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The Folk-Song Society wax cylinder recordings in the English Folk Dance and Song Society wax cylinder collection. Context, History, and Reappraisal

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for the qualification of PhD

University of Sussex

September 2015
I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:..................................................
Summary

This thesis establishes the provenance, and attribution of the Folk-Song Society’s (FSS) collection of wax cylinders, and for the first time offers a comprehensive catalogue of all of the recordings known to have been made between 1905-1915.

Part I is a general evaluation of the development of folk song collecting in the 19th Century, definitions of folk music, and how the work of the newly formed FSS differed from that of previous collectors. After discussing the founding of the FSS it then looks at the development of early recording media, noting that commercial recording companies ignored folk music in the British Isles but also how recordings were used by ethnomusicologists, and the reaction of the FSS to this technology.

Part II evaluates each FSS member who collected with the phonograph. Major luminaries such as Sharp, Broadwood and Vaughan Williams all made recordings and are considered. The final chapter looks at the 1949/50 EFDSS survey of the phonographs, analysing from manuscripts what was still extant at that time and what was subsequently discarded.

In the process of conducting this research I catalogued two major collections (Leather’s and the Broadwood/MacRae papers) that hadn’t previously been analysed. MS collections of the other collectors and their publications, especially material in the Journal of the Folk-Song Society has also been utilised.

The appendices contain a complete catalogue of the extant FSS phonographs as well as individual listings of all of the recordings made by each collector. These catalogues prove that the FSS made the best part of 200 recordings, but as only just over a third of these have survived, and few of these were attributed, such activity has either been ignored or misrepresented in previous research. In writing this thesis I have established that the FSS far from ignoring the possibilities of the phonograph actively embraced it.
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Common Abbreviations

BL: British Library
CS: Cecil Sharp
C37/- : Collection 37 – British Library collection number for the EFDSS phonographs
EFDSS: English Folk Dance and Song Society
EL: Ella Leather
FMR: Farquhar MacRae
FSS: Folk-Song Society
GG: George Gardiner
JFSS: Journal of the Folk-Song Society
JEFDSS: Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society
LB: Lucy Broadwood
RVW: Ralph Vaughan Williams
VWML: Vaughan Williams Memorial Library
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As well as providing me with his transcripts of Broadwood’s diaries from 1908-1915 and allowing me to utilise his catalogue of her collection, Chris also generously shared with me his unpublished thoughts about Sharp’s phonograph work. That I end up citing this research so many times makes obvious how generous he was with sharing his knowledge. My thanks.

As well as providing constant support and advice over the years John Bentley had the unenviable task of proof-reading this Thesis, such work is friendship above and beyond the call of duty, and to him too, my heartfelt thanks.

Finally to my parents, I’m sorry that this has been such a long journey, but if it can help to make these wonderful recordings better known, then it will have been worth it, my love to you both.

Andrew King

Leytonstone

xxv-ix-mmxxv
This thesis establishes the provenance and attribution of the Folk-Song Society’s (henceforth FSS) collection of wax cylinder phonograph recordings of traditional singers, and for the first time offers a comprehensive catalogue of all of the recordings known to have been made by members of the Society between 1905-1915.

The FSS collection of wax cylinder recordings is found in the English Folk Dance & Song Society’s1 (henceforth EFDSS) wax cylinder collection. The EFDSS collection consists of 106 non-commercial, privately made wax cylinders of traditional singers and musicians from the British Isles, recorded between 1907 and 1915. Two thirds of these, covering the English, Scottish Gaelic and one Irish recording were made by members of the FSS, founded in 1898, and these are the subject of this Thesis2.

Taken as the core collection of the EFDSS one the FSS cylinder collection is one of the most important collections of British traditional music in the world as it is one of only five such collections of field recordings of pre-1914 British traditional music extant, the others being the Grainger English Folk Song Cylinder Collection at the Grainger Museum, Melbourne (216 cylinders) the Lady Ruth Herbert Lewis Cylinder Collection at the Museum of Welsh Life, St. Fagans, Cardiff (31 cylinders), the Marjory Kennedy Fraser Collection at the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh (280 cylinders), and the 94 cylinders from various collections to be found at the Irish Traditional Music Archive, Dublin3. The FSS collection’s importance lies in three areas: firstly – which it shares with the other collections – in the uniqueness, quality, and age of its recordings; secondly in the breadth of its scope, and finally in the historic and cultural importance of the collectors who made the recordings, major figures in what was subsequently to be termed the first folk song revival.

“First folk song revival” is of course a slight misnomer, albeit a useful one, for, as Part I of my thesis will show, there had been intermittent collecting and interest in vernacular song, both in

1. The collections title derives from its ownership by the English Folk Dance and Song Society, formed in 1932 from the merger of the Folk-Song Society and the English Folk Dance Society, founded 1911.

2. The remaining third were made under the aegis of the separately constituted Welsh Folk-Song Society (founded in 1908) and thus fall outside the remit of this work in that their inclusion in the EFDSS collection can only be counted an historical accident as the recordings never actually belonged to the FSS. Furthermore, to have included them here would have changed this thesis from the closely focused study that the FSS collection deserves to that of a general survey. Also, to have considered these recordings would have required then extending my survey not only to the other half of the Welsh Folk-Song Society phonograph collection, residing at the Museum of Welsh Life, St. Fagans, Cardiff, but also to considering the entire history of the other Society, both of which are topics deserving of their own in-depth research. Consequently I have omitted the non-FSS recordings within the EFDSS collection from my Thesis.

3. I include this Archive in the list as at the time when the recordings were made Ireland was still part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. With regards to this archive, 94 is a rough total as 14 of these are galvanoplastic negatives or ‘galvanos’ and possibly replicate material on other cylinders in the collection, my thanks to Elaina Solon, Commercial Sound Recordings Officer, at the Irish Traditional Music Archive, Dublin, for sending me this information.
Britain and on the continent, for the best part of a hundred years before the founding of the FSS, but it is a convenient title for that point when those involved in the collection of folksong went from being a disparate group of essentially separately working enthusiasts, to one in which those involved pooled their resources, collaborated and began to define methodologies for preserving vernacular culture; that this coincided with the early days of recorded sound consequently gives the phonographs in the FSS collection an unrivalled importance, not only because they represent some of our earliest recordings of traditional singers from the British Isles but also in that they are artefacts that testify to the cultural and aesthetic changes then taking place in Edwardian Britain, having been made by some of the major figures in the period’s cultural life, social planning, and musical renaissance; Cecil Sharp was an educationalist, Ella Leather and Lucy Broadwood, folklorists, and Vaughan Williams, Grainger and George Butterworth composers.

Furthermore, the breadth of the collection should be emphasised, for though the FSS collection is smaller than both Grainger’s and Kennedy Fraser’s, it is wider in its ethnographic scope: for whilst the other two collections are certainly of considerable importance, they are narrower in their contents: Fraser’s collection concentrates specifically on Scottish Gaelic culture, with some art recordings of her own arrangements, whilst Grainger’s, with the exception of a handful of Australian recordings (of British traditional songs), limits itself to Lincolnshire, London and a few recordings from the Southern counties. In contrast the FSS collection consists of material from England (25 cylinders), Gaelic Scotland (40) and Ireland (1)⁴, to this total can be added a further three English recordings that are found on a 78 of audio transcriptions from cylinders that EFDSS made in 1935⁵. As such, it is by far the most wide ranging repository of early sound recordings of the traditional music of the British Isles.

Grainger’s collection of 216 Cylinders, made between 1906-1909, mainly in Lincolnshire, was recorded whilst he was a member of the FSS, was in close correspondence with Lucy Broadwood and was subsidised in his initial work by a donation from fellow society member George Gardiner⁶; by rights they should therefore be seen as part of the same collection, but after Grainger’s move to the USA in 1914, his cylinder collection went with him (the originals being eventually deposited in the Grainger Museum, Melbourne, with acetate 78 rpm copies being deposited at the Library of Congress – his recordings have consequently come to be seen

⁴. With the remaining 40 recordings being the ones made by the Welsh Folksong Society that subsequently found their way into the EFDSS collection. 6 of which would be problematic to attribute were it not for the numbering system used in the series, for all six have a numbering system written in yellow crayon on them which is only found in the Welsh series. C37/1612 & C37/1633 are both of fiddle tunes; C37/1613 begins with two fragments in English but the third one in Welsh; C37/1635 sounds like test recordings, possibly made by the (female) collector, the four fragments are all in English but this would of course have been the language of the collector, the members of the Welsh Folk Song Society being mainly from the professional classes and based in London, the lady members tending to be the wives or sister’s of MP’s and civil servants; C37/1639 & C37/1640 are both of animal calls, the former with introductions in English, there could just as easily be from Herefordshire as mid Wales but as there is no evidence of Leather having made such recordings and these have the tallow numbering system they must have belonged with the Welsh Folk Song society collection.

⁵. There are a total of five pieces on the 78 but two of them are of cylinders that have survived. VWML Sound Archive, three copies, Cat. No. TPX 29.1, Archive No. 67 / 67 A /67 B.

as a separate artefact. This is unfortunate in that the separation of his collection has artificially removed it from being perceived as part of the FSS’s work, and furthermore has been used by some later historians to claim support for Grainger’s supposed estrangement from the Society⁷, but fortunate in that since his collection has been largely viewed in the context of his own work, it has received substantially more attention than other early phonograph collections, the single most important scholarly work on the subject being Jane O’Brien’s catalogue⁸, a text that I have used as a partial template for my own. Grainger’s collection is certainly part of this history, and I will include him accordingly, but with his collection now separate from the others and already well catalogued there is no need to include it here.

One other FSS related collection that I will not be surveying is that of Fox Strangways. Strangways was certainly a major figure in the FSS, joining it in 1907, its committee in 1915 and being co-author of the first biography of Cecil Sharp, but his collection of around 50 field recordings made in India between 1910-1911⁹ were made as part of his research for his book The Music of Hindostan (1914), consequently they remained in Strangways keeping, were never deposited with the FSS, and thus were never part of the collection.

Nonetheless, despite the range of its contents, the FSS collection, unlike Percy Grainger’s, Béla Bartok’s, or Frances Densmore’s ones, is not a collection of intent i.e. a specifically put together collection to be documented, catalogued & preserved as a cultural document of reference, but rather, if the term collection is to be used, it is a collection of circumstance, of accident, or, if one wishes a more positive description – happenstance,

The cylinders I am examining, all save one of which are playable, are simply those recordings from the work of the first folk song revival that survived casual destruction, either at the time – by being re-used, overplayed or damaged – or later, when many were disposed of by EFDSS staff in 1949-50, in the unfortunate belief that the recordings had “deteriorated beyond redemption”¹⁰. Consequently what we have in this “collection” probably only represents about a third of what once existed, as is proven by my lists of known phonographs that makes up Appendix II, and as such the collection is very much an incomplete testament to the use of the phonograph by the revival collectors, but it is a very tangible starting point from which a wider consideration of their work can be launched after placing the collectors in their historic context.


It is for this reason that this dissertation is in two parts. A general history of folk song scholarship in the 19th century and the ways in which the FSS differed from or was influenced by previous work, which is then followed by a series of chapters that consider the work of each member of the FSS who utilised the phonograph in their collection activities.

Part I (Chapter I) begins with a general evaluation of the development of folk song collecting in the United Kingdom in the 19th Century, showing (Chapter II) in what ways the work of the newly formed FSS and the other late 19th Century collectors differed, and yet were influenced by, that of previous collecting methodologies, for example the tradition of evaluating folk song purely as textural artefacts (and more specifically, ballad texts) as represented by the antiquarian work of Percy and the later and more rigorous work of The Ballad Society, Grundtvig and (contemporaneous with the earlier work of the Society’s founders) Child; whilst another, equally important scholarly tradition at the time tended to conflate what was perceived as folk song with popular, national, or art song, represented by such popular publications as those of Johnson, Bunting, Moore, and Chappell. In considering these influences I also look at the accusation of ‘selectivity’ that has subsequently been brought against the collectors.

Chapter III discusses the circumstance under which the FSS was revived by Broadwood, Sharp and Vaughan Williams after Kate Lee’s death in 1904. Going on to evaluate the attitudes to the phonograph as a recording tool within the Society, especially after Grainger published his seminal article ‘Collecting with the Phonograph’ in the Journal of the Folk-Song Society (henceforth JFSS) in 1908.

Part II looks at the individual attitudes of the collectors themselves to the new medium, their own reasons for making sound recordings, and the subsequent uses that they made of the information contained on them, with each collector invariably having a very different agenda. Each is considered in turn: firstly the major collectors: Leather, Broadwood, Sharp, Vaughan Williams, and Gardiner (Chapters I-V) then the lesser known figures: Ford, Wyatt-Edgell, and A. M. Freeman (Chapters VI-VIII). Chapter IX addresses the collection’s post-Great War history, briefly considering the work of the one FSS collector of this period, E. J. Moeran, who while sympathetic to the concept of field recordings probably didn’t make any phonographs. Chapter X looks at the EFDSS’s subsequent work devoted to the phonographs in the period after the Second World War, focussing on the contentious survey that Maud Karpeles and Marie Slocombe made of them between 1949-1950.

The appendices begin with two critical editions of the collectors’ achievements, firstly a catalogue of the FSS collection divided, for convenience, between the English and the Gaelic recordings and secondly – as this collection represents only a third of the recordings known to have been made – an extended, collector-by-collector, catalogue database of all phonograph recordings known to have made by its members, Grainger and Fox Strangways excepted, from the first known use of the phonograph by a member of the society in 190511 to the end of this activity, consequent on the beginning of the First World War.

The first catalogue considers such issues as the cylinder’s provenance within the collection’s internal numbering system, their playback speed, make of cylinder, colour of wax, handwritten notes, and condition, after which both catalogues utilise the collectors’ notebooks, song

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collections, correspondences, and other extant papers as primary sources for further identification, these primary sources being found at the following institutes: British Library (Vaughan Williams, Leather); Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (Sharp, Butterworth, Gardiner, Broadwood, Vaughan Williams, Leather); Surrey History Centre, Woking (Broadwood); archives of Crown Court Church, Covent Garden (John MacLennan re: Broadwood); the School of Scottish Studies (Broadwood, MacRae); The Gaelic Society of London (MacRae); the Lenton Parr Music, Visual and Performing Arts Library of the University of Melbourne (Moeran), as well as the published transcripts of the songs to be found in the JFSS and the other contemporaneous published sources such as Leather’s The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire (1912) and Broadwood’s English Traditional Songs and Carols (1908).

In conducting this research I have catalogued and evaluated a number of major manuscript sources that have hitherto been unavailable, arguably the most important of these being the Ella Leather Notebook, access to which also made possible the identification of a considerable number of additional miscellaneous papers from her collection either preserved unbound and unattributed in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library or contained within the Ralph Vaughan Williams collection at the British Library. In doing this work it was possible to take these dispersed manuscripts and construct a much more complete listing of her collection, which is included as my Appendix III.  

The other main manuscript that I have catalogued for this Thesis are the Lucy Broadwood-Farquhar MacRae papers, which are currently deposited at the School of Scottish Studies Archives, University of Edinburgh; until I relocated these manuscripts they had not been available for inspection or analysis since the mid 1960’s, so no excuse is needed for their inclusion here (Appendix IV).

Appendix V consists of facsimiles of the two major texts from the Karpeles and Slocombe phonographs survey of 1949-1950, plus critical transcripts of the same and a final cross-referenced table based on both sources showing what of the collection was still extant in 1950.

Appendices VI and VII are devoted to issues regarding the terms “English Musical Renaissance” and “Das Land Ohne Musik”; and Ethnomusicology, respectively.

A CD-ROM of the Folk-Song Society phonographs makes up one of four handouts, the other three being designed to facilitate cross-referencing.

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12. My initial findings regarding Leather were published in 2010 in my paper, ‘Resources in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: The Ella Mary Leather Manuscript Collection’ Folk Music Journal, 9 (2010), pp. 749-812, which included a catalogue of her collection, but I have since added and cross-referenced a further eighty-five entries to this work – mainly from Vaughan Williams’ Scrapbooks [Tunes Books] – hence my adding the enhanced catalogue here as an Appendix.
Part I
The History

Chapter I – Examples of previous Folk Song Scholarship

Precursors of the Folk-Song Society in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries: Bishop Percy’s Reliques, Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, Edward Bunting, and William Chappell; their different attitudes to folk song, how some favoured the printed broadside over the oral tradition in their interpretation of what constituted vernacular song, how some took the other side in this debate, and how for some it was a fluidic genre with no hard and fast distinction between the oral and printed, or even the art song traditions: The Ballad Society and the contemporaneous work of Francis James Child.

Percy’s Reliques

Whilst the collecting and publishing of traditional songs wasn’t a new activity when Bishop Percy published his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry in 1765, the development of antiquarianism over the previous one hundred years (if one takes Aubrey’s work in the seventeenth century and the subsequent foundation of The Society of Antiquaries in 1707 as a convenient starting point), coupled with the coming to prominence of the aesthetic of the sublime was to have a substantial effect on the cultural impact, interpretation and appreciation of traditional song, especially as the ballad form was to become the medium of choice for the nascent romantic movement, whether in Germany in the latter half of the 18th century, or a generation later in England with the Lakeland poets.

Consequently though there are ballads to be found in Percy’s Reliques that had appeared in previous collections, for example ‘Chevy-Chase’ in A Collection of Old Ballads (1723), or

13. John Aubrey’s (1626–1697) influential magnum opus Monumenta Britannica was written ca. 1665-1693, though it was to remain in mss. [Bodleian: MSS. Top. gen. c. 24-5] until its subscription publication in 1980-2. The Society of Antiquaries, full title The Society of Antiquaries of London, received Royal Charter in 1751.


15. As represented by Gottfried August Bürger’s successful literary take on Volkspoesie, subsequently followed by Goethe, Schiller, and then in the form of musical settings, Carl Löwe, see Breakspeare, Eustace J., ‘Songs and Song-Writers’, Proceedings of the Musical Association, 8th Sess. (1881 - 1882), pp. 65-66.

Pills to Purge Melancholy (1719), and ‘Barbara Allen’ in the fourth volume of the expanded edition of Allan Ramsay’s The Tea-Table Miscellany (1740), such songs appeared more by default - that is, through their prior existence in broadside literature, than due to their specific merits as old or historic ballads.

The basic premise of these earlier collections was recreational, the songs being selected to be sung in company, the earlier ballads being included to either add variety or, if simple enough and well enough known i.e. chorus songs, to serve the same purpose as the art song catches, glees, antiquated ballets, and rounds that made up the repertoire of the tavern or coffee house gentlemen’s clubs of the early 18th century, as noted on the title page of D’Urfey’s famous publication, its purpose was to provide “A Collection of the best Merry BALLADS and SONGS, Old and New. Fitted to all Humours”. The already noted changing aesthetics of the subsequent fifty years was to mean that though many of the songs in Percy’s Reliques were the same as in previous collections, the new aesthetic appreciation of them, the historical contexts that they were now perceived as being part of, and the claims made for their ancient lineage, placed them in a very different cultural context. A certain sense of this is imparted by the very titles of these books, from formerly being merely “Old” the ballads have now become “Reliques”, a term eminently more in keeping with the early romantic Sturm und Drang movement on the continent, along with Percy’s positing of the ballads as the literature of the ‘Ancient Minstrels in England’ the ‘genuine successors of the ancient Bards’.

