheerful:

> "Wour lads, like their deddy,
> To fight the French are ready,
> But gie's a peace that's steady,
> And breed cheap as lang-syne;
> May a' the press-gang perish,
> Each lass her laddy cherish;
> Lang may the coal trade flourish
> Upon the dingy Tyne."[853]

Economic motives for avoiding the navy are also present in *Here's the Tender Coming*, and the duty towards the family rather than towards the country is emphasised:

> "Hide thee, canny Geordie, hide thyself away;
> Hide thee till the tender makes for Druid' Bay.
> If they take thee, Geordie, who's to win our bread?
> Me and little Jacky: better off be dead.
>
> Here's the tender coming, stealing of my dear;
> O dear, hinny, they'll ship you out of here.
> They will ship you foreign, that is what it means;
> Here's the tender coming, full of red marines."[854]

[850] Bell 1812, 81-82.
[851] Bell 1812, 82.
[852] Bodleian Libraries: Harding B17(183b), J. Evans, London, 1780-1812.
[853] Bell 1812, 7.
[854] Palmer 1973, 16-17; cf. Jensen 2015, 94. The song is from Newcastle and can be found in the manuscript collection of the already mentioned John Bell, published by D.I. Harker and F. Rutherford: *Songs from the Manuscript Collection of John Bell* (Publications of the Surtees Society, Vol. 196). Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer 1984, 6. Jensen dates the song between 1803 and 1815. (Jensen 2015, 178).

5.3.3 'And Who's of Invasion Afraid?' – Volunteer Songs

Volunteer songs have already been mentioned in the context of recruiting, but the songs sung by and about volunteer regiments are quite interesting, so I will discuss them separately here. Since volunteers were for most of the time not in service overseas, they can't really be considered separate from song culture at home, so I will discuss songs sung by volunteers as well as songs about them. To my knowledge, there are only a few sources where volunteer soldiers themselves tell about their songs and music. William Surtees, whose *Twenty-five years in the Rifle Brigade* has already been briefly mentioned, was a private soldier in the Northumberland militia and then a volunteer in the Pompadours before he joined the Rifles, but he doesn't mention the music of either his militia or his volunteer regiment.[855]

The songs of volunteer regiments are quite different from songs that were generally sung all over the army, and also from the so-called national songs, though they frequently borrow their tunes. They often refer to local peculiarities and history.[856] When for example Lord Home called up the volunteers of Selkirk in 1804, he ordered the singing of *The souters o'Selkirk*, a song about the battle of Flodden. The song praises the souters' courage during the battle and mocks the apparently not quite so courageous House of Home.[857] The request caused consternation, and everyone claimed ignorance of the lyrics, which include the refrain "up with the souters of Selkirk and down with the Earl of Home"[858], until Lord Home "tiring of their excessive delicacy"[859] sang a solo. The Selkirk men responded by enlisting Lord Home as a souter.[860]

A broadside in the National Library of Scotland contains a ballad titled *The Edinburgh Royal Highland Volunteers*. The tune given is *Killicrankie*, a well-known Jacobite song about the defeat of the supporters of the Stuarts at the Battle of *Killicrankie* during the 1689 Jacobite Rising.[861] The lyrics of the song also refer to the defence of Caledonia and a specifically Scottish identity is at the centre of the song.

> "LET Frenchmen threat invasion great,
> An a' their venom shaw, man;
> Their threats are vain, while we remain
> A firm an' sicker wa', man:
> For gin they land on Scotland's strand,
> Gude faith they'll get a fa', man,

[855] Surtees 1833.
[856] Jensen 2015, 66-73.
[857] Winstock 1970, 1-92.
[858] Winstock 1970, 91.
[859] Winstock 1970, 92.
[860] Winstock 1970, 91-92.
[861] National Library of Scotland: ABS.10.203.01(028), 1795-1815.