Were Reliques no more than the romantic posturing of James Macpherson’s (1736-1796) culturally influential but pseudo-Gaelic Ossian or the Druidic fabrications of Iolo Morganwg (1747-1826), then, whilst obviously of interest to social historians, it would have no more claim on the attention of those concerned with the historiography of traditional song than the literary ballads of the 19th century. But such isn’t the case, the crucial importance of the text was that Percy did possess a 17th century folio manuscript of ballads, and that he did make this text the core of his published collection, that he then tampered with many of the poems in order

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22. Although Morganwg published a number of genuine Medieval Welsh texts during his life the vast majority were forgeries, but such was his influence on Welsh Nationalism and the development of the Gorsedd and the modern Druidic movement that nearly 40 years after his death The Welsh MSS. Society was publishing his writings as genuine, see: Löffler, Marion, The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg 1826-1926. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007). The – influential – posthumously published forgeries were issued as: [Morganwg, Iolo], Barddas; or, a collection of original documents, illustrative of the theology, wisdom and usages of the Bardo-Draedic system of the isle of Britain. With translations and notes. By the Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel (Llandovery: D.J. Roderic, The Welsh MSS. Society, Vol. 1, 1862; Vol. 2 [published incomplete], 1874).
to make them more suited to his audience’s expectations was certainly a contributory factor in the publication’s success –

“It was welcomed both for its presentation of “wild, enthusiastic genius” and for its editor’s art in making that genius conform to accepted literary standards. The budding elements of romantic taste were nourished by this fresh matter.”\(^\text{23}\)

But this was also to be a major factor in fuelling suspicions over the work’s integrity, foremost among them the doubts and questions of the antiquary and controversialist Joseph Ritson. Unfortunately as Percy felt little need to prove himself against what he saw as unwarranted slanders, he declined to exhibit the folio\(^\text{24}\), the very thing guaranteed to convince Ritson of the implicit rightness of his suspicions; consequently Ritson came to the conclusion that the folio MS. was a fabrication. This was the most regrettable, but understandable, side effect of the flaws in Percy’s editing methodology, for as Ritson saw errors and interpolations, he and his handful of supporters dismissed the work as a fabrication on the lines of Chatterton, Macpherson, and Morganwg (or for that matter, if one wanted to cite the most influential “missing” text in British history” the “ancient book in the British language” that Geoffrey of Monmouth’s \textit{Historia} was purportedly a translation of\(^\text{25}\)), but he was of course, wrong, his zealosity for textual authenticity had led him to dismiss as fake something that was fundamentally genuine, and his abrasive manner alienated many that otherwise would have supported his campaign for un-doctored texts\(^\text{26}\).

In many ways Percy’s pragmatic editing, making the text suitable for polite company and public consumption, and Ritson’s counter demand for total textual integrity, can be seen as a microcosm of the two attitudes that were to dominate folk-song publication and scholarship over the coming century, namely the polar positions of those wishing to popularise the songs and were happy to place the ballads alongside recent literary imitations, often conflating them with popular and national songs (even if this meant a certain amount of bowdlerism in order to gain publication) as opposed to those that saw them less as a living tradition, but as literary artefacts to be scrupulously edited and presented in critical editions before the public in limited editions designed for the academic, subscription paying, intelligentsia. The latter movement, by the middle of the 19th century was to find fruition in the work of the Ballad Society, the former by the Romantic poets and authors who took up the folk-song as part of their source material, and in considering this movement it is worth taking a brief look at a couple of the Scottish writers who came to be closely associated with the collection, editing and championing of folk song.

**Scott and Burns**

Though the most influential (in the sense of being the most widely read) literary figure of his generation, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) would seem a poor figure to cite as a major influence


\(^{26}\) Mackenzie, p. 227, in particular see the quote from Henry Alfred Burd.
on the revival of folk-song, as his paramount role in the development of romantic literature and its influence on the early 19th century construction of Scottish National identity via his artful channelling of the previous few decade’s pro-Jacobite sentimentality into that ultimate Romantic artefact, the novel, would have been perceived by one with Ritson’s attitude to historical truth as highly questionable. A good, and famous, example of this would be Scott’s organisation of the 1822 royal visit to Scotland, which took the form of a celebration of all things appertaining to the Highlands grafted upon the figure of a Hanoverian monarch, but despite his involvement in such play acting Scott was not willing to endorse forgery or blur the line between the traditional and the literary ballad; he consequently refused to endorse the unseen manuscript of the fraudulent Vestiarium Scoticum and was at pains in his own song publications to differentiate between traditional ballads and new ones written in the traditional idiom, though it should be added that this wasn’t simply due to a belief in historical accuracy, but to an awareness of the marketability of both folk song and of contemporary poetry in the ballad form as proven by Wordsworth’s and Coleridge’s Lyrical Ballads of 1798, hence his publishing in 1803 of a third volume of purely new ballads from the 2nd edition onwards of his Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. The success of the Minstrelsy changed a – “painstaking lawyer of some years’ standing into a follower of literature” – and consequently from an editor of folk song, to a poet, and subsequently to the most read prose writer of his generation. Scott existed in the worlds of both folk tradition and the new Romanticism, but his position was very much that of the professional writer and educated observer – My early recollections of the Highland scenery and customs made so favourable an impression in the poem called the Lady of the Lake, that I was induced to think of attempting something of the same kind in prose. I had been a good deal in the Highlands at a time when they were much less accessible and much less visited than they have been of late years, and was acquainted with many of the old warriors of 1745, who were, like most veterans, easily induced to fight their battles over again for the benefit of a willing listener like myself. It naturally occurred to me that the ancient traditions and high spirit of a people who, living in a civilised age and country, retained so strong a tincture of manners belonging to an early period of society, must afford a


28. Waverly (1814), Rob Roy (1817), and Redgauntlet (1824) being the specifically Jacobite novels. The Black Dwarf (1816), and The Bride of Lammermoor (1819) are set respectively either just after, or before the Act of Union (1707). Guy Mannering (1815), The Antiquary (1816) and the first two stories in Chronicles of the Canongate (The Highland Widow and The Two Drovers, 1827) whilst set in 18th century Scotland aren’t specifically Jacobite in theme.

29. Trevor-Roper, ibid pp. 33-34.


31. Scott, General Preface to the Waverly Novels, in Waverley; or ‘Tis Sixty Years Since (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1842 ed.) p. 11.
subject favourable for romance, if it should not prove a curious tale marred in the telling.  

His position with regards to vernacular culture, though ambiguous, in that he knew the real thing but was happy to mythologize it, is none the less clear cut by his recognition of himself as a knowledgeable outsider, the question of the collectors’ involvement in song collecting and song creation is much more complicated when one considers the life of that other great Scottish collector from the end of the 18th century, Robert Burns (1759-96).

Burns was dead by the time of the full flowering of the Romantic movement’s obsession with all things Scottish, or rather of all things Highland Scottish as perceived by the popular imagination, and as with Scott’s novels, his great Jacobite songs such as ‘Ye Jacobites by name’, ‘Whare hae ye been sae braw, lad?’ and ‘Charlie, he’s my darling’, were instrumental in defining concepts of Highland culture, even though his form of Jacobitism was more based around issues of Scottish independence, if not Republicanism, rather than any residual loyalty to the house of Stuart, but it is ironic that he, a man who held Ritson as an influence and, in working with James Johnson (ca. 1753-1811) on The Scots Musical Museum (1787-1803) collaborated with a publisher who used Allan Ramsay as a model, should have subsequently been conflated in the public eye with a view of Scottish identity influenced by Ossian, Donizetti, and Mendelsohn. This is not to say that, as with Scott, there isn’t much in Burn’s methods, as a collector, editor and publisher of traditional song that wouldn’t now be seen as unscientific; his improvements, revisions and expansions going far beyond what would now be considered permissible, but as one of his aims in the Museum “was to supply complete sets of words rather than fragments, he formed the habit of invisibly blending old and new, what was inherited and his own composition.” Furthermore, since he didn’t restrict his work to oral sources, in that he also saw broadsheets – in which the process of borrowings from printer to printer can be so clearly seen – as a valid part of the vernacular tradition, it can be appreciated how he saw no great wrong in continuing this process a step further if the songs’ subsequent survival required it. Unlike Scott, he was also from the same class as many of his informants, and thus had a shared heritage of song with them, which was a further factor in making his editorial additions permissible in a way which would have been considered unsuitable had they been imposed by one of a different background or nationality. Some of the issues involved in collecting at this time, and of the care Burns took in his work, can be seen in this excerpt from one of his letters from 1794 to the publisher George Thomson whose publication of the arrangements by Haydn and Beethoven made the Scots songs famous throughout Europe:

“Now, to shew you how difficult it is to trace the origin of our airs, I have heard it repeatedly asserted that this was an Irish air nay, I met with an Irish gentleman who


34. see Low, Donald A, introduction to the 1991 repr. of the 1853 ed. of James Johnson and Robert Burns, The Scots Musical Museum 1787-1803, 2 vols. p. 3. Low states that Johnson was “six years older than the poet”, but Lindsay in The Burns Encyclopedia gives his date of birth as ca. 1750.

35. The Scots Musical Museum 1787-1803, p. 5.

36. ibid, p. 16.
affirmed he had heard it in Ireland among the old women; while, on the other hand, a
countess informed me, that the first person who introduced the air into this country was
a baronet’s lady of her acquaintance, who took down the notes from an itinerant piper in
the Isle of Man. How difficult then to ascertain the truth respecting our poesy and
music! I, myself, have lately seen a couple of ballads sung through the streets of
Dumfries, with my name at the head of them as the author; though it was the first time I
had ever seen them.’

George Thomson (1757–1851) collaborated with Burns on A Select Collection of Original
Scottish Airs (1793), where traditional song and Burns’ own poems were set to ‘classical’ rather
than folk tunes. Whilst a purist may criticise this gesture, it should be seen as part of the poet’s
evangelising attitude to traditional song, in that in settings by Pleyel, Haydn, and Beethoven the
songs would reach beyond Edinburgh to London and onto the continent; for whilst most of
Thomson’s publications were financial failures, the exceptions were the 1793 volume and the
subsequent six volume selected edition, cannily published in the year of the King’s visit. That
art settings of traditional songs, arranged by Scotland’s most celebrated poet should become a
posthumous best seller in the year when an interpretation of Highland culture revolving around
the Hanoverian George IV possessed the nation, would have sat ill with a man of Burn’s
character, but only with regards to the monarch, not the settings.

In the case of Burns’ songs and Scott’s novels we find a mediated response to the cultural aura
of Jacobitism as perceived in early Romantic literature, mediated in that, as already noted,
Burns’s sentiments were tied within themes of independence and Republicanism, rather than
loyalty to the house of Stuart, whilst for Scott it represented an eminently suitable mise-en-
scène for his bestselling novels. That these culturally specific representations of a political
movement were soon to take on a life of their own, becoming part of the popular pan-European
conception of what it meant to be Scottish, whether in the form of Lady Nairne’s “moral”
Jacobitism, the apotheosis of the kilt as the national dress, or the portrayal of Scotland in
Italian opera, was certainly not the intention of either writer, but whereas we find the Jacobite
song absorbed into the Romantic movement’s developing conception of Scotland, what we do
not find is the tying of traditional song generally to one specific context, class or usage. Burns

37. Ferguson, De Lancey, ed., Selected Letters of Robert Burns (London: Oxford University Press,
38. Thompson was to publish a further five volumes after Burns’s death, issued between 1798 &
1841, but in the later editions and reprints he was to replace the original texts and settings by more recent
poets and composers. See: Lindsay, Maurice The Burns Encyclopedia (London: Hutchinson, 1959),
article on Thomson.
39. Ibid.
40. The public demand for which can be gauged by the fact that when a projected Waverly novel
failed to arrive at the continental book fairs in 1823, a forgery in German appeared, subsequently to be
“translated” into English for the domestic market by DeQuincey, see: De Quincey, Thomas, ‘Walladmir:
A Pseudo-Waverley Novel’ in The Collected Writings of Thomas DeQuincey, 14 vols (London: A. & C.
41. Davis, Leith, ‘Gender, Genre and the Imagining of the Scottish Nation: the Songs of Lady Nairne’,
Scottish Women Poets of the Romantic Period, University of California at:
http://www.alexanderstreet2.com/SWRPLive/bios/S7038-D001.html [accessed 04/03/08]
was willing to draw upon oral, printed and even art-influenced sources in compiling “all the Scotch songs, with the music, that can be found”\textsuperscript{42}, nor was he averse to collating sources, writing new lyrics or having the songs arranged in classical settings; likewise Scott though at pains to differentiate between traditional and modern ballads, was happy to capitalise on the contemporary trend for new ballads if, by association, the vernacular ones became better known. Whilst both knew what a traditional song was, what hadn’t yet occurred was that process of categorisation that defined some songs as part of the oral tradition, and thus authentic, or as part of a printed culture and thus inauthentic or, at best, separate, though a step in that direction had been taken at the same time as Burn’s work by the field work of Edward Bunting (1773 – 1843), whose \textit{A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music} consisted of tunes specifically noted on collecting tours. That the Irish texts were also given in English and the harp tunes in arrangements for the pianoforte simply reflected the book’s potential market as the first two volumes of (1796, & 1809) were published in both Dublin and London, with only the much later third volume, \textit{The Ancient Music of Ireland}, being initially only published in Dublin in 1840\textsuperscript{43}, but whereas Bunting preserved the traditional tunes he, like Burns and Percy, would occasionally alter the texts to suit contemporary taste, for though over half of the songs are provided with “a literal translation of the original Irish”\textsuperscript{44} a number were given new words\textsuperscript{45}.

Of course, criticism and the cultural interpretation of the ballad could have gone in the opposite direction, Percy’s \textit{Reliques} contained many ancient songs from the oral culture, but its dominant source was a written manuscript, and its selective rewriting had more than a literary touch to it, but as its editorial integrity had been brought into question, and as the academic community was already smarting over the Macpherson and Morganwg controversies, it wasn’t seen as the definitive template for later song research; nonetheless some of the early editors and compilers viewed oral transmission as a highly flawed medium and saw the broadside ballad as intrinsically superior. For example, J. Woodfall Ebsworth (1824-1908\textsuperscript{46}) an editor for \textit{The Ballad Society} (founded 1868), felt entitled to dismiss Dr. Joseph Robertson’s (1810-1866) and Peter Buchan’s (1790-1854) orally collected versions of ‘Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard’ as, respectively “a silly drivelling version” and “tiresome tediousness”\textsuperscript{47}, but generally both

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{42} Robertson, Y. J. Logie, \textit{The letters of Robert Burns} (London: Walter Scott, 1887), Letter LXIII, Burns to the Rev. John Skinner, October 25\textsuperscript{th}, 1787.
\item \textsuperscript{43} Bunting, Edward, \textit{The Ancient Music of Ireland, arranged for the Piano Forte. To which is prefixed a dissertation on the Irish Harp and Harpers, including an account of the old Melodies of Ireland} by E. Bunting. (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1840).
\item \textsuperscript{44} Bunting, Edward, \textit{A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland [etc.]} (London: Clementi & Co., for the Editor, [1809]). p. 35.
\item \textsuperscript{45} For example ‘To the Battle Men of Erin’, “written for this work, by Tho. Campbell, Esq.”, ibid, p. 51.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Dates as given on: Coates, ‘The Ebsworth / Fairbrother Extended Family’, \textit{andy coates genealogy page}, at: http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~andycoates/ebsworth.html [accessed 22/06/08].
\item \textsuperscript{47} \textit{Roxburghe Ballads, The}, vols 1-3 ed. with notes by Wm. Chappell; vols 4-9 ed. by J. Woodfall Ebsworth, 9 vols (London and Hertford: Ballad Society, 1869–89) vol 6 p. 630. As noted by Rieuwerts, it is on this page that Ebsworth dismisses the work of many of the collectors, when he calls Jamieson “a sensible editor, worth a dozen Peter Buchan mosaicists and mud-pie reconstructors” see Rieuwerts, Sigrid, ‘The Ballad Society: a forgotten chapter in the history of English ballad studies’, in \textit{Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation}, p. 36.
\end{itemize}
broadside and orally collected version were seen as being part of the same cultural process. Consequently, with regards to songs sung in English, it was pointless to argue for an English as opposed to Scottish tradition, when the same song, in various forms would be printed by different broadside printers in the space of a few years in London, Edinburgh, Bristol, Birmingham, Belfast or York. Furthermore, it should be noted that a song’s specific story-location e.g. Dundee, London, Yarmouth, etc, in no way restricted its popularity. Only if a song had a specifically anecdotal narrative and narrow cultural context did its currency become restricted, for example with highly localised hunting songs, and even then such a song could be found elsewhere, but with the location and personnel changed to suit its new context. It was this non-regional aspect of many of the collected songs which leant themselves to inclusion in the collections of improving popular, literary, sentimental, and patriotic volumes that went under the name of national song books.

**William Chappell**

As well as containing new compositions in the vernacular idiom (as in the case of Thomson and Burns) these collections invariably contained songs that though nominally attributed to one country due to the source location of the singer or printer, could just as easily be found in any of the others. This conclusion, it should be added, was sometimes at variance with the aims and objectives of the editors themselves, such being very much the case with the publications of William Chappell (1809-1888) whose basic premise was that of illustrating specifically English forms of song. Chappell’s work is a complex matter, for whilst he was well aware of the nationally dispersed sources of many of his songs, he went to considerable lengths in his notes and essays to differentiate English song from that of the other nations, the summary that ends vol. 2 of his *Popular Music of the Olden Time* making this clear by its title “Characteristics of English National Airs” and his classification of the airs into four classes: “airs of a smooth and flowing character…ditties, the real pastorals”; airs of a “frank and manly spirit”; the ballads, that he suggested were “probably descended to us from the minstrels”; and lastly dance tunes, a system of classification that appears less parochial when seen in the context of his collection, with each song set in its historic context, sources cited, and few compositions later than the latter part of the 18th century. That he felt that he hadn’t proved his point was shown by his notes to the three volumes of *The Roxburgh Ballads* that he edited for the Ballad Society, in which he was at pains to point out songs he believed English that previous editors had appropriated for their own countries, specially Scotland, ending his Appendix to vol. 3 –

48. To give a randomly picked example in the *Roud Broadside Index, The Banks of the Sweet Dundee* (Roud 148) has 67 entries, even if we only survey the first 10 of these we are still presented with printings by Walker of Newcastle (twice), Sanderson of Edinburgh (twice), Pearson of Manchester, Birt of London, Birmingham of Dublin (twice), one anonymous printing, and one mention in C.R. Johnson’s Sale Catalogue. See: Roud, Steve, ‘Roud Broadside Index’, VWML Online [accessed 09/05/08].

49. A good example being ‘The Universal Songster’ of 1834, the full title of which gives an idea of its remit, namely ‘The Universal Songster; Or, Museum of Mirth: Forming the Most Complete, Extensive, and Valuable Collection of Ancient and Modern Songs in the English Language, with a Copious and Classified Index, 3 vols (London: Jones and Co., 1834). As well as old ballads these volumes would include songs from ballad operas, and recent patriotic pieces such as Dibdin’s ‘Tom Bowling’ and ‘Ye free-born sons, Britannia’s boast’.

“We must look to private English collections for early editions. Our old ballads deserve more attention than they have received. We have let many of them slip from us by neglect, and the reputation of our northern friends has been enhanced by adopting them.” 51

The Ballad Society

Nonetheless, despite the cultural partisanship of Chappell and many of the other members of the new society, the fact that the Ballad Society, founded by Frederick James Furnivall in 1868, was solely concerned with the written form, and more specifically the printed form of the ballad – much to the dismay of the Harvard scholar Francis James Child (1825-96), who believed that the few surviving manuscript collections should have taken precedence – gave a trans-national emphasis to the categorisation of song, even if it went against the aims and objectives of some of the members, though this was less by design than as a by-product of the Society’s ambition to print all extant broadside collections.

Another important aspect of the society was that it had no interest in field work (in the sense that it had been previously conducted by Burns, Bunting, Buchan and most recently the Rev. John Broadwood (1788-1864) since, as Rieuwerts points out “Neither the singing traditions, past or present, nor the melodic qualities were of the slightest interest. Ballads were regarded not as narrative songs but as historical artefacts and literary remnants of bygone times” but it is unfair to condemn the Society as blinkered for this attitude, as to do so is to accuse them of a failure to do something which – based on the society’s aims and objectives – they had no intention of doing in the first place. That there was a tension between the aims of the various members is most clearly represented by the society’s relationship with Child - volatile but respectful friendship from Furnivall, distrust and silence from Ebsworth 52 - a regrettable result, in that Child was firmly of their party in his treatment of the ballad as a literary artefact, whilst his international academic contacts and knowledge of manuscript as well as broadside sources was second to none. He was consequently to supervise and edit the collection that The Ballad Society should have sponsored but hadn’t the vision to attempt.

Francis James Child

Dissatisfied with his initial attempt at collating the ballad tradition (in the eight volume English and Scottish Ballads (1857-59) published as part of the Boston printed British Poets series 53) and influenced by the philological work of his contemporary Svend Grundtvig (1824-1883) Child looked back at Percy’s work and the volumes that came after, including Ritson’s and Scott’s, and started to differentiate between art songs, broadsheet ballads, and the oral sources that were to make up the bulk of his magnum opus The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (1882–98). This monumental work, devised as a working methodology for appraising the


53. see Kittredge’s ‘Biographical Sketch of Professor Child’ in the The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, xxvi-xxvii.
earliest and most complete variants of songs by placing them together by narrative content was, by its rigour and brilliance, to bring ballad scholarship from an antiquarian and localised pursuit to a new position of scientific and international prestige.

**Conclusion**

Thus can be seen a fluidic development during the 19th Century in attitudes towards folk song. What was perceived by Percy as ancient, but in need of editorial assistance in order to make it accessible, was – as part of the common currency of his background – viewed with such familiarity by Burns and his publishers that traditional tunes were dispensed with in favour of art models in order to reach a greater market; Bunting on the other hand represented the opposite methodology in that he retained the tunes but often had new texts especially commissioned for his publications. Chappell, kept both tunes and texts, but in his desire to prove the ancient lineage of English folk song relied mainly on printed sources or manuscripts, rarely entertaining orally transmitted sources, a process his companions in The Ballad Society took a step further by ignoring tunes completely and only relying on printed matter. Child was to take the antiquarian and academic rigour of The Ballad Society’s work but broaden it to include not only manuscript sources, most importantly Percy’s Folio Manuscript, but also other pieces that had been noted orally, even including 55 “Ballad airs from Manuscript”, admittedly a small total when taken in comparison with the hundreds of textual sources he accessed, cited and quoted in his work, but an important step nonetheless towards reuniting the songs with their music."m".  

That Child’s magnum opus was to immeasurably benefit our understanding of traditional song is undoubted, but it was to have one long term effect on song scholarship that was more double-edged. For by devising, cross-referencing, and evangelising his work, Child created a canon of critical respectability for the songs included in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* that wasn’t to be extended to those other songs (usually influenced by art-song or ballad sheet) that often came from the same singer’s mouths, thus leading to a qualitative judgement, far less apparent in the earlier collections, which reduced the importance of pieces that could be traced to more recent printed literary sources, thus constructing an orthodox canon within vernacular song in a way that no previous work had done before. It was this work that was to inform and to be a major part of the succeeding scholarship, especially with regards to that of the members of The Folk-Song Society.

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54. It should of course be noted that Child didn’t live to see the last volume of his work (which contained the music) published, so there is the possibility that more examples may have been included had he lived, that said, George Lyman Kittredge, his student who provided the works biographical introduction and oversaw the publication of the last volume noted that apart from the bibliography Child had left the last part “substantially complete”. See Kittredge’s note to the “Advertisement to Part X” in Child, Francis James, ed. *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, vol 5 (repr. New York: Dover, 1965), [vi].
Chapter II – The Folk-Song Society: Precursors and Founders

The differences in aims between the Folk-Song Society and their immediate precursors: Field collecting in the 1890’s, as represented by the work of Baring-Gould and Lucy Broadwood and how their methodologies were to set a model for collecting within the new Society: The major players involved in the creation of the new Society – Kate Lee, Lucy Broadwood, Alfred Perceval Graves, and Alice Gomme. The initial input of the Folklore Society in the creation of the Folk-Song Society and the differences which led to the new Society being constituted as independent from the older one: Financial problems in the first few years of its existence.

“It is proposed to form a folk song society for the purpose of discovering, collecting, and publishing Folk and Traditional Songs of the United Kingdom and other Countries. It is certain that great numbers of these exist which have not been noted down, and are therefore in danger of being lost; while many others, which have already been collected, are practically, though undeservedly, unknown.”

From the prospectus: Proposed Folk Song Society.¹

Aims and Objectives

Nowhere are the fundamental aims and objectives of the Folk-Song Society (founded 1898), and the ways in which it differed from previous groups, more clearly stated than in the nascent Society’s published Rules, three of the most important of which were –

II.–The Society shall have for its primary object the collection and preservation of Folk-Songs, Ballads, and Tunes, and the publication of such of these as may be deemed advisable.

XI.–Meetings shall be held from time to time, as may be appointed by the Committee, at which vocal and instrumental illustrations of Folk-Songs, Ballads, and Tunes shall be given, and papers written on the subject read and discussed.

XIII.–The selection of the words and tunes to be published by the Society shall be decided upon by a Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee of Management.

From the Rules of the Folk-Song Society.²

These succinctly show the great changes that had taken place in song scholarship between the foundation of The Ballad Society in 1868 and the FSS thirty years later. The main point of the first sentence of the Report of the First General Meeting, namely the “purpose of discovering, collecting, and publishing Folk-Songs, Ballads, and tunes”, at once shows its shared purpose with and divergence from the earlier society’s rules, in that the sentence but for the last two words could have been taken from the former society’s statutes, it is the interest in ‘tunes’ that spells the difference. It is with the second paragraph that the new change in emphasis becomes increasingly apparent “it is certain that great numbers of Folk-Songs exist which have not been

¹. From the prospectus: Proposed Folk Song Society, 1 sheet, January 1898, quoted in Miller, Stephen, “‘You will be interested to hear of a project to form a Folk Song Society’: W. H. Gill and the Founding of the Folk-Song Society”, Folk Music Journal, 10 (2011), p.75.

². Journal of the Folk-Song Society, 1 (1899), [iv], italics as in original.
noted down, and are, therefore, in danger of being lost.” To the earlier society lost meant no printed copies having survived, or the destruction of the source manuscript; such as so nearly was the case had not Thomas Percy, one day in 1753, when visiting his friend Humphrey Pitt in Shropshire, found the manuscript that was subsequently to bear his name “lying dirty on the floor under a Bureau in ye Parlour: being used by the Maids to light the fire.”

But now a new urgency had come into the matter of folk-song collecting, because the new generation, going back to the examples of the Rev. John Broadwood, Burns, and Bunting, saw the oral tradition as being a more important source for folk-song, than the Black-letter broadsides and ballad manuscripts valued by the earlier society, but as – by its very nature – this methodology presupposed a qualitative relationship favouring older over younger informants, some of the latter of whom the collectors saw as being compromised by education, for example Baring-Gould favouring versions of songs from those that had learnt them orally rather than from broadsides or Sharp favouring singers whose education predated the 1870 education act, as he believed the older singers were more likely to have learnt their songs in ways closer to his ideal of the communally created and transferred song as the more standardised education and greater degree of literacy in the younger singers meant not only that they could have learnt their songs from “national song” books but also a greater uniformity in grammar and pronunciation; the sense that the source singers were getting older, that time was running out, and that the songs were “in danger of being lost” were axioms hardly unique to the late Victorian and Edwardian revival, but the fact that these collectors wished to collect songs from source singers rather than printed texts, and that these singers were perceived as a dwindling resource under the encroachments of education, continued industrialisation, and the influence of popular entertainment brought about a much greater sense of urgency in the Society’s work than would have been found with the earlier collectors’.

A further change in emphasis is the appearance in not just the Report of the First General Meeting of the role of “performance” but in Rule X the use of “vocal and instrumental illustrations” at meetings. Here was a relatively new, re-creative attitude to the songs that hadn’t been emphasised before. Certainly not by those early collectors such as Burns or James Hogg, who were more concerned with vernacular song per se (rather than the more narrow concerns of later ballad scholarship, where, if there was to be performance, it was merely as an adjunct to preserving and documenting the songs in printed form) and, being from either the same or closely related backgrounds to many of their informants, would hardly have thought it necessary

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4. Baring-Gould, S.[abine], ‘Ballads in the West’, The Western Antiquary; Or, Devon and Cornwall Note-Book, 8, No. 12 (June 1889), vii.

5. “I attach so much importance to establishing the communal theory of origins of folk-song and dance, for it is only when mankind is in the communal stage that instinct has freplay” Sharp to Paul Oppe, 24 February 1922, quoted in Cox, Gordon, ‘The Legacy of Folk Song: The Influence of Cecil Sharp on Music Education’, British Journal of Music Education, Volume 7, Issue 02 (1990), p. 91.


7. Journal of the Folk-Song Society, 1 (1899), [vi].
to emulate their performance practice or stylistic mannerisms. For them, the songs were not in danger of being forgotten (except in the sense that Chappell later felt that English airs were being ignored in favour of Scottish ones); consequently arrangements, such as Bunting’s or Johnson’s, were less exercises in proselytising on behalf of folk-culture, than that of marketing the vernacular to the musically literate classes. That textually correct but musically bowdlerised versions became popular (such as Thomson’s Select Collection) argues not only the versatility of uses to which the collectors’ felt the texts could be put, but also their potential rôle in the Romantic aesthetic.

For the mid-nineteenth-century collectors who made up the members of the Ballad Society, collecting was restricted to the manuscript or printed form and their specific interest in ballads which no longer survived in the vernacular sanctioned their research being confined to the four walls of a well stocked private or society library. That the subject was increasingly identified as a relative of the growing disciplines of not just Folklore but also the scientific study of Middle-English which “allowed the scholar to see regular processes of linguistic change connecting modern words to medieval, where earlier generations had seen only hopeless barbarisms” gave the earliest texts an authority above and beyond the romantic associations that connoted them with minstrelsy, as well as an assumed importance over later vernacular examples, and certainly over those examples, with music, to be found orally. Furthermore the philological knowledge required in such work, utilising methodologies mainly pioneered by German academics, inevitably required a degree of expertise that was only to be found amongst the highly educated, and consequently, even when a scholar was prepared to collect from an oral source (as Child was, albeit second hand), the gap between collector and informant, in both class and education, had widened to a degree inconceivable to earlier collectors, such as Hogg or Scott, collecting from their mothers (respectively) ‘Lord William’11, and ‘The Laird of Waristoun’12 or of Robert Eden Scott noting his aunt Anne Brown’s songs in 179913; though in noting this I should point

8. The Early English Text Society was founded by Furnivall in 1864, The Camden Society (now, The Royal Historical Society), founded 1838, concentrates on “published editions of sources on British History” [RHS site]. The exclusive Roxburghe Club (founded 1812) had few members in common with the other Societies, but shared bibliographic and literary concerns.


10. The desire of German philologists during the 19th Century to transcribe, edit and interpret any text that had a bearing on the history of their own language meant that a large percentage of Anglo Saxon and Middle English critical texts were first edited by German rather than British scholars, see, for example, the Saints Lives and devotional literature prepared for the Early English Text Society by Carl Horstmann; also Child’s reliance on such researchers, such as when he followed the linguistic premises in Mätzner’s Altenglische Sprachproben when editing ‘Judas’ the oldest ballad to be included in his collection, see Child, Francis James, ed. The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, 5 vols (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882–98; repr. New York: Dover, 1965), vol. I, p. 244.


13. As extant in the Jamieson-Brown Ms. Child notes this as being roughly contemporaneous i.e. 1783, with the other Ms. Of the same singer, the William Tytler’s Brown Ms., considering 13 of the pieces in the latter to be revisions of those in the former (Child, V. p. [397]), but both Kinsley and the Harvard guide
out that he was a professor of Greek at King’s College, Aberdeen, and that his aunt’s father had been professor of Philosophy at the same foundation – though far from invalidating Mrs. Brown’s legacy, one is once again forced to the conclusion that folk-song in Scotland in the late eighteenth century was rarely the preserve of just the peasantry.

By considering the importance of oral tradition the Folk Song Society’s collectors were going back to a methodology pioneered by the collectors of the Romantic movement, but also calling upon the research and textural apparatus of the later ballad scholarship. In bringing these two disciplines together, the oral tradition and the early printed material, they thus not only had access to the textually rigorous work of the ballad scholars but could also compare and contrast it with extant versions in their field work, where they were at a disadvantage over the early collectors was in the very way in which the acquisition of such specialist knowledge, and the time required to acquire it, conditioned them to being from a far narrower background than previous collectors. For what had become absolutely necessary was the possession of either professional status, private income or, at the very least, a position that permitted devoting a substantial amount of time to what would have been seen by most as no more than a recreational hobby, a good example of this that I consider later in Appendix VI is that of Gustav Holst, who worked with Lucy Broadwood and Cecil Sharp and, like his great friend Vaughan Williams, was to find folk music crucial in his development as a composer, but collected very few songs, mainly because such work required a degree of free time and disposable income that Holst with his numerous teaching responsibilities never had.

Consequently there was, with few exceptions (such as Alfred Williams14), a greater social difference between collectors and informants than had obtained previously, and this can be seen as one of the fundamental reasons for the new FSS’s emphasis on the re-creative in its work, for if the songs were (as they believed) dying out, and if they were to have a continued cultural existence, then they needed to be preserved and propagated in a way that would secure their future, but these ways, inevitably, were conditioned by the collector’s backgrounds, education, skills, and aesthetics, and in most cases meant that the transmission altered the collected artefact, a procedure that was perceived at the time as inevitable and necessary if the music was to survive, but which has subsequently left the collectors open to the charge of cultural appropriation.

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Selectivity

Before continuing this account it may be wise to briefly consider this topic which in the eyes of some writers is one of the most contentious aspects of the FSS’s legacy, namely the way in which the definitions and conventions of what the Society felt constituted folk song dictated what it collected. In doing this I will be getting rather ahead of myself in the narrative, but I think it would be useful to deal with this topic now, before dealing with the history of the FSS proper.

A first point that should be emphasised is that what the Society believed constituted “folk-song” was understandably narrower than it is now in that later methods of defining vernacular song by its context (i.e. the singer and their environment, in addition to their repertoire) rather than just the nature or form of the song itself, were still only imperfectly recognised.

In this the collectors shouldn’t be blamed. It should be remembered that despite the important academic positions of ballad experts from the generation before such as Child and Grundtvig\(^\text{15}\), the work of collecting “in the field” at the turn of the 19th century was the provenance of enthusiastic amateurs constructing their rules and methodologies very much as they went along, consequently there is, I believe, something a-historical in demanding that a group of Edwardian collectors should think of the material they were documenting in the same way as if they were cultural anthropologists from the 1970s.

As an adjunct to this question of definition there was also, as I show in Part II, Chapter IX the fact that the Society’s attitudes to selectivity were compounded in the post Great War period by the increasing belief that most things of consequence had been collected, so the question that then needs to be asked is to what extent did the Society omit material that now would be included in the documentation of vernacular culture? Received opinion suggests that a considerable amount of material was ignored, but this discarded material needs to be put into the perspective of how it was perceived at the time, namely as contemporaneous popular song, for example, Dave Harker in his influential *Fakesong* posits that Cecil Sharp either ignored or played down the influence of the broadside medium on his singers, which considering Sharp’s interpretation of the communal theory of folk-song origins, is fair criticism, but that he also attacks Sharp for ignoring music hall\(^\text{16}\) shows an unrealistic attitude to what collectors’, often with limited time on their hands, would wish to prioritise: for if a singer was known for a fragment of a ballad such as ‘Cruel Lincoln’ but was also known for ‘Granny’s Old Armchair’ how many people would spend their time trying to note the latter at the expense of the former? In an ideal world both should be noted, and yes, both can be perceived as artefacts of working class culture, but in a situation in which a collector had limited time, or the singer limited endurance (we should not forget the age of many of the informants) it is realistic to expect any of


these collectors to have favoured a well known and commonly available music hall ditty over something that may have been a truly unique variant of an undoubtedly ancient song?

Of course, there is something fundamentally vague in Sharp’s definition of folk song as something which “reflects feelings and tastes that are communal rather than personal” but he wasn’t alone in such an interpretation and it was one that was to have a pervasive legacy amongst his followers, even if later collectors did modify it to better reflect the reality of oral culture as they perceived it, for example when Maud Karpeles, one of the founding members of Sharp’s English Folk Dance Society in 1911 and Sharp’s Executor, was to reiterate in her article ‘The International Folk Music Council’ (1965) the 1954 São Paulo Folk Music Conference’s definition of folk music as being:

“the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (i) continuity which links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives.”

A definition that she admitted was “not wholly satisfactory” but which she felt could be “accepted as a guide to the fundamental concept of folk music” and in which Sharp’s influence can certainly be perceived.

One can applaud such attempts to reach a definition since this question is one that has plagued collectors from the earliest days – one is reminded of Goethe’s quoted but rarely cited comment from 1823 “We are always invoking the name of Volkslied without knowing quite clearly what we mean by it.” – and as the previous chapter has shown, definitions were fluidic and rarely standardised, but it is obvious that such “communal” definitions helped construct an interpretation of folk-song that, based as it was on ill-defined generalisations, could hardly be employed scientifically, thus leading to many anomalies that could permit one song, such as ‘The Sweet Nightingale’ [Roud 371] to be defined as a folk-song and included in the JFSS in 1918, despite its partial origin in art music circles (originally to music by Arne), but not


19. “Man spricht so oft den Namen Volkslieder aus und weiß nicht immer ganz deutlich, was man sich dabei denken soll.”, see: Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, “Spanische Romanzen: Übersetzt von Beauregard Pandin”, in “Schriften zur Literatur 1823” (218-250) of Sämtliche Werke, Vol. 36 (München: G. Müller; Berlin: Propyllen-Verlag [1909]), p. 241, the review of Pandin’s collection of Spanish ballads covers pages 241-242. I am very indebted to Reinald Bendl for locating for me the German source of this quotation. It should also be remembered that Goethe was collecting folk-song in Alsace as early as 1771, see Goethe ed. Ernst Eduard Martin, Ephemerides und Volkslieder (Stuttgart: G.J. Göschen’sche Verlagshandlung, 1883), xvi.

20. Keel noted the song in 1913 from a Mr. Baker of High Field Farm, Thursley, see Keel, Frederick, ‘Songs from Surrey’, Journal of the Folk-Song Society, 32, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1918), pp. 5-7. The text (though not – as Keel noted in the Journal – the collected tunes) being partially derived from the Dialogue or Air ‘Well met pretty maid’ in Part II, Scene II of Bickerstaffe’s 1760 ballad opera Thomas and Sally.

Regarding its different titles, the descriptive term “A Dialogue” is to be found on page 7 of the “New Edition” short score of 1782, see Arne, Dr. [Thomas Augustine], A New Edition of Thomas and Sally, or
bestow the same status on an equally popular song from the succeeding generation such as Dibden’s ‘Tom Bowling’. Looking at this example, it is probable that the issue rested on the fact that Arne’s tune for the former failed to travel with its text, leading to the creation of tunes via what the collectors saw as the folk process, though another reason could simply be that the latter was just too well known and recent to be perceived of as anything other than a National or patriotic Art song.

Though fundamentally this was an unscientific methodology, in the arena of defining folk song time did indeed create distance and consequently legitimacy, as Kidson wrote to Sharp “It must have appealed to a generation or more of people before it can claim its epithet ‘folk’, there was no hard-and-fast rule as to which material partially attributed to printed sources was to be omitted, it varied; depending on the degree of difference from the source text, to a lesser extent the source text’s age, and the preference of the collector. As shown by the example above, ‘The Sweet Nightingale’ a mediated version of a text from 1760 was permissible, whilst ‘Tom Bowling’ an unmodified one from 1789, despite appearing in numerous broadsides – no less than six of which are to be found in Baring-Gould’s personal Broadside Collection – and being sung by no less a personage than Henry Burstow, was not, though it should be noted that Sharp probably would have happily collected any of Dibdin’s compositions had he found them in his singers’ repertoires, as he makes a point of noting his surprise at having only ever encountered one example of this composer’s “1,300 songs or so” in the field – “I only know one of them that is still sung in Somerset, and the Rev. S. Baring-Gould tells me that he has only heard two of them”, adding that “they have evidently failed to survive the wear and tear of time and usage.”

Broadwood, on the other hand, whose knowledge of art music was only surpassed by Kidson’s and whose practical knowledge of this material, as a performing musician, was second to none in folk-song collecting circles would most probably have given both songs short-shrift as being

21. One is reminded of that magical phrase in Parsifal, Gurnemanz: “Du siehst, mein Sohn, zum Raum wird hier die Zeit.” (You see, my son, here time becomes space). Wagner, Parsifal, Act 1, Scene 1.


23. The song was composed as part of Dibdin’s one man theatre show The Oddities, performed at Covent Garden in 1789, unfortunately the British Library’s collection of slip-song sheets from this work is missing ‘Tom Bowling’, but the other songs are either dated 1791 or are undated, being imprinted “London : printed & sold by the author” and can be attributed to the year before, if not to that of the actual performance.

24. The Roud index lists currently 76 versions to be found in either popular songsters or broadsides, though many of the latter – for example those by Such – will be duplicates. Baring-Gould’s copies are to be found in his Broadside collection at: Vol.2, No.153; Vol.2, No.245; Vol.6, No.4; Vol.7, No.64; Vol.7, No.233; and Vol.8, No.126. It is No. 34 in Burstow’s song-list, Reminiscences of Horsham, p. 115.

relatives of those “genteel ‘Phoebe and Colin’ song of the eighteenth century, equally florid and tasteless in words and music.”