Whan they engage the ancient rage
Of CALEDONIA, man."[862]

The song focusses on the invasion scare during a period of the war, when a French landing in Scotland or Northern England seemed likely.[863] Similar songs can also be found in John Bell's songbook *Songs of the Northern Bards* that, while featuring many very critical and political songs, switches to patriotic sentiments where the volunteers are concerned.[864] *The Sons of the Tyne* is one such example from this collection of songs originating in – apparently predominantly government-critical and sometimes Bonapartist – Newcastle.[865] The tune named is fittingly *Hearts of Oak*[866], a melody used for a great number of songs in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

"Come cheer up your hearts, my brave sons of the Tyne,
And boldly come forward to enter the line;
Your country it calls you, defend now her right,
Against that invader, who dares you to fight.
Sons of Tyne, all advance,
For to humble proud France;
And teach Bonaparte,
Tho' ever so hearty.
Not t'insult British valour upon her own shore."[867]

The song also mentions the invasion scare – "He threats to invade us, and plunder us too,/And make us a province! But that will not do"[868], – but also claims that the volunteers will be "[l]ike the heroes of Britain, who rule on the main"[869], thus linking the volunteers closely with the regular army. They will also "protect [Britannia's] religion, her liberty and laws"[870]. *The Sons of Tyne* is quite generic in its style and far less locally specific than *The Edinburgh Royal Highland Volunteers*. It speaks to young men and tries to motivate them to volunteer, by evoking national pride as well as the concern about a possible invasion. The mood is bold and cheerful, and while the possibility of invasion is invoked, there is little doubt that the "sons of Tyne"[871] and their "British valour"[872] will win the day. The French are described as proud, the Spaniards as fools, and both are worth little in comparison to the British.[873]

[862] National Library of Scotland: ABS.10.203.01(028), 1795-1815.
[863] National Library of Scotland: ABS.10.203.01(028), 1795-1815.
[864] Bell 1812.
[865] Jensen 2015, 134-157.
[866] Bell 1812, 87.
[867] Bell 1812, 87.
[868] Bell 1812, 87.
[869] Bell 1812, 88.
[870] Bell 1812, 88.
[871] Bell 1812, 87.
[872] Bell 1812, 87.
[873] Bell 1812, 87-88.

Kiver Awa' is similar in content but quite different in style. It also begins by describing, how the volunteers will defend Britain in case of a French invasion. Yet it addresses not potential or actual volunteers but the people at home.

> "Ye matrons be cheerful, ye virgins be gay,
> Your protectors are valiant and true:
> No more feel alarm'd, as your charms you survey,
> At what Frenchmen may venture to do;
> No danger shall reach you, no impudent Gaul,
> Shall fill your soft bosoms with awe;
> Whilst in tones energetic, thus --- can bawl, –
> 'Kiver awa', Kiver awa', Kiver awa'."[874]

Not all volunteer songs are predominately concerned with invasion. *Light Horse*[875] is very political and mentions both the revolutionary French government, the National Convention (1792-1795) that the volunteers are eager to "put down"[876] and Thomas Paine, whom they plan to bring back to England and have executed:[877]

> "And we will have no peace, boys, till we get that rogue, Tom Paine,
> We will guard him to old England, safe over the main;
> We will take him to Tyburn, where he shall surely swing,
> And fix him on a gallows tree, to caper on a string."[878]

Their motives aren't entirely patriotic, though, because they expect that "when we do return again, in claret we will swim"[879].

The volunteer songs in *Rhymes of the Northern Bards* are quite interesting in general, because they include many local elements and traditions. An example is *Bob Cranky's Adieu*. The character Bob Cranky originated in a comic song called *Bob Cranky*, sung to a now lost tune that was used as tune for the volunteer song *The Bonny Geatsiders* among others. *Bob Cranky's Adieu* takes up this literary figure, who proceeds to have a life in numerous ballads in the following years. The song was written either by John Shield or by John Selkirk and was sung throughout the nineteenth century. It is sung to the tune of *The Soldier's Adieu*, written by Charles Dibdin the Elder, a loyalist songwriter.[880] *The Soldier's Adieu* has a "soaring aria-like melody"[881] and is very sentimental.[882] The lyrics of *Bob Cranky's Adieu* mimic this sen-

[874] Bell 1812, 14-15.
[875] The text I quote is from Palmer's *The Rambling Soldier*, but the references to Captain Starkey, the Convention and Thomas Paine date the song with a high probability to the 1790s. (Palmer 1977, 29-32).
[876] Palmer 1977, 30.
[877] Palmer 1977, 29-31.
[878] Palmer 1977, 30.
[879] Palmer 1977, 30.
[880] Jensen 2015, 147.
[881] Jensen 2015, 72.
[882] Jensen 2015, 72.

timentality, but the narrative ridicules it. *Bob Cranky's Adieu* has the titular character explaining to his lover how and why he joined the volunteers and his experiences in the army.[883] The song employs the local dialect, which adds to the humour of the song:

> "FAREWEEL, fareweel, ma comely pet!
> Aw's fourc'd three weeks to leave thee;
> Aw's doon for parm'ent duty set,
> O dinna let it grieve thee!
> Ma hinny! Wipe them e'en, sae breet,
> That mine wi' love did dazzle;
> When thy heart's sad can mine be leet!
> Come, ho'way get a jill o'beer,
> Thy heart to cheer:
> An' when thou sees me mairch away,
> Whiles in, whiles out
> O' step, nae doot,
> 'Bob Cranky's gane-' thou'lt sobbing say,
> 'A sougering to Newcassel!'"[884]

Bob Cranky is a very comic figure. Jensen describes him as an "honest fool"[885]. The emotions he ascribes to his "hinny" are quite dramatic, considering that all he does is to go for training to Newcastle for three weeks.[886] To suppose that this would cause her to "grieve"[887] and leave her "sobbing"[888] and with a sad heart is maybe a little overstated. In the next stanza Bob tells her not to complain and lament and brags about how dazzling he looks[889] in his "fine reed claes"[890]. He promises to buy her a dress with his salary[891] but then considers it more sensible to spend the money on "flesh and beer/ Mysel' to cheer"[892]. Jensen summarises the song as a tale of a "noble volunteer succumbing to his baser urges, exposing the sham of his patriotism"[893].

There are other volunteer songs that don't express an absolutely positive attitude towards the army. The volunteers in *Beaumont's Light Horse* are quite disenchanted:

> "We listed for horsemen, our country to save,
> They told us fine stories of Beaumont the brave;
> But now he has sold us to add to his store,

[883] Bell 1812, 31-32.
[884] Bell 1812, 31.
[885] Jensen 2015, 151.
[886] Bell 1812, 31.
[887] Bell 1812, 31.
[888] Bell 1812, 31.
[889] Bell 1812, 31.
[890] Bell 1812, 31.
[891] Bell 1812, 31-32.
[892] Bell 1812, 32.
[893] Jensen 2015, 72.

And transported from England to come back no more."[894]

The volunteers mostly lament having to give up their horses and having to "go off all foot-men"[895], being sent abroad and particularly being sent to battle "yet we'll bullets despise"[896]. Yet the song ends on a not absolutely negative note, with the volunteers expecting to "bring store of riches"[897], should they in fact return.[898]

[894] Bell 1812, 85.
[895] Bell 1812, 85.
[896] Bell 1812, 85.
[897] Bell 1812, 85.
[898] Bell 1812, 85.

"Facts are seditious things
When they touch courts and kings,
Armies are rais'd,
Barracks and bastiles built,
Innocence charged with guilt,
Blood most unjustly spilt,
Gods stand amazed."[899]

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"It's many a prank I've seen in the field,
And many a Frenchman I have forced for to yield;
Many's the slaughter I have seen of the French,
And so boldly I fought when I was but a wench."[900]

6. Conclusion

Corelli was thinking of the violin, when he asked: Do you not hear it speak? Yet, as we have seen, in songs both tunes and lyrics speak for themselves, sometimes in accord, at other times in discord with each other, thus creating polyphonic and not always clearly identifiable meanings that may or may not be intended as subversive.

This way, they also create specific identities or give a voice to repressed identities. The most obvious example is the British national identity that is celebrated in many of the songs discussed above. Yet some ballads also subvert it by creating alternative identities, for Scotland, for example, or for Cumbria. Songs also introduce the point of view of groups usually excluded from expressing their opinion. They make it possible for women to comment on historical events or to complain about them. Issues of gender and class can be addressed in a way they usually can't. Women do have significantly more agency in songs than in other kinds of literature and in reality. In songs they can accuse their seducers, even laugh at them. Yet there are also many songs that make light of seduction and reduce women to the object of men's gaze or victimise them.

The analysis of female warrior ballads has shown, how much gender in the eighteenth century was considered performative. They provide an interesting illustration of the sex-gender-division. Gender – at least in song – is not defined or limited by the body, but rather a piece of

[899] Mather 1862, 57.
[900] Palmer 1977, 163.

clothing one can easily take on and off. In songs women can take on a man's role and a man's freedoms and easily meet the expectations of a male gender role. The context of war provides a stage, where this can be accepted or even idealised as service to one's country, even if at the end of the song social norms are back in place.