Consequently it has to be acknowledged that these – imprecise – rules led to the omission of some material, but was this such a very great amount of what those who were collected from perceived as their repertoire? In many cases this is a question impossible to answer, we simply do not know the full repertoires of many of the informants, the often improvised nature of the collecting work, based as often as not on lucky happenstance, precluded such diligent documentation. Only where a singer was collected from on more than one occasion, and then under controlled circumstances such as in Grainger’s Lincolnshire, or Broadwood’s London Gaelic work could such an overview be attempted, but these tended to be the exceptions, and the day-to-day reality of song collecting is probably better represented by Sharp’s aborted recording session of Jack Bardin’s attempts at ‘Lady Maisry’ or – forgetting the issue of the phonograph altogether and just considering the usual collecting methods – Vaughan Williams’ regretful comment to ‘I’ll sing you one O’ [Roud 133] from Mr. Dykes, in the Inn at Pembridge, Herefordshire, where he wrote “Note all rather doubtful as Dykes was in a great hurry”, under such circumstances we are fortunate when we even have the singers name.

In a few cases we of course do know a singer’s complete repertoire; again, Henry Burstow is a good example of this, and in his case we know that roughly just over a quarter of his four-hundred or so songs were noted, thus leaving three-quarters omitted, but two points should be made here, firstly that Burstow should not be taken as representative of the average singer, for here was a man with a phenomenal memory who consistently went out of his way to learn songs and their variants, both old and new, furthermore (if his ghost-written autobiography is to be trusted, and I see no reason why it shouldn’t be) he not only saw nothing wrong in the collectors’ differentiating between modern and earlier songs but gave such ideas his tacit approval when he included in his book an unsourced definition of folk-song that very much reiterated the Society’s own stance, namely –

I am glad to know that in these ways have been preserved the words and tunes of nearly all those songs of mine that come within the objects of the Society, viz.: those that are “traditional survivals of songs expressive of the thoughts and emotions of untaught people passing between mind and mind from more or less remote periods to the present time.” *

With the asterisk at the end of this quote leading us to a note, given at the bottom of the page:


28. BL: RVW 54189 bk 7, 302.

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* This definition of Folk Song (source unknown) meets with the approval of the Hon.Secretary of the Folk Song Society.30

The importance of this is that here is a definition of Folk-Song, promulgated by a source singer (albeit via an amanuensis) that very much reiterates the society’s own definition, thus giving a good idea of the general currency that such definitions had by this time. But these points are an aside, they are given to show that Burstow, in the breadth of his repertoire and critical knowledge of its importance could hardly be considered a typical singer, and what concerns us here is to ask to what extent was material usually omitted, and did the continued implementation of such rules contribute to the post war consensus that everything of consequence had been collected? Certainly amongst the core collectors the issue of different repertoires was a prevalent one, in 1905 Lucy Broadwood noted that once a singer had been encouraged to sing:

“Then is the time for patience. We must listen with becoming reverence to “Silver Threads amongst the Golden,” to Eliza Cook’s “Old Armchair,” or to “Sweet Alice, Ben Bolt”; we must wag our pencil hypocritically over our music-paper should we wish later to hear the ballad of “Long Lamkin,” “Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor,” “Death and the Lady,” or the like.”31

Sharp also gives us some idea of the omitted repertoire when he noted that:

The popular songs that they thus offer him [the collector] are not, however, the town songs of to-day, but of yesterday. At the present time, for instance, the peasants are singing the popular songs of the mid-Victorian era, such as “Woodman, spare that tree”, “The Mistletoe Bough”, “Cheer boys. Cheer” etc., etc., rather than “Daisy, Daisy”, or “The Bull and the Bush”.32

The above quotes give a very good idea of the nature of the material omitted, but can anything else assist us in evaluating the quantity of such material?

If, for example, one looks at later post (2nd World) War audio collections and their associated (commercial) documentary releases, how much material is included that wouldn’t have passed muster in the JFSS?33 To take but one example, the recordings made by Brian Matthews that

30. Burstow, Henry, Reminiscences of Horsham […] recorded and edited by William Albery (Horsham, Free Christian Church Book Society, 1911), p. 110. Though it should be noted that it is unclear which “Hon. Secretary” Burstow is referring to, his book was published in 1911 so technically it should be Frederick Keel, but as he had only just replaced Mrs. Walter Ford (the Honorary Secretary from 1908-1910) it is possible that had the chapter been written the year before he was referring to her, but the third option, and to my mind the most likely candidate, is Lucy Broadwood, for whilst she had formally retired from that position in 1908 she was not only Burstow’s oldest link with the Society, having first corresponded with him in 1892, but he went out of his way in his Reminiscences to describe her specifically as “later Hon. Secretary and Editor to the Folk Song Society”


33. I am aware that such comparisons are not scientific, we are after all looking at a collection and then chronologically working backwards from it, consequently any conclusions drawn can only be applied to earlier collections with the greatest caution; furthermore, it should not be forgotten that all collections have their own inevitable emphases based on location, time, equipment and the collectors’ own
were later to be (selectively) released on the Musical Traditions release *Just Another Saturday Night: Sussex 1960*. As its title suggests, this was an attempt to represent a typical cross section of vernacular song as it might have been encountered (by those in the know) in a public context, i.e. a public house, in Southern England in the late 1950’s and first half of the 1960’s, containing recordings of a number of source singers now recognised as notable exponents of their art, such as George ‘Pop’ Maynard, George Spicer, Harry Holman and Louie Fuller; analysing the track-list we find that just under 30% (15 of the 51 tracks) fall into categories that wouldn’t have been included in the pages of the FSS’s *Journal*, namely parlour ballads, music-hall numbers and other commercial songs.

With regards to some of these, there is of course no way that they could have been collected by the earlier collectors as some of the songs, such as the well known ‘The Rest of the Day is Your Own’ and the locally composed First World War themed ‘Patsy Flanagan’ post-date their collecting time-period, the former definitely and the latter probably being from 1915, whilst other songs in these categories would have been either very recent or virtually contemporaneous with the collectors work, such as ‘She’s Proud and She’s Beautiful’, also known as ‘Sarey’, from 1906 and ‘The Hobnail Boots that Father wore’ from 1907, and thus hardly eligible for recognition as “folk-songs”, though it should be noted that attitudes towards this material were not unified and differed from collector to collector, for whilst Vaughan Williams only perceived it as the product of a “cheap and nasty press” which, taking advantage of increased literacy in the working class “flooded the market with degraded stuff, which the people, for the very reason of their unsophistication, took hold of avidly because it was new and therefore must be better than what their fathers had taught them”, whereas Broadwood could acknowledge it as a legitimate part of a singers’ repertoire, albeit a part that she felt no need to collect herself.

preferences. With regards to commercial releases this is even more so, in that any release will itself be the result of an additional series of mediations in that what is released is but a cross section of what is available, and invariably reflects not only the tastes and preferences of those issuing it but also the releases target audiences (it could of course be said that this was also the case with the Journals), but if such collections and releases can be seen to inhabit a similar critical framework – i.e. “field-recordings” of vernacular music as opposed to, for example studio recordings, or revivalist (post-Second World War revival) artists, then the comparison might be instructive.

34. Various Artists: *Just Another Saturday Night: Sussex 1960* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Musical Traditions: MT CD 309-10, Dbl. CDR, 2001). At the time of the recordings Louie Fuller was Louie Saunders.

35 See the accompanying online booklet at http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/saturday.htm [accessed 12/11/13]. The former was written in 1915 by David & Long. I am inclined to date the latter, written by ‘Pop’ Maynard’s friend Fred Holman, of Tatsfield, Surrey to between 1914-15 as it contains references to Generals French and Joffre and “the Grand Duke Nicholas”, as a topical song it can thus be no later than December 1915 when French was replaced by Haig as Commander-in-Chief BEF.


The most famous example of this would be when she noted Burstow’s repertoire “of more than four hundred songs, old and new, which he knows by heart. Amongst them about fifty or sixty are of the traditional ballad type, and these have been noted and preserved”\(^{39}\); as already noted, Burstow himself had a cultivated awareness of the differences between traditional and recent popular songs, whether parlour ballads or products of the halls, and knew a lot of the more recent pieces were easily available elsewhere, and it is hardly likely he would have seen Broadwood’s and Vaughan Williams’ collecting work as cultural appropriation, although admittedly, a collector could sometimes be seen to go too far by a source musician: William Kimber for example hated Grainger’s arrangement of his Morris tune *Country Garden*\(^{40}\) but he had nothing but praise for Sharp’s transcriptions and the time and diligence Sharp took to get the dances right\(^{41}\), again, Kimber, like Burstow, was hardly an average performer, but what one doesn’t detect is any sense of resentment at the utilisation of his tunes, more indeed pride as when he commented on the copy of the (2nd edition) of the *Morris Book* which Sharp sent him—

“I wouldn’t lose that, no not, not if I was going to make me a rich man, poor as I be now, that was going to make me an independent man I wouldn’t part with that book, it says there “To William Kimber, from his old friend” – and God knows he was one – “and pupil” that’s as precious as anything as I’ve got to me.”\(^{42}\)

Likewise (though again, the example is a far from typical source singer) one is reminded of the famous tale of how Joseph Taylor, coming to the Queen’s Hall in London in 1908 to hear Delius’s *Brigg Fair – An English Rhapsody*, which was based on a theme taken from Taylor’s song of the same name [Roud 1083], and of how the singer had joined in as the tune was played, though in an unobtrusive manner, as his granddaughter later noted ‘Well he might have hummed the tune a bit, but he certainly didn’t get up and sing’.\(^{43}\) Now in Delius’s Rhapsody we have a composition already two steps away from the source singer, as he in fact acquired the tune via the mediation of Grainger’s arrangement rather than from Taylor himself, but as far as can be ascertained, Taylor was delighted rather than distressed by the new use his song was being put to.


\(^{41}\) Interview: William Kimber, 16 June 1959, Christopher Chaundy Collection, BLSA C1133/3: “[...] taking down the tunes was a simple job, to him, but ’twas getting them right, the right times they should be played and the repeats and all that, it took a long while, the dances were taken down separately, I was in his studio, one dance at a time get ’em right before you went to another, five chairs and me, it took about 4-5 years to get the dances down right.” [transcription by author for the BLSA].

\(^{42}\) Interview: William Kimber, 16 June 1959, Christopher Chaundy Collection, BLSA C1133/2 [transcription by author for the BLSA].

Occasionally it was even the cross-over between folk and Art settings that was an incentive for a specific song being collected in the first place, for example when Percy Grainger recorded George Wray singing ‘Britain's Long Expected Great News’ [Roud 1552] in 1906 precisely because the chorus was a corruption of ‘Rule Britannia’, this is unsurprising when one considers that as early as 1903 (so before he had joined the FSS) he was sketching settings of music hall songs and commercial ragtime\textsuperscript{44}, much more surprising is that we also find this song in Vaughan Williams’ collection, when he noted it, as the ‘Death of Nelson’, from William Fiske, interestingly only putting down the words and not the tune, and thus the opposite of his usual practice, which suggests either a recitation, or that the tune must have remained so close to the Art setting that Vaughan Williams saw no need to transcribe it.\textsuperscript{45}

Looking at another canonical occasion a slightly more ambiguous reception met Sharp’s first transcriptions of songs that he had collected in the field, when he played them to John England “John was proud, but doubtful about the ‘evening dress’ ; there had been no piano to his song”\textsuperscript{46}, but this only goes to show that source singers are no more an homogenous group than were the collectors themselves, it shouldn’t be forgotten that Joseph Taylor sang in his local church choir for 45 years\textsuperscript{47}.

It is an oversimplification to see source singers as all of one class; the educated and wealthy professional backgrounds of some Gaelic singers is the most obvious example against this construct (see Part II, Chapter 2), but even amongst the agrarian English singers recent research has shown a far wider social demographic\textsuperscript{48} than fits the revisionist criticism that would see the work of the FSS as one of simple one-sided appropriation, consequently there is not only a wealth of different attitudes amongst the source singers towards the work of the collectors but also a wide selection of perspectives towards the material that they had, for every singer who didn’t differentiate between “Silver Threads” and “Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor” one can easily find one who did.

To give but one – anecdotal, but relevant to the FSS collection – example, when Fred Hamer met May Bradley in Ludlow in 1959, he not only realised that he had met a great traditional singer but soon realised that her mother was the Gypsy singer Esther Smith from whom Ella Leather collected songs in 1908, 1912 and 1913, using a phonograph on the first of those occasions. May Bradley (1902–1974) was unable to read or write but had a prodigious memory for her mother’s

\textsuperscript{44} ‘After the ball was over’ sketch, and ‘In Dahomey’, for piano, see Balough, Teresa, \textit{A Complete Catalogue of the Works of Percy Grainger}, Music Monograph 2 (Nedlands, WA: Department of Music, University of Western Australia, 1975), pp. 2 and 27.

\textsuperscript{45} Percy Grainger MSS Collection (Hektograph copy at VWML) No.268 and O’Brien, Jane, \textit{Grainger English Folk Song Collection}, No. 268. R. Vaughan Williams MS collection: Scrapbook of Texts & Letters (VWML) item 93 [FE: (RVW1/1/100)], unfortunately the MS is undated.

\textsuperscript{46} Fox Strangways, \textit{Cecil Sharp}, p. 33.


\textsuperscript{48} For one of the most in-depth evaluations of this question see: Bearman, C. J., ‘Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp’s Somerset Folk Singers’, \textit{Historical Journal}, 43 (2000), pp. 751–75.
and family’s songs. Hamer recorded 26 songs from her, sometimes on multiple occasions and although some of them are obviously modern creations such as the mawkish ‘The Blind Baby’ [Roud 21736] she had a keen understanding of the different types of song “I don’t like mixing the old uns with the new ones.”\(^{49}\), with one that she was initially chary of recording at all, namely the carol ‘The Leaves of Life’ [Roud 127], not only one of her mother’s songs but also a sacred composition, and which she only finally sang to Hamer because he had happened to visit her just after Easter, a time she considered a suitable time for its performance\(^{50}\). As can be seen from these brief examples, source singers could also be discerning when evaluating the respective merits of their repertoires.

It should be remembered that the aim of the FSS was that “The Society shall have for its primary object the collection and preservation of Folk-Songs”\(^{51}\) consequently it seems a-historical to condemn them for not noting contemporaneous numbers that could easily be heard any Saturday night at the local Music-Hall, for with regards to this material the passage of time is a matter that needs to be factored into any evaluation of why such songs weren’t collected; by 1960 Harry Holman’s ‘The Valley of Switzerland’ (Roud 16708) was over fifty years old and hardly part of the hit-parade, but in 1910 it was hot off the press.

If anything, comparative analysis shows that the collectors were far more inclusive than their detractors have credited them to be; for example, three of the songs found on our sample CD haven’t been added to my total of material ignored because all of them, though not included in the pages of the JFSS, can be found in either other publications or in the collectors’ manuscript collections, namely the parlour ballad ‘The Poor Old Weaver’s Daughter’ (Roud 1277), collected not only by Gavin Greig, Sharp and Alfred Williams, but even published (in both cases sans music) in the first’s Folk-Song of the North-East and the last’s Folk Songs of the Upper Thames\(^{52}\), the popular ‘Joe the Carrier Lad’ was also noted and published by Greig\(^{53}\), whilst the even more ubiquitous (if post 1950’s collections are anything to go by) ‘Buttercup Joe’ was surprisingly noted by Sharp in 1904, though it could be argued that its relatively early collection date suggests that he was initially being less selective in his collecting work than he was to later become, it is after all the only time this song appears in his collection\(^{54}\).

\(^{49}\). May Bradley: *Sweet Swansea* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Musical Traditions: MT CD 349, CDR, 2010). For online booklet see: http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/bradley.htm#trak [accessed 07/12/13].

\(^{50}\). Ibid. Hamer recorded Bradley on April 12 1966, which would have coincided with Easter Monday for that year. Two versions of the song are found on tracks 18 and 35 of the MT release, sadly the associative conversation isn’t on the CD so can only be heard on either the copies at the VWMLSA or the originals at the BLSA. The originals are part of the BLSA Fred Hamer Collection, on tapes C433/31 & C433/36, unfortunately the cataloguing of this collection is so lamentable as to be next to useless.

\(^{51}\). *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 1 (1899), [iv].

\(^{52}\). Greig, Gavin, *Folk-Song of the North-East* (1909 & 1914), article no. LXXVII: Mr. Farquhar, Rora, Aberdeen, nd; Williams, Alfred, *Folk Songs of the Upper Thames* (1923), 191-192: Joseph Bartlett, Down Ampney, Gloucestershire, nd; Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Words, 1781-1782 / Folk Tunes, 1925: James Beale, Warehorne, Kent, 23 Sept. 1908.

\(^{53}\). Greig, Gavin, *Folk-Song of the North-East* (1909 & 1914), article no. XCIX: Angus James, Peterhead, Aberdeen, nd.

\(^{54}\). Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Words, 250-251 / Folk Tunes , 165: John Coles, Hambridge, Somerset, 8 April 1904.
Nonetheless, to return to the matter of selectivity, after omitting the three First World War period songs (two topical, one general) that post-date the Edwardian collectors and the nine Music Hall numbers that would have been seen as contemporaneous, we are left with thirty-nine tracks of which only the grand total of three are pieces that now would automatically be considered an integral part of a singers repertoire and worth recording but then were overlooked as too recent and commercial in origin, or to quote Vaughan Williams “degraded stuff”, namely the wonderful Travellers’ song – of uncertain textual ancestry – ‘Once I Had a Dark Eyed Lover’ [Roud 16637], and the two Parlour Ballads ‘The Dying Stockman’ and the ‘Volunteer Organist’. This is not of course a scientific analysis, and any comparative commercial release is, by its very nature, itself a mediated artefact, but three songs omitted out of a total of thirty-nine that would have been perceived as non-contemporaneous suggests that the collectors were far less judgemental, and far more inclusive than some have given them credit for.

Consequently, although a certain percentage of material can be seen as having been omitted, invariably depending on such variables as the singers other repertoire and the time available to note songs, i.e. pragmatic reasons, as well as more general issues such as the genres that were favoured at the time, and the preferences of the individual collectors based on their own aims and objectives, the vast majority of non-contemporaneous material tended to be noted in some form or other, sometimes imperfectly, but invariably with a good will.

But what were the factors that led to their taking up field work in the first place, a practice that had been eschewed by the members of The Ballad Society? To answer this one must look at the work of some of the society’s members in the years leading up to its formation.

The Publications of 1889

In many ways 1889 and the succeeding few years can be seen as the starting date of the movement that was to become the FSS, since that year marked the actual publication and the planned publication of the first folk song volumes of two of the major collectors of the late Victorian period. The published text of that year was the first part of the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould’s four vol. Songs and Ballads of the West (1889-92), jointly credited to the Rev. H. Fleetwood Sheppard who arranged the tunes, the delayed publication being the planned expanded edition of the Rev. John Broadwood’s Old English Songs entitled Sussex Songs (Popular Songs of Sussex) arranged by H. F. Birch-Reynardson, with ten additional songs collected by Birch-Reynardson’s cousin, the author’s niece, Lucy Broadwood ([1890]), an intangible edition in that though the book was dated 1889, it wasn’t until April of the following year that it was finally published55. That these volumes were followed in quick succession by William Alexander Barrett’s English Folk Songs ([1891]), Frank Kidson’s Traditional Tunes (1891) and Lucy Broadwood and John Fuller-Maitland’s English County Songs (1893) shows the sudden rise in interest in folk song collecting at this time56. I will briefly look at Kidson later in this chapter, but the majority of Sabine Baring-Gould’s field collecting work was done by 1896, so consequently he plays no role in the story of the FSS work with the phonograph, and

55. See Gregory, E. David ‘Before the Folk-Song Society: Lucy Broadwood and English Folk Song, 1884-97’, Folk Music Journal, 9 (2008), p. 376. I am heavily indebted to this article for the biographical sections on Lucy Broadwood in my later chapter on her.

thus his fascinating career does not fall within the scope of this Thesis: nonetheless there are a number of points about Songs and Ballads of the West that are worth briefly noting, firstly, that as well as having a title that described itself as A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People\textsuperscript{57}, it was – in its eventually published four parts – one of the most ambitious collections to be issued with tunes, and thus was to set the template for later collections, especially with regards to the “recognition that the songs were linked to individual singers who were usually identified in the text.”\textsuperscript{58}, often with biographical details; secondly there is the issue of Baring-Gould’s preference for acquiring an early ballad from a singer rather than from a later broadside, as –

“When the rhymers produced a modern song, before Catnach, Fortey, Such, or any other of the great purveyors of broadsides it was printed with tolerable accuracy; but when they gave up a traditional ballad they were pretty sure to make a hash of it. They took from oral recitation, and in course of traditional recitation the ballads became very corrupt.”\textsuperscript{59}

Consequently –

“in collecting ballads and songs from oral recitation one has to distinguish, there are some that come to us from very old men who can neither read nor write, and such are usually much more correct than the versions sung by younger men, who can read, and who have taken theirs from broadsides”\textsuperscript{60}

This was a substantial change in attitude towards text as found in vernacular song, for whilst Baring-Gould acknowledged the primacy of an ancient, uncorrupted text, if extant, over other sources, something that The Ballad Society and a later literary collector such as Frank Kidson would also have acknowledged, he drastically diverged from their priorities in seeing an orally transmitted version as being potentially more valuable than a later printed one, if the oral source was the right one and the printed one could be shown to be garbled.

This was something that Baring-Gould was well equipped to do as his knowledge of street literature was second to none, having amassed a collection of hundreds of broadsheet ballads\textsuperscript{61},

\begin{itemize}
  \item 57. Songs and Ballads of the West, [i].
  \item 58. Ibid.
  \item 59. Baring-Gould, S.[abine], ‘Ballads in the West’, The Western Antiquary; Or, Devon and Cornwall Note-Book, 8, No. 12 (June 1889), vi. This article has often been overlooked due to an accident of its publishing history. It has Roman pagination ([v]-x) which continues on from that of the volume 8 “Preface”, furthermore it is also titled “Introductory Article” consequently, despite the preface being dated July 1889, it was obviously intended to be bound at the beginning of the volume (covering July 1888-June 1889); I think it probable that both were initially published at the same time as issue 12 (the final issue of volume 8) so as to facilitate binding with the completed years set. The consequence of which was that as both Preface and article were separately numbered from the years issues and although meant to be at the beginning of the volume were issued at its end, some bound sets do not include it, its rather ephemeral 10 pages being overlooked by some subscribers.
  \item 60. Ibid, vii.
  \item 61. He deposited the bulk of his broadside collection at the British Library, two volumes reside at L.R.31.b.19., and nine volumes at L.R.271.a.2., the first volume of which is a double set. There are also further volumes at the Devon Record Office, Exeter, the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth and the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
\end{itemize}
and much as Frank Kidson was able to recognise a musical phrase from an earlier printed source, Baring-Gould’s knowledge of printed balladry was such that he could pinpoint the disparate sources for an incorrectly printed broadsheet or know the original phrase in a misremembered ballad, nevertheless in recognising the special importance of the source singer, and especially those unaffected by the later Victorian changes in education, it is easy to perceive his influence on the FSS, and when the revised 3rd edition of Songs and Ballads of the West, now rechristened Songs of the West was issued in 1905 this link became tangible, since Cecil Sharp composed the new arrangements for it, an imprimatur which placed the book once and for all in its permanent position as a foundational text of the Folk-Song movement.

Lucy Broadwood

As already noted, the other important planned volume of Folk-Song for 1889, but not published until April of the following year, was the expanded edition of the Rev. John Broadwood’s Old English Songs, entitled Sussex Songs (Popular Songs of Sussex), which was arranged by H. F. Birch-Reynardson, with ten additional songs collected by his cousin, the author’s niece, Lucy Broadwood.

Broadwood’s later story is inextricably linked to that of the founding of the FSS, and that, to quote her recent biographer Dorothy de Val, she “found her raison d’être in editing the Journal of the Folk-Song Society, which in effect became her life’s work”, and as she was also one of the most accepting of the major collectors of the new phonographic technology, being, after Grainger, probably the most sympathetic of the musically trained to the concept of the phonograph as a documentary recording tool, I will consider those aspects of her work in their relevant sections, but as she was to be one of the major players in not just the founding but also, after the death of Kate Lee in 1904, the reviving of the FSS it is useful to briefly consider her earlier history and her attitudes to collecting and folk song in order to better understand the FSS’s decision to concentrate on collecting from singers as well as from printed sources.

Lucy Etheldred Broadwood was born in Melrose, Scotland on August 9th, 1858, the youngest of nine surviving children of Henry Fowler Broadwood and his wife Juliana Maria. She was the great granddaughter of the piano manufacturer John Broadwood of

62. See Baring-Gould, S.[abine], ‘Folk Songs and Melodies of the West’, vi. for an example of his detective work, in this case with the hopelessly garbled ‘The Streams of Lovely Nancy’ [Roud 688].


64. See Gregory, E. David ‘Before the Folk-Song Society: Lucy Broadwood and English Folk Song, 1884-97’, Folk Music Journal, 9 (2008), p. 376. I am heavily indebted to this article for the biographical sections on Lucy Broadwood.


66. Broadwood was a very skilled musician; I use the term “musically trained” to differentiate her from collector’s such as Leather who embraced the new technology out of necessity.

Oldhamstocks, Lothian, a carpenter’s son and cabinet maker who had travelled to London in 1761 to seek his fortune. He found employment with Burkat Shudi (originally Burckhardt Tschudi) the Swiss born harpsichord maker and friend of Handel, subsequently marrying Shudi’s daughter Barbara in 1769, and inheriting his company in partnership with his brother-in-law Burkat in 1771, renaming the firm John Broadwood & Son in 1795, before becoming its sole owner after the younger Burkat’s death in 1803. It was the great fortune that Broadwood bequeathed to his family upon his death in 1812 and the company’s continued success as one of the most respected and successful piano manufacturers that provided the young Lucy Broadwood with the wealth and security to follow her own interests and concerns, early (as in pre-classical) music – in those days virtually uncharted territory – and folk music.

If the former of these seems an obvious interest when one considers Shudi’s role in the music making of 18th century London, the latter is also explained by her family background. Her earliest musical memory was of sitting on her father’s knee as he sang ‘The Wee Little Croodin’ Doo’ [Roud 10/Child 12]. She was to later reminisce of this occasion in the Journal of the Folk-Song Society – “I understood nothing of the plot and remember wondering why tears poured down my cheeks, for I was not conscious of naughtiness but rather of a strange new joy.” The second family influence, albeit a posthumous one, was that of her uncle the Rev. John Broadwood, the squire-parson of the Lyne estate at Capel, Dorking, Surrey. It was upon his death in 1864 that her family had moved to Lyne House and it was in 1870 that she became acquainted with his privately published volume Old English Songs of 1847, the full title of which is worth quoting in full as it gives a very clear idea of his aims and objectives –

Old English Songs, As Now Sung by the Peasantry of the Weald of Surrey and Sussex, and Collected by One Who Has Learnt Them by Hearing Them Sung Every Christmas from Early Childhood, by the Country People, Who Go About to the Neighbouring Houses, Singing, or ‘Wassailing’ as It Is Called, at that Season. The Airs Are Set to Music Exactly as They Are Now Sung, to Rescue Them from Oblivion, and to Afford a Specimen of Genuine Old English Melody: and the Words Are Given in their Original Rough State, with an Occasional Slight Alteration To Render the Sense Intelligible.

It is the second part of this extended title that clearly presents us John Broadwood’s methods and intentions with regards to the collecting of folk song, for the former we are informed that the Airs Are Set to Music Exactly as They Are Now Sung, being reassured at the end of the title that the Words Are Given in their Original Rough State, with an Occasional Slight Alteration To Render the Sense Intelligible the purpose of which being to not only Rescue Them from Oblivion but also to Afford a Specimen of Genuine Old English.


Melody. In Broadwood’s insistence on transcribing the tunes and texts “as is”, as well as in his desire to preserve what he perceived as an endangered cultural artifice, we are presented not only with a groundbreaking manifesto but also with a template of successful and scientific song collecting that his niece was to take to heart.

Consequently, although Lucy Broadwood was only a year older than Cecil Sharp, she was, due to her family’s interest in folk song, a generation earlier than him in involvement with the folk song movement; unlike Sharp or Vaughan Williams she had no need for an epiphany moment such as Hambridge or Ingrave, where these collectors first heard a source singer, as an interest in traditional song was very much part of the common currency of her background.

Despite the idea of the collecting of folk-song being very much “in her blood”, and despite her lifelong involvement in the Folk-Song Society, culminating in her being made its president in December 1928, Broadwood became a rather shadowy figure in post Second World War evaluations of the movement. This was for a number of reasons, though probably the most important one was the self-effacing way that she worked, devoting so much of her time to seeing through to publication the writings of others in the Journal; also, she left us no equivalent to Sharp’s English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions, no grand statement, the closest being her short paper ‘On the Collecting of English Folk-Song’ given on her own turf (“King’s Hall, Messrs. Broadwood’s, Conduit Street”) to the Musical Association on the 14th March 1905, the most important result of which being that it enthused Percy Grainger to seriously undertake field recordings.

Her first extended essay in folk-song scholarship, Sussex Songs (1890) an edition of her uncle’s book augmented by her own research didn’t even name her on its title page, whilst English County Songs (1893), though recognised at the time as a major achievement and point of development in the understanding of folk-song in England, was, by the very nature of its working methodology a work of compilation and collaboration, with songs being forwarded to the editors by regional associates, rather than their having collected them in the field themselves. Only her 1908 English Traditional Songs and Carols, her final book, consisted purely of songs that she had collected (between 1893-1901), although it is an exemplary publication, with basic singer biographies, sensitive arrangements, the absolute minimum of textual bowdlerisation and detailed notes, including Ralph Vaughan Williams’ painstaking transcriptions of Henry Burstow’s phonograph recordings, it is hardly a definitive statement of Broadwood’s aims and objectives as a folk-song collector. Although she still had another twenty-one years ahead of her, there were to be no more major publications independent of her Journal work.

That we now know far more about Broadwood’s life and work than previous generations is mainly due to the recent availability of her personal papers and (most important of all) her diaries, for whilst the majority of her papers on folk-song were bequeathed on her death to the FSS, her other manuscripts were not available for general access until many decades afterwards. Her general papers were finally made available in 1977 when they were deposited by the Broadwood Trust at the Surrey History Centre, but it wasn’t until January 2000 that her diaries were finally made available when S. E. H. Broadwood, the son of


Leopold Alfred Tschudi Broadwood, Lucy Broadwood’s nephew and executor, deposited them at the same archive\(^74\).

It is these papers, especially the thirty-nine volumes of her diaries, begun in 1882 when she was twenty-four and continued until the day before her death\(^75\) which have made recent reappraisals of her life and work, possible\(^76\), but it should be emphasised that Broadwood’s diaries, though of inestimable value, are at one and the same time the most fascinating and frustrating of source texts.

On the most mundane of levels they are frustrating since Broadwood’s handwriting, though markedly more legible than Vaughan Williams’ scrawl, is very hard to decipher, a matter not helped by her fondness for abbreviations, but much more important than this is the issue of their contents, for essentially their purpose was simply that of an extended aide-mémoire for their writer, so one often finds her passing by or glossing over important events (since she could easily remember those) whilst going into the greatest detail over routine activities. So, for example, most days describe the weather, Broadwood’s physical ailments (understandably – in those pre-Penicillin days – no trivial matter to its writer, but possibly of limited interest to those not directly concerned with matters of medical history), and – in the greatest detail – her endless rounds of visitors, social meetings and society engagements; one discovers who escorted her into diner, who was sat next to whom, what was served, and occasionally, what was said, but rarely anything of the interior life of their writer. This is not to say that they aren’t of the greatest use in giving one an overview of Broadwood’s life, for it is one thing to know of the circles she moved in, quite another thing to be presented with its minutiae in her diaries.

For example, she was to spend a substantial amount of her time during the first half of 1905 arranging a memorial fund for a plaque at St Margaret’s, Westminster in memory of her friend (and employee of John Broadwood & Sons) the early-music instrument and piano expert A. J. Hipkins, within six months raising nearly £900\(^77\). When one considers that the average building

\(^74\) Dates, numbers and disposition information from the Surrey History Centre catalogue, for her miscellaneous papers see:
http://www.surreyarchives.org.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=2185%2fLEB [accessed 17/02/2016] and for her diaries:

\(^75\) Surrey History Centre, the bulk of the miscellaneous papers are to be found at: Papers of Lucy Etheldred Broadwood, 2185/LEB/1-11; for the Diaries see 6782/1-39 (40-42 are, again, miscellaneous papers).

\(^76\) Such as Professor Gregory’s important paper on her early collecting work, Irene Shettle’s presentations ‘Listen and You Shall Hear’ and ‘The Lost Lady Found’ and Dorothy de Val’s recent biography. For Gregory see: Gregory, E. David. ‘Before the Folk-Song Society: Lucy Broadwood and English Folk Song, 1884-97’, Folk Music Journal, 9 (2008), pp. 372-414. For Irene Shettle’s presentations see: http://www.songs-and-words.co.uk/lucy-broadwood/shows-and-talks [accessed 23/07/2912].

\(^77\) One reads as she enlists the support of the influential of Edwardian London Society, clears permission for the plaque with the relevant authorities, and within two months raises over £470 [Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/19: “Tues 04/04/05: [...] A. J. H. fund at tea-time £470.14.”] by August of that year she had raised the grand total of £893.15.9, but as the final cost for making and putting the plaque in place was to only come to £20.7.1 the remaining “£873.8.8 has been invested for the use of Miss Hipkins and her Brother”, see: Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/19: loose insert between the entries for 4-8 August titled “ALFRED JAMES HIPKINS MEMORIAL [1826-1903]” with the final figures and list of subscribers, of these the only other Folk Song-Society members listed are: J. A. Fuller-Maitland, Esq., Mrs J. A. Fuller-Maitland, M. B. Rasmussen, Esq.
labourer’s wage in 1905 was between £1.3.6 and £1.7.0 a week. One perceives the phenomenal amounts that Broadwood had raised on behalf of Hipkin’s family. Nonetheless, informative though this information is in showing Broadwood’s influence and the scope of her good works, it is galling to find so much information about this project, whilst her daily work for the FSS at that time is glossed over with entries such as “Much F. S. S. work etc.” and “F. S. S. work etc hard all day.”, most frustrating are the entries for the meetings that we now know were crucial in the Society’s development, but which Broadwood dismisses with the briefest of mentions, for example this one from the day before the previous quote, April 9th 1905 –

“Su[n]day 09/04/05: In all mor[nin]g. F. S. S. work.
In aft# Mr. Goldsmith, Mr. Graham Peel, Harry Lyall, Ralph Vaughan Williams, & Mr. Cecil Sharp came – the 2 latter discussed F. S. S. with me. […]”

Of course, much can be learnt even from these bare entries, not least the amount of work Broadwood devoted to the Society and its Journal, but it is a rare occasion when anything other than the barest mention is made, and this should be born in mind when attempting to construct Broadwood’s Folk Song career from the entries in her personal papers.

Though the first reference to collecting folk songs found in her diaries is on 27th October 1885 when she “heard from Mr. Bray with very many songs.”, as already noted, her first major foray in publishing folk song came in 1890, twenty years after she had first encountered her uncle’s book, when she assisted her cousin in preparing the revised edition of Sussex Songs, though this involvement has usually been overlooked: for although she contributed at least fifteen songs to the volume she wasn’t credited, fortunately this wasn’t to be the case with her succeeding publication English County Songs which she co-authored with J. A. Fuller Maitland and which upon its publication in 1893 was immediately hailed as a major contribution to the study of folk song, a reputation it maintained throughout the following century, being described by Ursula Vaughan Williams as “a landmark in the history of English music, for it made the musical world aware of the treasures preserved in the memories of unlettered people”, and if the volume’s conceit of matching songs to counties is at times tenuous, with three counties, Monmouthshire, Huntingdonshire and

78. “23s. 6d. to 27s.,”, as found in: Broadberry, Stephen and Carsten Burhop, ‘Real Wages and Labour Productivity in Britain and Germany, 1871-1938: A Unified Approach to the International Comparison of Living Standards’, Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung von Gemeinschaftsgütern, File: SOLGerUK7a (2009), Table 5, p. 35.

79. 13/01/05. Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/19 (this comment comes at the end of a much longer, totally unconnected entry, almost as an afterthought.

80. 10/04/05. Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/19.

81. 09/04/05. Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/19.


84. J. A. Fuller Maitland (1856-1936) music critic for The Times, her cousin by marriage, and fellow early music expert.

Bedfordshire, not even included it should be remembered that this was one of the first attempts to show the wealth of vernacular song within the different regions of England rather than concentrating on just one area or (as was more commonly the case) putting them together un-provenanced.

There were four other events of consequence in 1893: The death of her father, Henry Fowler Broadwood, in July, which necessitated her and her mother moving to London the following year; her first meeting with the great Horsham singer Henry Burstow; and her visits to see two of the collectors who had encouraged her in English County Songs, Frank Kidson in April, and the Rev Sabine Baring-Gould in September, this latter visit being the culmination of a correspondence which she had initiated with him in December of 1889. One interesting point about her friendship with both of these collectors, is that although Broadwood considered Kidson the more scientific in his methods only Baring-Gould was to receive acknowledgments and credits in her book, but as E. David Gregory has pointed out, the simple reason for this is that whilst Kidson offered songs from his collection for inclusion in English County Songs the allocation of songs to Yorkshire had fallen to Fuller Maitland and he had used different sources for this county, consequently this omission wasn’t a reflection on the quality of his work, simply that his regional area of specialisation had already been allocated. As Baring-Gould has already been considered, it is worth briefly looking at this other important collector whose first major publication also predated the Folk-Song Society, and of how his aims and objectives were also to influence its early days.

**Frank Kidson**

In looking at Baring-Gould and Lucy Broadwood, and the ways in which their emphasis on collecting in the field distanced them from their immediate predecessors, I am not suggesting that there was a total dislocation in methodologies between the mid-Nineteenth Century ballad collectors and the members of the Folk-Song Society; after all both Baring-Gould and Broadwood were diligent ballad sheet collectors and an antiquarian concern for printed textual variants and historic sources was not lost on either of them, and furthermore, such concerns were to continue to be a major influence on – arguably – the most scholarly early member of the FSS, Frank Kidson.

A good early example of this is displayed in his concern for the tracing of folk song from all sources, as given by the full title of his first book of songs (from 1891) which shows his awareness of the importance of both textual and oral sources in the collection of Folk-song, namely –

*Traditional Tunes: A Collection of Ballad Airs, Chiefly Obtained in Yorkshire and the South of Scotland; Together with their Appropriate Words from Broadsides and from Oral Tradition*

With such a fundamental understanding of the need to defer to both sources in collecting, one can see how he was to be an able ally of Broadwood, who shared these assumptions, on the Society committee for so many years.

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86. 14th December 1889. Diary of Lucy Broadwood 6782/6.

Kidson made no use of recording technology in his song collecting, but his story is more than just tangentially relevant to this thesis in that, whilst not vehemently opposed to the new technology, he was certainly the one major member of the FSS Committee who felt its utilisation to be an irrelevance, leading to unnecessarily complex transcriptions and being generally off putting for the source singers, but to fully understand this stance one needs to look at the priorities in Kidson’s own work.

Kidson’s field collecting, especially with regards to song from Yorkshire, is of great consequence, but it is a small collection when compared to either Sharp’s or Vaughan Williams’, amounting to a total (if different versions are included) of only 266 items, but this is understandable based on Kidson’s very different priorities in collecting, for his researches and knowledge of printed matter meant that he saw nearly all folk-songs of any antiquity as having their ancestry within the art music of the early modern period (i.e. Renaissance and early Baroque), though it should be noted that some of these sources, such as Thomas Ravenscroft’s rounds and catches, the glee songs of the Restoration period, and the 18th century ballad operas, though requiring a degree of musical literacy, could be said to already inhabit a hinterland between art and vernacular song. Consequently the interest for him was in noting the survival of these compositions, sometimes complete, sometimes as combined fragments, floating verses, or leitmotifs within folk-song. In this he saw himself as very much working in the tradition of, and extending, William Chappell’s legacy, though interestingly, though old enough to have corresponded with Chappell (who died in 1888) Kidson never approached him, for, as he admitted in a letter to Broadwood “[i]n his lifetime he stood on a much higher pedestal than ever I dared approach”. Thus the position of folk songs as artefacts from vernacular culture was consequently of less concern to him, and his life’s work lay not in collecting but in that of two major complementary musicological projects that he worked on for many years, neither of which, unfortunately, were to be published; the revised and considerably expanded projected 2nd edition of his 1900 publication British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers, from Queen Elizabeth’s Reign to George the Fourth’s, and the fifty-seven handwritten volumes that made up his Index of Airs.