Like male and female clothing, the military uniform brings with it a specific kind of masculine ideal, defined by camaraderie, honour, valour and duty. This is represented in songs sung by soldiers as well as in broadsides popular at home, and especially in volunteer songs, often in a mocking way. Breaking free from this form of masculinity in song requires comedy. Refusing to fight for one's country, being afraid or protesting against war is only possible in satiric songs – for men, that is, who otherwise would not meet the standard of masculinity and the expected gender role. Soldiers' songs can lament leaving home only by affirming at the same time their readiness to fight. If a song wants to protest war, it will frequently employ a female voice. A female speaker is outside the standards of military masculinity and can protest the press-gangs and the recruiting officer as well as the cruelties of war.

The context of war provides a stage, where gender roles are emphasised but also open to negotiation. Gender is more central to songs about war than to songs concerned with other topics. A lot more could be said about gender aspects in folk songs, so there is ample room for further studies.

To return to the question at the beginning: I hope this master thesis has shown that songs about war are not only relevant, because wars form part of history, but also that they can provide alternate readings of historical events, and can thus form a medium of protest, liberation, and, ultimately, peace.

7. Literature and Sources

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7.4 Online Resources

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The Word on the Street. Rare Book Collections. National Library of Scotland: https://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/index.html, 19/01/2019.

8. Appendix: List of Songs and their Sources

Title	Roud Number	Source	Other versions	Date
Admiral Nelson's pursuit of the French Fleet in the Mediterranean, Sept. 1798	-	Jensen 2015, 43.		1799
All hail, brother seamen	1638	Palmer 1973, 32.		1797
The Banks of Allan Water	4260	Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 157, J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.		1813-1838
Barrosa plains	2182	Winstock 1970, 125-128.		1808
Beaumont's Light Horse	-	Bell 1812, 85.		1812
Billy Taylor	158	Bodleian Libraries Harding B 10(13), Laurie and Whittle, London, 1804.		1804
The Blue Bells of Scotland	13849	National Library of Scotland: L.C.Fol.178.A.2(083), 1800-1815.		1723
Bob Cranky's Adieu	3148	Bell 1812, 31.		1812
Bonny Light Horseman	1185	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 25(1107), J. Pitts, London 1802-1819.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 25(260), W. Armstrong, Liverpool, 1820-1824.	1802-1819
Brethren Unite		Paddy's Resource 1798 (1795).		1798
The British Grenadiers	V18274	Winstock 1970, 32.		<1745
Ça Ira	-	O'Connell 2016, 133 (Paddy's Resource).		c. 1789
Charlie is my darling	5510	Rogers 1869, 291.		1766-1845
The Coming Golden Age	-	O'Connell 2016, 134 (Paddy's Resource).		1795
The Death of Parker	1032	Palmer 1979, 82-83.		1797
Delia's Answer	-	Bell 1812, 34.		1812

A Dumpling for Buonaparte	V28862	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(143), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 22(69), 1798.	1798
The Edinburgh Royal Highland Volunteers	-	National Library of Scotland: ABS.10.203.01(028), 1795-1815.		1795-1815
The Female Drummer	226	Palmer 1977, 163-164.	Mair 2009 (1796), 50-51; National Library of Scotland: Five excellent new songs. Edinburgh: John Morren; John Cumming ca. 1800, University of Glasgow: The Caledonia Garland. To which are added, Teasing me so. The beautiful damsel of Virgin City. The female drummer. Glasgow: J. & M. Robertson 1801; Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11 (1187), J. Catnach, 1813-1838.	1796
Follow the Drum	1076	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(72), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11(1240), J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.	1797-1834
The French Invasion	-	Bell 1812, 81-82.		1812
General Ludd's Triumph	-	Cockburn 1979, 165-166.	Thompson 1966, 534.	c. 1811-1814
The Gipsy's Tent	13771	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11(175), G. Walker, Durham, 1797-1834.		1797-1834
The Girl I Left Behind Me	23929	Winstock 1970, 67.	Mair 2009 (1796), 54.	1758