Admittedly he did later contribute the song half to his and Mary Neal’s collaborative volume English Folk-Song and Dance (1915), a concise but wide-ranging volume, but it came some eight years after Sharp’s English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions and although probably representing the authors’ thoughts in 1912 its having been issued during the Great War led to


90. I am not using the last term a-historically, by the 1890’s it was common currency in music criticism, see von Wolzogen, Hans, Thematischer Leitfaden durch die Musik zu Richard Wagners Festspiel “Der Ring des Nibelungen” (Leipzig: Schloemp, 1876).


its being overlooked at the time. When one couples this with the fact that his two main music projects remained unpublished at the time of his death (in 1926) it could be said that Kidson’s work is not dissimilar to Broadwood’s in that both spread their resources too thinly over too many other projects for other people, in Broadwood’s case, her editorship of the Journal, in Kidson’s of his contributions to art-music journals and especially to the second edition of Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1904-10), to which he contributed the best part of 400 entries.

Along with Fuller Maitland, Kidson was to become one of Broadwood’s closest associates in the Folk-Song movement (all three were on the original committee) especially as she shared his belief in the role of printed matter in the transmission of popular song, whether in the form of early (Art) music or of ballad sheets, an interpretation that showed that both collectors’ were conscious of the work of the previous generation but which was to lead to her being increasingly sidelined by her allies of the next decade in the post 1904 Society, when Sharp’s insistence on oral transmission (an idea which she agreed with but didn’t see as the defining quality of folk song) began to dominate the collecting discourse.

**Broadwood’s other activities in the 1890s**

The years between English County Songs and the creation of the FSS were to be busy ones for Broadwood, as a collector she now concentrated on Surrey and Sussex, not only taking down further songs from Burstow but also in 1896 and 1898 from singers from around Dunsford, Surrey, whom Geraldine Carr (the sister of the art singer and fellow folk song collector Kate Lee) had arranged for Broadwood to meet, and it was these sessions that later made up the bulk of the fourth issue of the Journal of the Folk-Song Society in 1902, this being one of the three issues published during Kate Lee’s final illness, and as it was from her own collection it can be assumed that the bulk of the editorial work would have fallen to Broadwood, but as well as this collecting work she was also involved with arranging ballads for the art-music market.

This was something that she first attempted with an arrangement of the song ‘Jess Macpharlane’ for the Irish baritone Harry Plunket Greene which was published by Boosey & Co. in 1890, which was quite a success but Broadwood was probably wrong to take offence when a Glasgow critic questioned its authenticity as a traditional song, consequently her follow up songs were all unequivocally her own compositions – ‘In Loyalty’, ‘Nae Mair We’ll Meet’ and ‘Tammy’ (all 1892). These were done whilst she was appearing as a singer in her own right, either of these light ballads or within the embryonic early-music circles within which she moved, especially that which centred around the instrument maker Arnold

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95. Broadwood, Lucy E., ‘[Songs from Sussex and Surrey, Collected by Lucy E. Broadwood]’ Journal of the Folk-Song Society, 1 (1902), pp. 139-225. The paper is untitled, but later given the above title in the FSS’s Publications List.

96. Since its source fell into that category of “National song” that Sharp was later to take such exception to, having originally been popularised in Volume III of The Universal Songster of 1834, see: The Universal Songster: Or, Museum of Mirth: Forming the Most Complete, Extensive, and Valuable Collection of Ancient and Modern Songs in the English Language, with a Copious and Classified Index, (London: Jones and Co., 1834). Vol. 3 p. 188. Also de Val, Dorothy, In search of song: The life and times of Lucy Broadwood (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), n. 11, p. 51 and pp. 62-64.
Dolmetsch, but by 1895, whether due to modesty, ill-health, doubt, or simply her ever pressing social engagements, she had decided that a professional singing career wasn’t for her and that she should restrict her performances to that of the drawing-room, her own folk-song presentations and charity work for the People’s Concert Society. In looking at this aspect of Broadwood’s career, especially her published songs, one is reminded more of the early Romantic poets and publishers conflating traditional lyrics with Art-tunes or giving traditional tunes newly composed lyrics, but in saying this I am not suggesting that Broadwood would have ever passed off a newly invented song as being traditional, merely that the combination of her family knowledge of folk song, her own knowledge of music history and involvement in song publication would have introduced her to the whole gamut of traditional song influenced publishing as it had been practiced throughout the 19th century, whether in the form of song texts set to new melodies, traditional tunes given new lyrics, Art-songs influenced by the tradition, national songs and ballad sheets, early music compositions that later resurfaced in folk music, the sentimental songs that she composed herself in the traditional idiom, or the accurate arrangements of traditional songs such as her uncle collected. All of which must have contributed to her wide ranging knowledge of and generally un-doctrinaire attitude to what could constitute folk song, and how it developed, in that whilst she was to later recognise the primacy of the oral tradition, she also appreciated the crucial historic influence on that tradition, and importance in its own right, of the printed legacy.

That Broadwood was also at this time to become involved with the Folklore Society, seeing Morris dances as early as 1892 and learning about Mummers plays the following year, added to her already catholic knowledge of vernacular culture but, as de Val has noted, unlike the prevailing methodologies found in the Folklore Society, Broadwood’s “own work demonstrated that it was preferable to do one’s own collecting in the field than to rely on the work of others, valuable though those efforts were”. Consequently when she later met Kate Lee, these two collector/singers started to wonder whether folk songs best interests were being served by the folklorists, or whether a new direction and impetus was needed to preserve and maintain it.

**The foundation of the Folk-Song Society**

Recent research has given us a much greater understanding of the origins of the FSS than at any time previously. John Valdis Francmanis’ PhD thesis (1997) on Frank Kidson looks at his initial attitude and subsequent involvement with the new Society, whilst Chris Bearman’s paper (1999) on the collector and professional singer Kate Lee, who collected mainly in Norfolk but is probably most famous for noting songs in 1898 from James and Thomas Copper of Rottingdean, Sussex, has squarely positioned her as a major force in the FSS’s genesis. Whilst Dorothy de Val’s recent biography (2011) of Lucy Broadwood, has shown, via a close reading of her diaries, that though Broadwood wasn’t present at the fledgling Society’s initial meetings she soon

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97. For Broadwood’s published songs see de Val, n. 11, p. 51 and p. 64; For her attitude to a career in singing, and work with the People’s Concert Society, ibid, pp. 64-67, 83 & 88.

98. Ibid, pp. 68-70.

99. Ibid, p. 70.

became a crucial member of its inner council. Stephen Miller’s article (2011) on the Manx collector William Henry Gill’s reminiscences has provided us with a previously unknown primary source for its origins, and Professor E. David Gregory devotes much attention to it in his ongoing survey of the Victorian revival (2010), showing the way in which “the foundation for the Society’s successful formation lay in the network of correspondents that Lucy Broadwood and Alec Fuller Maitland had developed whilst accumulating suitable materials for *English County Songs*.” Finally, there is Arthur Albert Alexander Knevett’s PhD Thesis ‘The Rescue, Reclamation or Plunder of English Folk-Song? : A History of the Folk-Song Society 1898-1932’ (2011), in which the author wide ranging survey specifically focussed on the motives of the collectors and of how their “resulting actions were the result of their enthusiasm for musical pursuits which in turn was made possible by their privileged class position providing both the time and the financial security to pursue such interests”.

Previously our main source was Frederick Keel’s ‘The Folk Song Society 1898-1948’, written to celebrate the 50th anniversary of its foundation, in the *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 5, No. 3 (1948), which though brief, importantly lists all those present at the meeting at 12 Hanover Square on the 16th of May 1898. But this dating of Keel’s of the Society’s foundation to May 16th is deceptive in that it ignores no less than five previous meetings, all of which were instrumental in the development of the ways in which the new Society was to devise rules and attitudes towards the collecting of folk-song that differed from previous groups; furthermore Keel doesn’t suggest whose idea the meeting was, thus leaving later historians to “deplore the shocking indifference which pioneers so often display towards posterity.” Using these (mainly recent) sources it is now possible to chart the initial development of the Society, though admittedly, a few doubts still remain, for example the exact roles and balance of power between Lee and the schools inspector and poet Alfred Perceval Graves, at that time secretary of the Irish Literary Society (later its President) who also

101. Miller, Stephen, ‘“You will be interested to hear of a project to form a Folk Song Society”: W. H. Gill and the Founding of the Folk-Song Society’, *Folk Music Journal*, 10 (2011), pp. 73-88.


103. de Val incorrectly gives the address as No. 13 (p. 72), but the meeting was held at the Royal Agricultural Society of England which is based at No. 12. No. 13 is Harewood House, see Walford, Edward, *Old and New London; illustrated. A narrative of its history, its people, and its places. Volume 4* (London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, [1878]), chapter XXV (pp. 314-326) and Wheatley, Henry Benjamin and Peter Cunningham, *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions* (London: J. Murray, 1891), Vol. 1, p. 188.

104. namely – “Mrs. Lawrence (afterwards Lady) Gomme, Miss Laura Alexandra Smith, Miss Maud Aldis, Miss Hull, Mrs. Isabel Glover, Mrs. Kate Lee, Mr. J. D. Rogers, Dr. Todhunter, Sir Ernest Clarke, Mr. W. H. Gill, Mr. Louis H. Hillier, Mr. E. F. Jacques, Mr. A. P. Graves, Mr. Louis T. Rowe, Mr. Fuller Maitland and Sir Alexander Mackenzie.” see Keel, Frederick, ‘The Folk Song Society 1898-1948’, *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 5, No. 3 (1948), p. 111.


106. Bearman, ibid, p. 633.
perceived himself as the FSS’s founder, a point noted by Frank Howes at the beginning of his obituary of Graves, printed in the Journal in 1931 –

“At the recent Special General Meeting Mr. Plunket Greene recalled the story, told by Dr. A. P. Graves in his entertaining autobiography *To Return to All That*, of their meeting by chance in the Strand one day sometime in 1898. They had been associated in popularizing Irish folk-songs and Mr. Graves suggested it would be a good plan to form a Folk Song Society.”

Certainly, it can be seen that encouragement and initiative certainly came from the Irish Literary Society, but Kate Lee was probably the first person to put the plan for the new Society into action, even though this did lead to friction, for whilst the one surviving copy of the Society’s original circular, sent to W. H. Gill and now residing in the Deemster J. F. Gill Papers at the Manx National Heritage Library proves it to have been printed by the Irish Literary Society in January 1898, it not only names Kate Lee as the honorary secretary but, in an inscription in her own hand, contains, along with her signature, her home address as a temporary contact address for the society, furthermore her appointment with Lucy Broadwood on January 15th to discuss the society, as Chris Bearman infers, suggests her visit was very much a follow up to her initial posting of this text, and although we have no other surviving copies one can assume that she had written the same information on the others as a letter from J. A. Fuller Maitland to Broadwood from the following week mentions that Lee had written to him confirming that she had fallen victim to Graves’s wrath over the matter of putting herself down as the Honorary Secretary and was consequently withdrawing from the project, of course, some sort of rapprochement must have consequently been arranged, as Lee did indeed become the first Honorary Secretary.

One further factor of the greatest importance with regards to the initial circular is that it listed those who had already –

“expressed their approbation’, namely twelve individuals: Sir A. C. Mackenzie, J. A. Fuller Maitland, Lucy Broadwood, A. P. Graves, Harold Boulton, a ‘Mr Joyce’, W. H. Gill, Plunket Greene, Dr Charles Wood, Samuel Reay, C. L. Graves, and J. D. Rogers.”

As can be seen in comparing the above list with the meeting of the 16th of May, and assuming that Lee’s visit to Broadwood on the 15th of January was a follow-up to the circular – which means that it could have been printed no later than the beginning of the second week of the year – it can be seen that a number of initial backers had already left the fledgling society, with only


108. Miller, Stephen, ‘‘You will be interested to hear of a project to form a Folk Song Society’: W. H. Gill and the Founding of the Folk-Song Society’, *Folk Music Journal*, 10 (2011), p. 75.


110. Ibid, p. 634 and n. 63.

111. Miller, Stephen, ‘‘You will be interested to hear of a project to form a Folk Song Society’: W. H. Gill and the Founding of the Folk-Song Society’, *Folk Music Journal*, 10 (2011), p. 76.
six names connected to the initial document being present at the later meeting, Kate Lee, J. D. Rogers, W. H. Gill, A. P. Graves, J. A. Fuller Maitland and Sir Alexander Mackenzie. This represents a noticeable falling off of initial support, suggesting that between the circular and the canonical “first” meeting there must have been a number of decisions regarding the direction of the new society that didn’t appeal to some of the original signatories, to explain this it is helpful to briefly consider the five previous meetings that Keel omitted in his brief history.

The first two of these both took place on the same day, January 18th and represent Lucy Broadwood’s attempts to evaluate the possible ways in which the new society could be created, either as an adjunct to the Folklore Society or as an independently constituted group. She first sounded out her friends in the older society: Alice Gomme, Marion Roalfe Cox and the Society’s president Alfred Nutt at a meeting held at the latter’s publishing house112, this was based at 270-271 The Strand so it was but a few minutes’ walk to that day’s second meeting, hosted by the Irish Literary Society at 8 Adelphi Terrace, a meeting devoted to considering the basic aims and objectives of the planned society, so what is probably most telling about these meetings, suggesting that even as early as this date the projected song society’s aims and objectives had met with a lukewarm reception with the Folklore Society, is that Broadwood was to be the only person present at both events.

It is understandable that this was the case, for whilst the Folklore Society was not unconcerned with noting contemporary folkways, Alice Gomme’s two volume The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland being a model of contemporary research in which “she described, analysed and discussed their texts, history, cultural significance and formal structures; deploying the most advanced contemporary methodology and theory” whilst developing “a comprehensive system for their classification”113 it was a work very much reliant on “the kindness of many correspondents”114, all of whom Gomme scrupulously credited, this can only but be seen as inevitable in such a wide-ranging, encyclopaedic work, but whilst this text wasn’t an exception, it was very much at the cutting edge of the Society’s methodologies, most of which were closer to the Ballad Society in its methods and utilisation of historic documentation, especially when dealing with British culture, whereas those at the Irish Literary Society meeting covered a broader remit, being either concerned with song collecting in the field and the publishing of such work, or, the performance and propagation – usually within art circles – of such pieces. Those at the meeting reflected this broad spectrum of interest; Fuller Maitland and W. H. Gill fell into the first group, whilst Alfred Graves and the composer Francis Korbay, who was professor of singing at the Royal Academy of Music115, the latter, whilst it could fairly be said that Broadwood and Kate Lee existed in both of these worlds116. The other two people present at this meeting were musicologist associates of Fuller Maitland’s. W. Barclay Squire, curator of the

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112. de Val, Dorothy, In search of song: The life and times of Lucy Broadwood (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. [71].


115. Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1952 Edition; Author: J.A. Fuller Maitland)

British Museum’s music collection, who was soon to collaborate with Fuller Maitland on an edition of the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (1899)\(^\text{117}\), and Edgar F. Jacques, now mainly remembered for having contributed the paper “On Modal Survivals in Folk-Song” to the Society’s inaugural meeting, for which presentation Fuller Maitland, who was working on a similar paper, put his notes at Jacques disposal\(^\text{118}\), but then mainly known for his voluminous writings for that most ephemeral of artefacts, the concert programme\(^\text{119}\).

Nonetheless, despite this second meeting consisting firmly of those in the folk-song as opposed to folklore corner, there were, as de Val points out, noticeable differences of opinion, especially between Graves, who seemed not averse to textual restoration and relying on published sources, and Fuller Maitland, Broadwood and Lee who saw the fieldwork as the way forward. Despite these differences a subcommittee was constituted “to deal with the practical considerations of establishing a new and independent society”\(^\text{120}\) but Broadwood obviously felt that it was still desirable, if at all possible, to work with the Folklorists and arranged a second meeting with Alfred Nutt on February 8th, with E. F. Jacques, W. H. Gill and Fuller Maitland also being present\(^\text{121}\), the results though couldn’t have been promising as this was followed by two committee meetings on the 23rd of March and the 4th of May to devise the rules of the new society, both being held in Regent Street at Forsyth’s publishing house with a committee consisting of Broadwood, Lee, Fuller Maitland, Graves and Jacques\(^\text{122}\), and it would have been at these meetings that the details of the May 16th launch would have been finalised. As can be seen, the combination of those present covered both directions that the folk-song fraternity then consisted of, but none of the major figures from the Folklore Society. It had become apparent at the February 8th meeting that Nutt had envisaged the new society as, at best, an adjunct to the Folklore Society, requiring a one guinea a year membership fee and a minimum membership of 100 in order to cover the Journal’s printing costs, whilst Frank Kidson, representing those based outside the Capital, believed this rate to be too much and a barrier to attracting members from the provinces, so the rate was fixed at half a guinea a year membership fee and a minimum membership of 100 in order to cover the Journal’s printing costs, whilst Frank Kidson, representing those based outside the Capital, believed this rate to be too much and a barrier to attracting members from the provinces, so the rate was fixed at half a guinea and the new Society decided to be a separate organisation from the Folklore Society\(^\text{123}\). Which brings us back to Keel’s list in his brief history, of those present at that inaugural meeting: as he noted, many of the initial members were to be intimately connected with the society whilst others dropped by the wayside almost


\(^{119}\) This included articles for the Queen’s Hall Concerts, the St. James’s Hall Concerts, the last three of Alfred Schulz-Curtius’ Grand Wagner Concerts (of 1898), the London Musical Festival and the Lamoureux Concerts, amongst many others, see the Cardiff University and the Royal College of Music “Concert Programmes” database at: http://www.concertprogrammes.org.uk/html/ [accessed 21/06/2013].

\(^{120}\) de Val, Dorothy, *In search of song: The life and times of Lucy Broadwood* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 72.

\(^{121}\) Ibid.

\(^{122}\) Ibid.

immediately\textsuperscript{124}, but one name is notable for its inclusion, and another for its absence. The former is of course Lady Gomme, for the five meetings that preceded May 16th show a gradual winnowing away of the influence of the Folklore Society on the new group, so it is initially surprising that she, who had been present at that first meeting on January 18th but at none of the intervening ones should now turn up for the inaugural event, but as already noted, she represented the most scientific, rather than antiquarian, tendencies within the older Society and, unlike some of the other influential figures that initially gave their stamp of approval to the FSS, her involvement was more than just cosmetic being not only the society’s first Honorary Treasurer but also a member of its committee for the entire duration of its existence\textsuperscript{125}.

Broadwood is noticeable by her absence, and were it not for the presence of Gomme there might be a case for suggesting that this was possibly due to a certain delicacy regarding her position within both societies, for Broadwood had certainly shown the greatest concern for the hope of maintaining the new society under the umbrella patronage of the older one, and that when it had transpired that this was not to be, had felt it politic to slightly distance herself from at least its inaugural and immediately succeeding meetings, but Gomme’s presence forcefully suggests that although Alfred Nutt was no longer on board there was no ill-will or bad blood between the groups. The simple, prosaic, but important reason for her absence was that of her mother’s declining health (she was to die on the 2nd of April), which Broadwood knew would necessitate not only finding a new London flat but also re-evaluating her position within the family firm, then undergoing financial difficulties\textsuperscript{126}; as Dorothy de Val has pointed out, it is ironic that someone who was of such importance to the society, not only in its formation, but in its continued later existence, was absent not only on the very day when the Society’s rules were drafted, but also, on the 6th of July when the committee wrote its influential “Hints to Collectors” in-fact, Broadwood wasn’t to make another meeting until December of that year\textsuperscript{127}, but such was her involvement in its initial stages and her close links with the rest of the executive committee that it is hard to envisage anything having been passed or accepted in her absence that she would have disagreed with, therefore her absence, like Gomme’s presence, is less significant than it may at first seem.

The first years

“The Folk-Song Society was formally constituted at a public meeting held on the 16th June, 1898, for the purpose of discovering, collecting, and publishing Folk-Songs, Ballads, and tunes ; and the Committee then appointed have since been actively engaged in the preliminary work of organisation.”

“A considerable number of Folk-Songs have already been collected, mainly by the exertions of the Honorary Secretary. It is hoped that the Members generally will co-

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\textsuperscript{124} Keel, Frederick, ‘The Folk Song Society 1898-1948’, p. 111.
\textsuperscript{125} Boyes, Georgina, “A Proper Limitation” Stereotypes of Alice Gomme’, \textit{Musical Traditions}, article: MT074, 13.5.01: http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/gomme.htm [accessed 21/06/13].
\textsuperscript{126} de Val, Dorothy, \textit{In search of song: The life and times of Lucy Broadwood} (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 74-77.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid, pp. 72-73.
\end{flushleft}
operate in this important work, since it is certain that great numbers of Folk-Songs exist
which have not been noted down, and are, therefore, in danger of being lost.”

“One of the objects of the Society is the holding of periodical meetings at which these
songs will be introduced, and form the subject of performance, lecture, and discussion."

As can be seen by the above excerpts from the Report of the First General Meeting, given on
February 2nd, 1899, the Society was keen to emphasise the practical side of its mission, namely
the collecting of songs that are “in danger of being lost” from which work “performance, lecture,
and discussion.” would be based, to further this fundamental objective the committee had
published a short pamphlet Hints to the Collectors of Folk Music, mainly written by Kate Lee129,
which was to be sufficiently successful as to still be available “at three half-pence” seven years
later, when a series of additional rules, covering the form and manner in which contributions to
the Journal should be organised, were printed under the title “To Collectors And Contributors Of
Folk-Songs.”130, but this seeming continuity belies the difficult reality of the Society’s first few
years. At the time of the First General Meeting the future of the Society looked secure, there were
73 members and a balance of just over £24131, the following year things still looked promising,
membership was now 121132 and the journal could boast two wide ranging articles in the Rev.
Francis L. Cohen’s ‘Folk-Song Survivals in Jewish Worship-Music’ and Frank Kidson’s short
article on ‘Sailors’ Songs’; admittedly, the majority of the songs included, following the precedent
set by its predecessor, consisted of ones that members themselves had sung at the meetings, and J.
A. Fuller Maitland admitted that in compiling the Society’s 2nd Report “no formal meeting of any
sub-committee appointed for the purpose has taken place”133, a far cry from the already discussed
plethora of separately constituted groups and meetings that occurred in 1898, and suggestive of a
certain stasis that was about to set in, furthermore, Kate Lee, one of the Society’s most energetic
members was ill, and in 1899 she had asked to be released from her position as Hon. Secretary but
was persuaded to stay on134, no one then realising that this sickness marked the onset of the cancer
that would kill her in July 1904. Admittedly, the Society’s Membership hadn’t quite peaked (it
was to do this in 1901) but it was running out of funding, so to address this a two tiered
subscription was introduced in 1900 whereby those that paid a full guinea annually, rather than
the usual half guinea rate, could bring an additional three friends to any of the Society’s musical

(1899), [vi].

129. Olson, Ian, ‘The Folk Song Society’s Hints for Collectors (1898), English Dance & Song, 57.

130. [Report of the Annual General Meeting 1905], i, bound after Journal 9 [II, 4] in the BL set and

131. Keel, p. 113.


133. Report of the Second Meeting of the Folk-Song Society, Held at the Royal Academy of Music,
Tenterden Street, Hanover Square, November 22nd, 1899.’ Journal of the Folk-Song Society, 1. (1900),
[p. 27].

134. Keel, p. 114.
events, presentations or social functions\(^{135}\), but this proved unavailing and with Lee’s increasing incapacity from 1901 onwards the Society lost much of its initial direction and ceased to meet at all, the ‘Folk Song Society Cash Statements for the Years 1900-1-2-3.’ as contained in the 1904 *Annual Report* make depressing reading as the Society’s subscriptions plummeted from £79. 4s. 6d. in 1901 to £4. 14s. 6d. in 1903, a figure that the Executive Committee felt obliged to, rather unnecessarily, explain with the note “The drop in the Revenue was occasioned by the protracted illness of the Hon. Secretary, during which time the Society remained inactive, as explained in the Report.”\(^{136}\), most damning of all though, and a true admission that the Society had lost its way was the decision to remit all the subscriptions for the year 1903\(^{137}\).

Under these circumstances Lucy Broadwood might have been the person to take over, but 1901 was an important year in the revival of the fortunes of (as it was now to be known) John Broadwood and Sons Limited with the company moving to its new factory in Hackney. Furthermore Broadwood’s involvement in art music had continued apace and her continual round of society functions dominated her calendar during these years, her only major folk-song work being separate from the Society when she began working with her distant relative Ralph Vaughan Williams on some of his lectures in 1902\(^{138}\), furthermore, Broadwood, was convinced that Lee was a hypochondriac and wasn’t as ill as she made herself out to be\(^{139}\), she had other things to engage herself with. It wasn’t until March 1904 when Lee finally relinquished her position suggesting Broadwood as her successor\(^{140}\) that Broadwood again began to take the Society seriously.

But whilst the 1904 Report ends by noting a distressing “balance in hand of £19 3s. 3½d., on June Ist.”\(^{141}\) It is a sentence on the previous page that hints at the way in which the Society was to develop –

“Mr. Cecil Sharp, Principal of the Hampstead Conservatoire of Music, who has lately collected some hundreds of songs in Somersetshire and North Devon, joined our Committee.”\(^{142}\)

Things were going to change very quickly.

\(^{135}\) Ibid.

\(^{136}\) ‘Annual Report, June, 1904’, xi. [bound between the title page and p. 1 of *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 2 (1905) in the VWML JSTOR set].

\(^{137}\) Ibid, x.

\(^{138}\) De Val, pp. 88-90.


\(^{140}\) Keel, p. 114-115.

\(^{141}\) The Roman “I” is used in the *Annual Report*.

\(^{142}\) Ibid, ix.
Chapter III – The Folk-Song Society: The Reconstituted Society

The triumvirate of Broadwood, Sharp, and Vaughan Williams that reconstituted the Society in 1904: Sharp’s points of similarity and divergence from the previous generation of collectors, for example Frank Kidson as well as his utilisation of nationalism as a way of selling folk song to the Board of Education; Early recording media and the way in which major companies would make recordings of traditional music if there was a perceived market; The few commercial recordings of British traditional music; The utilisation of the phonograph by ethnomusicologists especially in the United States; The Folk-Song Society and the phonograph; The ‘Annual Report. June, 1907–8’ and its mention of those who used the phonograph.

Cecil Sharp

As one of the most successful, influential and well known of the collectors Cecil Sharp’s (1859-1924) career is already well documented1. However, as his use of the phonograph was slight (though certainly more than some recent commentators have suggested2) he plays only a minor role in this thesis, but his importance in the development of the folk revival is – for good or ill – second to none, so whilst now is not the place to go into an in-depth consideration of his life’s work, two observations can profitably be made regarding his background which I believe give an insight into his development; firstly that although Sharp’s initial training was in mathematics and law3 his formative years were devoted to music and education4, the importance of which


2. de Val simply states that he didn’t make phonographs (p. 100), an obvious error,

3. He read mathematics at Clare College Cambridge 1879-1882, voyaged to Australia in 1882, and after positions as a hansom-cab washer and bank clerk became Associate to Sir Samuel Way, Chief Justice of South Australia, a position he held until 1889. See Fox Strangways pp. 6-9.

4. Initially as a partner in the Adelaide College of Music (1889-1891) and as assistant organist of St. Peter’s Cathedral, Adelaide, then upon his return to England in 1892 as a private tutor, before becoming music master of Ludgrove Preparatory School (1993-1910) to which position he added the ones of conductor of the Finsbury Choral Society (1893-1897) and principal of the Hampstead Conservatory (1896-1905) as well as other temporary conducting positions.
should not be underestimated in that his pedagogical background provided Sharp not only with a disciplined and methodical way of working, as borne out by the neat copies of his notebooks, in which he wrote up his collected songs and tunes, neatly cross referencing the music with the lyrics, but also in the way in which he envisioned this research finally reaching fruition not just by publication in the *JFSS* but also via educational work.

Secondly, it should be noted that he was a relatively late convert to folk music. His meetings with William Kimber and John England being in 1899 and 1903 respectively, consequently he was a good decade behind most of his contemporaries, nor was he among the initial founders of the FSS, having joined it in 1901. Unlike Broadwood, Sharp had not been brought up in an environment in which folk-song was a given; it is interesting to note that his first publication to include folk-song arrangements *A Book of British Song, for home & school* (London: John Murray, 1902) predated his meeting with John England, being edited from secondary sources, that said the book is heavily weighted towards traditional song, with thirty-one of the seventy-eight pieces being from folk song collections or manuscripts, nonetheless it was before he had heard a source singer, he thus had catching up to do and consequently brought to his studies and research the enthusiasm of the convert, this wedded to his rigorous educational methods were to underpin his great success as a collector and evangelist for folk-song and as such should be seen together as contributing very much to his success, the numbers speak for themselves: 4977 tunes in all, 1118 published, and the foundation of the English Folk Dance Society in 1911.

Unfortunately he was rarely tactful, and was to estrange or alienate many in his attempts to get his way, his original allies Charles Marson, Baring-Gould and Mary Neal were all unceremoniously discarded; the last of these under the most acrimonious circumstances. Broadwood too was to eventually find his self-promotion insufferable; “he puffed and boomed and shoved and ousted, and used the Press to advertise himself” but it should be noted that this was never more obvious than in his 1904 campaign to revitalise the FSS and that didn’t prevent Broadwood from seeing him as a useful ally, for as a member (he was elected to the society in 1901) Sharp could easily have restricted his doubts to internal communications, but in a series of whistle-blowing letters to the *Morning Post*, his favoured organ for generating publicity.

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5. See the Cecil James Sharp Collection (at Clare College, Cambridge) divided between words and tunes, and the copies at the VWML.

6. The former being Sharp’s introduction to the Morris, the latter, not to folksong, but to folksong in the field.


10. Lucy Broadwood to Bertha Broadwood 22 July 1924, quoted in de Val, p. 159.

11. de Val, pp. 91-92.
spelt out where he thought they were going wrong and what should be done about it. Such intemperate conduct normally wouldn’t have been successful, and under normal circumstances one can easily imagine the Committee closing rank, but not only had the Society suffered a noticeable decline during Lee’s illness, but Sharp had the support of not only Broadwood but also Vaughan Williams, the three having met in early February to discuss what could be done to revive the Society’s fortunes, consequently when the Committee meeting of the 18th March met where Broadwood was elected honorary secretary upon Lee’s resignation Sharp was also unanimously accepted onto the Committee as well.

Broadwood had been in a previous triumvirate when the Society was first founded, that of herself Fuller Maitland and Kidson when they had all been on the Committee, but that had been forged by family and antiquarian ties, for despite being a distant relative of Vaughan Williams this new alliance with him and Sharp was different, it was not one forged from a unified ideological position, for Broadwood respected the printed tradition far more than Sharp did, whilst Vaughan Williams went a step further in this in that he was happy to rely on broadsides for texts if he felt the singer’s version to be close enough to the printed versions, so it was essentially one of three collectors with their own agendas working together temporarily to institute change. As other writers have pointed out Sharp was never part of Broadwood’s social circle, but she must have divined that here was a man who would get things done and that that was what the society needed.

Sharp and Kidson – differences in definitions and objectives

This is not to say that Sharp’s attitudes were completely incompatible from that of the older members, there were some similarities, for example, some of Sharp’s constructive criticisms of the practicability of the phonograph were to later be echoed, though in stronger terms by Kidson, and both of them preferred to work out and publish ‘standardised’ tunes shorn of the actual performance habits of the singers, their variants or accidentals; Sharp (who nonetheless recognised the importance and value of these variants) because non-strophic material didn’t lend itself easily to publication or teaching purposes, Kidson because “it is the business of the folk-song collector not to make a hard and fast record of one rendering of a folk-tune, with all its accidental inaccuracies, but to obtain what the singer obviously means”, an attitude not dissimilar to Vaughan Williams’ desire to find the most beautiful – as he perceived it – version

12. 3rd February 1904, Diary of Lucy Broadwood 6782/18
of a tune, and thus the antithesis of Grainger’s microtonally-nuanced transcriptions. Where the previous generation differed with Sharp was over the concept of what fundamentally constituted Folk-Song, and by association, national song.

For example, Kidson’s definition was given in a note appended to an undated letter to Sharp as follows –

“A ‘folk-song’ or a ‘folk-ballad’ is a production united to such an air (either a particular one exclusively, or to several) come from an equally non-professional source & passed down in a similar manner; The song or ballad may have appeared on broadsides or in garlands printed from a non-literary class or it may be unprinted.

The essential element of a folk song or folk melody is its traditionary character. It must have appealed to a generation or more of people before it can claim its epithet ‘folk’.”

Sharp’s definition was succinctly given at the end of chapter II of *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* –

“*Folk-music*, on the other hand, is the product of a race, and reflects feelings and tastes that are communal rather than personal; it is always in solution; its creation is never completed; while, at every moment of its history, it exists not in one form but in many.”

Though sharing some factors, these definitions are at variance, for Kidson recognised the trickle down from art-music, even utilising the concept of ‘national’ song (in the sense that Chappell would have understood it) for his *Grove* entry for ‘Down Among the Dead Men’ calling it ‘An English song that has won by its fine melody the position of national.’ a usage that Sharp, by then on the Society Committee, would never have entertained, of material that he furthermore wouldn’t have tolerated, for Sharp’s hypothesis of the communal origin of folk culture saw little merit in the concept of the folksong as simply an ill remembered art song from the previous few generations. For to have accepted such an idea, even though many folk songs were indeed directly descended from printed sources, would have taken away from the idea that “communal authorship and communal expression are the natural corollaries of oral transmission” and thus reduced the concept that the songs truly were the unmediated art form of the folk, something that Sharp couldn’t countenance as to have done so risked reducing their perceived importance from a unique and important folk culture to simple vestiges of art songs. The latter wasn’t an

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18. More than this, “Percy Grainger was interested in the rhythmic structure of the whole performance, and the way invariant patterns intercrossed with local variants dictated by the texts.” Dr John Bentley, email to the author 21/09/2013. Copies of Grainger’s hectographed transcriptions are to be found at the VWML.


option for him as Sharp had two missions, firstly, to collect the songs, but then to propagate them via education –

“We may look, therefore, to the introduction of folk-songs in the elementary schools to effect an improvement in the musical taste of the people, and to refine and strengthen the national character. The study of folk-song will also stimulate the growth of the feeling of patriotism.”23

and so on, going on to consider not just the cultural, but moral benefits of folk-song, for “good music purifies, just as bad music vulgarizes”24. The concept of having such music in the national curriculum was a novel construct but not one that the Board of Education was opposed to in principle, unfortunately for Sharp they also conflated it with national and sentimental song, consequently Sharp had to emphasise what he perceived as the songs’ unique folk characteristics at the expense of blurring some of their historical origins, in order to emphasise the differences between folk and national song, whilst at the same time emphasising those national aspects that would sell the idea of having folk song in the curriculum to the authorities; in the end Sharp was successful in selling these concepts to the Board of Education but adopting this stance meant that there was a price to be paid in historical accuracy, as John Francmanis succinctly noted – “Sharp had provided a belief system which, by appealing directly to the national audience, rendered his precursors’ more empirically accurate antiquarian knowledge redundant.”25

National identity

In saying this I am not suggesting that Sharp’s utilisation of these aspects of folk song was just an exercise in marketing, but that he probably emphasised them more than he normally would have in order to make a stronger case for his educational ideas. Consequently we have the above generalisations regarding patriotism, national character and the moral good as part of a package that Sharp used for his evangelising of folk song, that he also used the term ‘race’ is not surprising, for whilst now a highly loaded term, it was much less so when he wrote Some Conclusions, especially as he wasn’t utilising it in a broad anthropological sense but simply to describe national affiliation, usually regarding the United Kingdom, but sometimes more specifically England.

As I show in Appendix VI, the development of art music in the 18th and 19th centuries led to the accusation that England was “Das Land Ohne Musik”, with little to compare to the dominant Austro-German tradition or even to other schools that were seen as having a specifically national identity, such as Italian opera or the recent Romantic nationalist movement in Russia26. Regardless of the truth of this accusation, art music was seen as essentially national and for


24. Ibid.


26. The group known as “The Five” – Balakirev, Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin, and the lesser known César Cui.
Sharp, the wealth of what he perceived as indigenous folk culture in the British Isles not only gave the lie to the accusation that England was a country without music but also, by being co-opted into a national school of composition, increased the chances of its propagation. That Sharp conflates race with nation is more testament to the way in which the terms could be seen as synonymous at that time than any specifically race aggrandising ideology. In this he wasn’t alone, and it can be assumed that all of the Edwardian collectors saw the folk music that they collected as inevitably reflecting national identity, but it should be remembered that not only was this before the experience of two world wars had revealed the tragic potential behind nationalist tendencies, but that the collectors’ themselves would have baulked at such extremes; yes, folk songs were national, but they were recognised as such in a context that not only went at pains to perceive them in their highly localised, regional settings, but also acknowledged the pan-European nature of much ancient balladry, as Child had so ably proved by the numerous non-English versions that he had identified in his recognised canon27; when one also adds to these factors the cosmopolitan, travelled backgrounds of many of the collectors, such as Grainger, Baring-Gould and Broadwood, not forgetting the Internationalist aspects of the FSS itself as represented by Fox Strangways’ work in India and Cohen’s work on Jewish liturgical music28 it is hard to perceive them as having a racial agenda, even if the language sometimes employed – especially by Sharp – is more colourfully jingoistic and unsubtle than would now be utilised.

This is of course a complex issue, in that what was once an innocent phrase may now be seen as deeply problematic but we do have many examples from this time showing how the collector’s themselves thought of these issues, here’s Vaughan Williams writing informatively on this very subject, acknowledging his patriotism but being careful to place it within a broader humanist framework –

“I agree that this loyalty to one’s country can only come to a full flowering when it is merged in a wider loyalty to the whole human race. But without that local loyalty there can be nothing for the wider issues to build on. I believe that all that is of value in our spiritual and cultural life springs from our own soil; but this life cannot develop and fructify except in an atmosphere of friendship and sympathy with other nations.”29

And it is this measured and tolerant attitude, recognising the specific nature of folk cultures without denying their common humanity, which is a fairer reflection on the work of the collectors, than to perceive them, out of context, as harbingers of nationalism.

Sharp’s generalisations regarding “national character” and patriotism, generalisations that the more knowledgeable Kidson would never have countenanced, should be seen in context, for English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions was Sharp’s manifesto and rallying call for the study, propagation and continuance of English Folk Song, and for the culture that created it, a culture and art form that he believed had been marginalised by previous critics and social commentators. Sharp knew that carefully worded considerations of song origins, whilst eminently suitable for the Society Journal, would not evangelise the material in the way that

27. For example the Norwegian ‘Olaf Liljukrans’ and German ‘Der Ritter von Stauffenberg’ both thematically related to the ballad ‘Clerk Colvill’ [Chid 42].


calls to patriotism, race, and morality would, that this rallying cry came from a Fabian Socialist is a further point that should be borne in mind before condemning him as a blinkered nationalist, even if the language he used, and appeals he made, would now be seen as deeply problematic.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that he was on the offensive after his defeat at the previous years FSS AGM when he and Vaughan Williams had insisted on a vote over what they considered the Society’s erroneous endorsement of the Board of Education’s list of ‘national and folk songs’, on the grounds that many of the songs were recently composed30; a vote they were destined to lose as many of the pieces were from popular song books that other members of the Society, Kidson most noticeably, would have had no qualms in including in their definition of folk song.

Though Kidson and Sharp always remained on good terms, one can perceive a parting of the ways in the Society from this point onwards between Kidson’s historical-musicological perspective, and Sharp’s oral and pedagogic one. An unintended irony of this change is that Kidson was later to co-author with Mary Neal English Folk-Song and Dance (1915), Kidson the half on song, Neal its dance half: Neal had by this time become estranged from, and been the recipient of considerable criticism from Sharp regarding what he perceived as her romanticisation of traditional dance, criticism that Kidson could have quite legitimately levelled at Sharp with regards to his romanticisation of the origins of song culture.