God Save Great Thomas Paine	-	Mather 1862, 56-57.		1794
Happy Lovers	-	National Library of Scotland: Crawford. EB.2206, J. Jennings, London, 1802-1809.		1802-1809
Here's the tender coming	3174	Palmer 1973, 16-17.	Harker, Rutherford 1984, 6.	c.1803-1815
High Germany	904	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1536), J. Catnach, London 1813-1838.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B17(127b), J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838; Bodleian Libraries: Harding B25(836), W. Booth, Selby, 18--.	Seven Years' War? (1813-1838)
Ileen Oge	V938	British Library: Roxburghe Collection EBBA 31307, Davenport, London, 1790-1808.	Winstock 1970, 99-101.	1790-1808
The Invasion	-	Anderson 1834 (1808), 68-70.		1803
I Wish The Wars Were All Over	2036	Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 302, J. Davenport, London 1799-1800.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 25(397), J. Butler, Worcester; G. Lewis, Worcester; S. Hazell, Gloucester 1792.	1792
Jenny's Complaint	2525	Anderson 1834 (1808), 49-50.		1803
John Diggons	V41163	Bell 1812, 17.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(1907), D. Bass, Newcastle, 1800-1810.	1800-1810
The Jolly Soldier	-	Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.31(97), J. Evans, London, 1780-1812.		1780-1812
Kiver Awa'	9023	Bell 1812, 14-15.		1812
Liberty's Call	-	O'Connell 2016, 134 (Paddy's Resource).		1795
The Light Blues	191	Bodleian Libraries: Curzon b.15(83), J.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B	1794

		Evans, London, 1794.	11(2458), J.V. Quick, London, 18--; Bodleian Libraries: J. Harkness, Preston, 1840-1866; Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 15(302b), E.M.A. Hodges, London, 1846-1854.	
Light Horse	-	Palmer 1977, 29-32.		1790s
Lochaber No More	8497	Ramsay 1740 (1727), 110-111.	Thomson 1733, 50-51; Herd 1776, 256: National Library of Scotland: Ry.III.a.10(046), 1723; Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 20(53), Harkness, J., Preston, 1840-1866; National Library of Scotland: L.C.Fol.178.A.2 (122), 1860-1890.	1723
Love Farewell	-	Winstock 1970, 117.		<1809
The Lowlands of Holland (The Maiden's Complaint)	484	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B17(183b), J. Evans, London, 1780-1812.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B16(137a), Pitts, London, 1802-1819; Bodleian Libraries: Harding B11(2258), Pitts, London, 1819-1844; Bodleian Libraries: Harding B25(524), Angus, Newcastle, 1774-1825.	1780-1812
The Maid of Woe	V30821	Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 374, T. Evans, London, 1790-1813.		1790-1813

Mary Ambree	V41815	Bodleian Libraries B 39(209), W. and C. Dicey, London, 1736-1763.		c. 1650
The Milk Maid	298	Bodleian Libraries: 2806 c.17(280), R. Evans, Chester.	Bodleian Libraries: Douce Ballads 2(156b), W. Thackeray, London, 1688-1689.	1688-1689
Na Franncaigh Bhanc	-	Jensen 2015, 40-41.		1798
The New Century, a New Song	-	Jensen 2015, 43.		1800
The New Keel Row	V30440	Bell 1812, 7.		1812
Ó a bhean an tí	-	Jensen 2015, 40.		1790s
O No, My Love, No	-	Bell 1812, 33.		1812
Over the hills and far away	3356	Farquahar 2011, 25-31.		1706
The Politick Maid of Suffolk or The Young Lawyer Outwitted	V8344	Bodleian Libraries: Douce Ballads 2 (180b), no printer or place, 17--.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 1 (98), J. Pitts, London, 1802-1819.	17--
Poll of Plymouth	V5400	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 28(46), R. and W. Dean and Co., Manchester, c.1805.	Poll of Plymouth: Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(208), C. Sheppard, London, 1786.	1786
Poor Jack	V3366	Cockburn 1979, 158-164.		<1794
The Rambling Sailor (The Rambling Soldier)	518	Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 1230, W. Taylor, London, 18--.	Bodleian Libraries: Johnson Ballads 256, J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.	<1800
Rule Hibernians	-	O'Connell 2016, 134 (Paddy's Resource).		1795
Sahagun	1660	Winstock 1970, 124-125.		1808-1809
Sailor and his truelove	660	National Library of Scotland: Crawford.EB.1568, J. Jennings, London, 1802-		1802-1809

		1809.		
A Sailor's Life	24885	Cockburn 1979, 168-172.		1745-1814
The sodger's return	V1526	Burns 2008, 395-397.		1793
The Soldier's Adieu	24884	Cockburn 1979, 191-194.		c.1790
The Soldier's Cloak (The Gentleman Soldier)	178	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 12(162), Burbage and Stretton, Nottingham, 1797-1807.	Bodleian Libraries: Harding B 11(3013), W. Forth, Hull, no date.	1797-1807
The Soldier's Death	3848	Struteers 1821, 145-146.		1808-1821
The Sons of the Tyne	-	Bell 1812, 87.		1812
The Tars' Frolic or British Sailor	-	British Library: Roxburghe Collection (EBBA 31124), T. Evans, London, 1800-1815.		1800-1815
Up wi' the souters of Selkirk	5505	Winstock 1970, 91.	Johnson 1839 (1797), 390-391.	1797
The Wandering Bard	V3128	Bodleian Libraries: Firth c.21(3), J. Catnach, London, 1813-1838.		1813-1838
Wha'll be King but Charlie?	729	Rogers 1869, 199-200.		1766-1845
Will Ye No' Come Back Again	24347	Rogers 1869, 209-210.		1766-1845
Ye madcaps of England	V19867	Winstock 1970, 38-39.	Sibbald 1782, 318; D'Urfey 1719, 281-282.	1719

9. Abstract (German)

In meiner Masterarbeit setze ich mich mit den Themenfeldern Krieg und Geschlecht in britischen Folksongs aus dem Zeitraum von 1792 bis 1815 auseinander. Dabei wird versucht zu beantworten, wie Geschlechterrollen, Identitäten und Agency in Liedern thematisiert werden, welche Konzepte von Weiblichkeit und Männlichkeit sich in diesen finden und wie Krieg und Geschlecht miteinander interagieren.

Im ersten Teil der Arbeit werden kurz die historischen Ereignisse im untersuchten Zeitraum beschrieben. Außerdem werden die theoretischen Grundlagen, Quellen und Methoden und die Forschung zu Folksongs allgemein erläutert.

Daran anschließend werden politische Lieder aus dem untersuchten Zeitraum beleuchtet. Ausgehend von Judith Butlers Theorie zur Performativität von Geschlecht wird dann die Darstellung der Geschlechter und Geschlechterrollen in verschiedenen Arten von Liedern untersucht. Der Fokus liegt dabei vor allem auf der Konstruktion von Geschlecht. Zunächst werden Lieder, die Geschlechterbeziehungen zum Inhalt haben, betrachtet. Im Kontext der „Female Warrior Ballads“ wird besonders die Performativität männlicher und weiblicher Geschlechterrollen diskutiert. Dabei wird zum einen gezeigt, wie sehr Geschlecht in den Balladen durch das Handeln, das heißt durch Performanz bestimmt wird, zum anderen, dass das Geschlecht des Erzählers oder der Erzählerin auch die Botschaft beeinflusst, die die Lieder vermitteln.

Im letzten Teil der Arbeit geht es vor allem um die Konstruktion militärischer Männlichkeit, die durch Werte wie Tapferkeit, Ehre und Kameradschaft geprägt ist. Diese wird zum einen anhand von Liedern, die in der britischen Army und Navy gesungen wurden, zum anderen anhand von Liedern, die sich mit der Rekrutierung für die Armee auseinandersetzen, betrachtet. Dabei liegt der Schwerpunkt vor allem auch auf Identitätskonstruktionen: von soldatischer Identität, über nationale Identität, bis hin zu regionalen oder individuellen Identitäten, die miteinander interagieren oder in Konflikt treten.

10. Abstract (English)

In my master thesis I examine the topics war and gender in British folk songs during the time of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1792-1815. I try to answer how gender roles, identities and agency are thematised in songs, what concepts of femininity and masculinity can be found in these songs and how the topics war and gender interact with each other.

The first part of the thesis describes the historical events during the time period and discusses the theoretical foundations, sources and methods of the study as well as the topic of folk song studies in general.

I will then examine political songs from the time period. Based on Judith Butler's theory on the performativity of gender, the following part is concerned with the depiction of gender and gender roles in different kinds of songs. The focus is on the construction of gender. I will first look at songs that describe gender relations. In the context of female warrior ballads, I will go into the performativity of male and female gender roles and show how gender is determined by actions and performance and how the gender of the narrator influences the message of a song.

The last part of my study spotlights the construction of military masculinity, characterised by values like bravery, honour and friendship. I will look at songs sung in army and navy as well as recruiting songs. The focus here will lie on the construction of identities: military and national identities but regional and individual identities as well and the way these different identities interact and come into conflict with each other.