Sharp’s hyperbole aside, he was nonetheless fundamentally right in one of his assertions when, after commenting on the effect that Percy’s Reliques had on Romantic poetry he stated,"It is surely not unreasonable to anticipate a similar revival in English music, consequent upon the influence exerted upon musicians of the present generation by the folk-songs which are now being collected and published.31"

For such an influence had already had an electrifying and empowering effect on the third member of the 1904 triumvirate, Ralph Vaughan Williams.

As Vaughan Williams was to play a major part in the FSS’s utilisation of the phonograph, partly by his own advocacy, making at least 24 phonographs32, but also by his work transcribing Ella Leather’s phonograph collection I will look in depth at his aims and objectives as a folk song collector as well as his use of the phonograph in the chapter devoted to him in Part II of this Thesis. The wider cultural factors, which meant that there was now a receptive appreciation towards folk music in British art music is of course a major subject in its own right and consequently beyond the scope of this Thesis, nonetheless I append a brief discussion, as Appendix VI, of some of the attendant issues regarding “Das Land Ohne Musik” and the “English Musical Renaissance” as well as looking at those specific personal factors that meant that Vaughan Williams, rather than his immediate predecessors, Stanford, Parry and Elgar or close contemporary, Holst, was to become the main exponent in those circles of folk song.


32. I list 30 in Appendix I, 6, but 6 are of uncertain attribution as 3 may have been made by George Gardiner, 1 may have been made by Cecil Sharp, and 1 was probably made by Ella Leather, there is also 1 which I have included for which there is no evidence of its having been recorded to phonograph other than the nature of its detailed printed transcript.
collecting; to précis the conclusion of that Appendix: Vaughan Williams, unlike Elgar, believed that a knowledge of folk-song was of benefit in the construction of contemporary art music, and unlike Stanford and Parry he had the time and inclination, and unlike his friend Holst the financial means, to devote extended periods from his working responsibilities to collecting in the field.

Suffice it to say that his epiphany discovery of folksong was also so close to Sharp’s (not just in time but also character33) and that he was in a position to work directly with both Sharp and Broadwood in reinvigorating the FSS after Kate Lee’s death were but further factors which made him central to the development of the Society in the ten years leading up to the First World War.

This then was the situation within the society in 1904: Broadwood, Sharp and Vaughan Williams were all now directly concerned with positioning it towards collecting and its definitions of what constituted folk song. Kidson still had a role to play, but his antiquarian concerns were soon to be superseded by one in which collecting in the field was to take precedence, and with this shift comes the question of documentation and accuracy of transcription, and with that the question of the utilisation of the phonograph.

What this new technology was capable of and why British folk music was ignored as a genre worth recording by the major companies, are issues inextricably linked to the financial development and cultural considerations of the early recorded sound industry and it is to these that I now turn.

Early recording media – Financial and Cultural considerations

Thomas Edison had invented the phonograph in 1877 as a sideline to his telegraph experiments, initial results were promising and the following decade saw an explosion of refinements and – due to the nature of commercial patenting – rival technologies. In some cases Edison adopted these improvements to his own invention, such as replacing the original tinfoil cylinders with wax ones, an invention that Charles Sumner Tainter, in consultation with Chichester A. Bell and Alexander Graham Bell had devised as early as 1881, but which wasn’t perfected until the beginning of 1886 with the foundation of their *Volta Graphophone Company* 34, but in other cases, when it was obvious that the rival technologies weren’t compatible and thus would become format competitors, such as Emile Berliner’s flat Gramophone disc invented in 1887, the result was a market driven not only by technological but also territorial competition.

One major factor in this was the development in the 1890’s of duplication, mainly via the pantographic system in which a playback and cutting stylus were linked, the latter cutting to a blank the signal picked up by the former on the source recording, a method sufficiently available to the general public that at least two of the cylinders in the FSS collection were later made in this way35, but the other major factor was the substantial effort made by the various

33. Sharp heard John England on 22 August 1903, Vaughan Williams heard Charles Potiphar on 4 December 1903.


35. C37/1588 and C37/1589 are both pantographic copies of Priscilla Cooper’s ‘The Indian Lass’ [C37/1628], made by Sharp on 1st Jan. 1908 at Colyton, Devon.
companies to find and cultivate markets for the new technology. The method employed for doing this was a specifically regionalist one, with playback machines from company to company rarely being compatible, consequently the aim in sending company agents to the four corners of the globe was to record performers and repertoires that they thought would appeal to local audiences, the hoped for result being that there would be sufficient recordings of local repertoire for a company to maintain its grip on the local market against rival audio-reprographic companies.

It should be emphasised that this was nothing to do with ethno-musicology or documentary field recordings, the agents were no more musicologists than the character of the company representative as portrayed in the Edison film *The stenographer's friend*37, they were sometimes sound engineers, but usually simply salesmen, often with little knowledge of the areas to which they had been sent, their priorities being simply to record as much as possible that they thought might be marketable on a phonograph or gramophone. It should be remembered that although these recordings were essentially field recordings (albeit ones created without the critical apparatus of the ethnologist) the purpose of their creation was as commercial releases, which meant that even in the period before Edison’s *Gold Moulded* system of 1902 permitted the making of durable multiple copies from hardened moulds, there was still the possibility of up to 100-150 copies being made via pantographic copying of any original, depending on market demand. The result of this demand driven market was that we consequently now have a wealth of commercially made recordings, of – for the time – a professional, commercial, technical standard but also of the highest ethnographic consequence, often reflecting minority and obscure folkways, in many cases of cultures long gone or subsumed, but what we don’t have, are recordings of cultures or genres for which there was no perceived commercial market.

**Artists’ repertoires, song genres**

The primacy of the voice in early recording practice not only reflected the spoken word origins of the technology but also that the register of the human voice, unlike many instruments, was well served by the early acoustic process; that the recordings issued commercially reflected general public taste meant that the bulk of the major companies’ catalogues consisted of three main categories; for those interested in high-art, recordings of opera and lieder (usually in English), the middle-brow market consisted of sentimental parlour ballads and patriotic songs (the sort of national songs that Sharp criticised the Board of Education for conflating with folk-songs), with the final group consisting of music-hall and novelty numbers. In listing these three groups I am of course simplifying what was a much less demarcated and fluid market than these genres suggest. If one looks at the majority of LP and CD reissues of singers from the Golden Age one would assume that most classical singers of note only recorded opera excerpts and a


37. *The stenographer’s friend*, or, *What was accomplished by an Edison business phonograph* [Film] (Thomas A. Edison, Inc.: 1910) at The Library of Congress: American Memory: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/papr:@field(NUMBER+@band(edmp+4058s1)) [accessed 13/08/12].

38. I am indebted to Roger Hewland of Gramex records for initially explaining these developments to me, and to Norman Bruderhofer’s article *The Cylinder Archive* for the terms and explanations of these manufacturing methods. See: http://www.cylinder.de/index.html [accessed 17/02/12].

39. Technically this term is generally used to cover the latter two thirds of the nineteenth century, but I don’t think it is stretching the definition too much to extend it to 1914.
handful of art-ballads, but these releases reflect the tastes of contemporary audiences with an interest in historic vocals, concentrating unevenly on only certain areas of the singers’ back catalogues, referencing any of the early gramophone and phonograph catalogues reveals that most successful recording artists were at home singing repertoire from most areas.

A perfect example of this is that of the first five recordings made by the then sixty-nine years old Sir Charles Santley (1834-1922) in 1903, two of these, issued as 12” were of Sullivan’s “Thou’rt Passing Hence my Brother”, composed expressly for Santley, and Mozart’s “Ah! Capitano…Non più andrai”, from Figaro, but the three companion 10” records were of two ballad songs by John Liptrot Hatton (1809-1886) “Simon the Cellarer” and “To Anthea” whilst the final record was of an arrangement of the satirical 18th Century ballad “The Vicar of Bray” [Roud 4998]40. Another example is Gervase Elwes (1866-1921), Elwes, like Santley, was an acknowledged expert in Oratorio, but he also specialised in lied and contemporary British song – he was to make the first recording of Vaughan Williams’s “On Wenlock Edge” in 191741 – as well as having a specific interest in the folkways of his own county, Lincolnshire, in fact, although Percy Grainger formally introduced himself to Lucy Broadwood after her talk on collecting folk song that she gave for the Musical Association on the 14th March 190542 it is probable that Broadwood and the Graingers’ had already crossed paths at one of Elwes and his wife, Lady Winefride Cary-Elwes, London home soirées43. As he possessed a private income, Elwes was in the privileged position of being able to dictate his own repertoire, but amongst his comparatively small and select discography are found not only a song from the ballad opera composer James Hook (1746-1827) “O listen to the voice of Love”44, but also William Aiken’s (1857-1939) Shakespeare setting “Sigh no more, ladies”45 material that would now find few exponents in classical music circles.

This musical catholicism can be found in the recordings of some of the greatest artists of the early recording period: for example on the 1st of January 1909 Nellie Melba was happy to record Thomas Moore’s “Believe me if all those endearing young charms” amongst a batch of pieces by Debussy, Landon Ronald, and Hahn, whilst amongst her 1913 Victor sessions, consisting of Mozart, Gounod, Liza Lehmann, Debussy, Gustave Charpentier, Duparc, Bemberg and a recording of a singing lesson can also be found Stephen Foster’s “Old folks at home”, and two Burns settings, Maude Valerie White’s “John Anderson, my jo” and William Gould's

40. See: Moran, William R., ‘The Recordings of Sir Charles Santley’ in the 2nd ed. of Charles Santley’s, Reminiscences of my Life (New York: Arno Press, 1977), i-ii. Gramophone Company 02015 and 052000 (12”), and 2-2862 to 2-2864 (10”). Santley had probably been asked to make these recordings as March 1903 marked the 50th Anniversary of his first public performance, unfortunately he makes no reference to the recording session in his autobiography, see Reminiscences of my Life pp. 303-304.


42. de Val, pp.101-102., Location and date given on a pasted in flyer for “The Musical Association – Miss Broadwood’s paper – The Collecting of English Folk Songs”, Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/19: Tues 14/03/05.


44. Columbia 71017 [D1426].

45. HMV 4-2232, September 1912.
“Comin’ thro’ the rye”\textsuperscript{46}, whilst some major recording artists even concentrated on this repertoire, the obvious example being Count John McCormack, of whose 854 recordings as many as 536 were of lighter repertoire from the British Isles and the United States\textsuperscript{47}. Of course, these were all recordings by classically trained singers and, where the compositions were traditional songs as opposed to national songs or parlour ballads, the pieces were still through composed with piano (sometimes orchestral) accompaniment, so we are dealing here with very different cultural artefacts than the documentary recordings made for the India or Russia markets.

**Commercial recordings of British traditional music**

This is not to say though that there weren’t a few commercial recordings made in the British Isles of actual traditional music: as early as 1898 Berliner’s company made two recordings of Pipe-Major A. L. Reith and Cpl-Piper R. Reith \textsuperscript{48}, followed the next year by two recordings of the piper John MacColl\textsuperscript{19} and at least seven single sided 7” Berliner Gramophone records in Glasgow of the great fiddle player James Scott Skinner\textsuperscript{50}. Obviously there was an interest in piping since the Gramophone Company also experimented with the market, issuing a single disc of Pipe Major Logan around 1901\textsuperscript{51}, whilst Pipe Major Henry Forsyth cut no less than 26 tracks for various labels between 1903 and the outbreak of the War\textsuperscript{52}, but it should be mentioned that although James Scott Skinner is a major figure in Scottish traditional music he was also a successful professional musician, as indeed were the pipe-majors, Pipe Major Henry Forsyth was to hold the position of Sovereign’s Piper between 1910-1941, whilst John MacColl found his work so lucrative that he was capable of earning up to £40 in one day, a phenomenal amount

\textsuperscript{46} Victor/Gramophone Company. 1st January 1909, C-6697 to C-6701. And 2nd – 4th October 1923, C-13896 to C-13900 & C-13903 to C-13909, see the Library of Congress The Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings at: http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php [accessed 02/02/2013].

\textsuperscript{47} 197 English songs; 188 Irish songs; 17 Scottish songs; 4 Welsh songs, and 120 North American songs, though it should be emphasised that whereas the American and Irish numbers tended to be of lighter repertoire the English total includes art songs as well as parlour ballads and arrangements of traditional pieces. Totals from Fawcett-Johnson, Brian ‘McCormack’s place in Musical History’, insert to ‘Count John McCormack: The Gentle Minstrel’, np [p. 2] (Pembury, Kent: Pearl, 6 x LP, GEMM 183-88, 1980).


\textsuperscript{50} There may be as many as 9 records as the internal numbering goes from 3597 to 3605, but nothing is known of records 3600 and 3601. See: Dean-Myatt, Bill, ‘[James Scott Skinner] Discography’ University of Aberdeen: The Music of James Scott-Skinner, The ‘Strathspey King’, at: http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/beltona.shtml [accessed 19/05/13].

\textsuperscript{51} Cock o’ the North & White Cockade [about 74rpm]: PM Logan, 1901/02, G&T GC-7750, again, transferred to: VA: Bagpipe Music - The Early Years, CD3 1899-1932 (London: private transfers, CDR, nd).

\textsuperscript{52} He recorded for Odeon, Favorite, Columbia, John Bull, Winner, and Zonophone, after the War he recorded for HMV in 1923. See: Pipe Major Henry Forsyth, Sovereigns Piper: Volumes I & 2 (London: private transfers, CDR, nd).
in the 1890’s, allowing him to purchase his own racing yacht\(^53\), consequently in considering this handful of recorded musicians it must be borne in mind that these men, though steeped in their own traditions, were of a very different musical culture and status to that of the majority of the singers that the FSS was concerned with, the nearest equivalents would of course be Lucy Broadwood’s London-based Gaelic singers, but in noting this I am not just suggesting that there was a wider range of social backgrounds in source musicians than some would entertain but also that, north of the border, wealth or education was not necessarily a bar to a knowledge of one’s folk music.

**Joseph Taylor’s Gramophone records**

The only actual commercial recordings issued in the British Isles, at the time of the FSS phonograph work, that can be said to be from a source singer similar to those that they were collecting from are of course the set of six 10” records and one 12” record that Joseph Taylor made for the Gramophone Company in 1908, consisting of nine songs. Alternate takes were made of three of these pieces, only one of which – “Sprig o’ thyme” – has survived, which was issued separately from the main series. Furthermore two further songs were recorded but not issued commercially at the time, thus giving us a total of 12 recordings\(^54\). These recordings sessions, on June 20th, and July 11th and 13th, were made by the Gramophone Company at the behest of Percy Grainger – he had just cut some piano recordings for them – and were marketed as “English Traditional Folk-Songs sung by Genuine Peasant Folksinger”\(^55\), which glossed over the fact that Taylor was actually a relatively well off farm bailiff, sufficiently musically literate to have sung in the Saxby-All-Saints church choir from the age of thirty\(^56\), nonetheless Grainger was right in emphasising that, unlike all previous commercial recordings of English traditional song “These records are not folksongs sung at second hand”\(^57\). It is obvious from the language in Grainger’s publicity flyer for them that he was here introducing what were to be but the first of a series of commercial releases, as he talks of the singers on the records in the plural adding that “From such records as these, art-singers can acquire the interpretive traditions and characteristics from which folksongs derive so much of their colour and charm”, furthermore, he emphasises the ethno-musicological importance of the recordings “folksong students, years hence, will be able to study the performances (and dialect pronunciations) of to-day, which


\(^{54}\) The songs, as listed in the original advert brochure are: 10”: G.C. 3-2971: (a) Murder of Maria Martin (b) Sprig o’ Thyme [matrix 8756e]; G.C. 3-2972: Lord Bateman; G.C. 3-2973 [matrix 8751e]; (a) Died for Love (b) Brigg Fair [matrix 8748e]; G.C. 3-2974: Creeping Jane [matrix 8754e]; G.C. 3-2975; Worcester City [matrix 8753e]; G.C. 3-2976: The White Hare [matrix 8750e]; 12”: G.C. 02148: Bold William Taylor [matrix 2518f]; the alternate take issued separately: 10”: Sprig o’ Thyme [matrix 8747e]; the unissued recordings: 10” 9a) Rufford Park poachers (b) The gipsy’s wedding day [matrix 8752e]. the lost alternate takes: 10”: (a) Brigg Fair (b) Died for Love [matrix 8749e]. See Thompson, Bob, *Unto Brigg Fair: Joseph Taylor and other traditional Lincolnshire singers recorded in 1908 by Percy Grainger* [LP booklet] (London: Leader Sound Ltd, 1972), it is mentioned that there are also rumours of there having been a recording of “Geordie” [np [p. 7]) but that this hasn’t been proved.


\(^{56}\) Thompson, Bob, *Unto Brigg Fair: Joseph Taylor and other traditional Lincolnshire singers recorded in 1908 by Percy Grainger* [LP booklet] (London: Leader Sound Ltd, 1972). np [p. 3].

contain in themselves the accumulated inventiveness and richness of past ages,"58, from the point of view of the importance of these records Grainger was right, but where he was mistaken was in hoping that more records would be made in this series, the evidence of the surviving sales shows that virtually no copies sold and consequently the set had no successors. John Bird called these recordings “priceless historical documents of a dead art”,60, the latter part of this evaluation is an exaggeration, one only has to think of later source singers such as Phil Tanner, Harry Cox or Fred Jordan to know that such artistry in vernacular singing wasn’t a one-off restricted to Joseph Taylor, but he was right in calling them “priceless historical documents”, we should be grateful that they exist, but when this paltry total of 12 recordings is compared to the thousands of documentary recordings that major companies made of other cultures one is left regretting the fact that the absence of a commercial market meant that the major British companies made virtually no recordings of British vernacular culture.

Fortunately, there was another tradition to making recordings that existed outside of the commercial sphere, that of the ethnographic researcher: making use of the phonograph rather than the gramophone, for unlike the commercial world where the greater ease of manufacture favoured the gramophone disc over the phonograph cylinder, the gramophone equipment for cutting masters was to all intents and purposes unavailable for home recording, in contrast to the phonograph, an instrument specifically invented, and marketed by Edison’s company, for home usage. In fact it wasn’t until the later 1920’s that proper attempts were made to market portable gramophone cutting equipment, but these were not only incredibly heavy, but also phenomenally expensive.61

In Appendix VII ‘Examples of Ethnomusicology’, I look at Walter Fewkes proselytising work in the United States regarding the use of the phonograph in his ethnomusicological work, and also that of his followers, as well as the slightly later recordings made in Imperial Russia by Madame Eugenie Lineff, these examples prove that by the first decade of the 20th century the phonograph was the instrument of choice for making sound recordings in the new discipline of ethnography, but the fact that there was also virtually no commercial interest in recordings of folk music from the British Isles, meant that if recordings were to be made, then the responsibility for doing so fell to the membership of the FSS.

The Folk-Song Society and the phonograph

Until recently received opinion62 suggested that the great and the good of the Folk-Song Society viewed the phonograph with suspicion, failing to act upon Percy Grainger’s clarion call to

58. Ibid.

59. Apart from the set owned by The Gramophone Company and Grainger’s own set, now at Melbourne, there are two sets (minus the unissued tracks) at the VWML, I have located no recent auctions or sale results for other sets. Incidentally, of the two VWML sets one is a white label pressing on substantially superior shellac. The transfers for the album Unto Brigg Fair were made at a uniform 80rpm, when I made a set of transfers with Dr. John Bentley of the VWML sets in 2002, following Grainger’s key signatures, this was generally found to be too fast a speed, payback speeds ranging from 75rpm to 78rpm.


62. I am indebted to Chris Bearman for pointing out these references: John Bird, Percy Grainger, [3rd edn] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 131; Freeman, Graham, “‘That Chief Undercurrent of
utilize the new recording medium when his ‘Collecting with the Phonograph’ was evaluated by the Committee in 1907 and published in the Journal in 1908, this has been shown to be an oversimplification.

As already noted, Percy Grainger (1882-1961) was first converted to collecting in the field after hearing Lucy Broadwood’s paper ‘On the Collecting of English Folk-Song’, given to the Musical Association on the 14th March 1905 at the King’s Hall, at her family’s company headquarters on Conduit Street, his arrangement to conduct his composition *March of the Men of Harlech* at the Brigg festival in Lincolnshire the following month was to give him his first opportunity to hear and collect from a number of source singers. As well as being an introductory who’s who of the FSS the festival was also in many ways an out of town version of Broadwood’s London social scene: Gervase and Lady Winefride Cary-Elwes were the hosts, Broadwood and Grainger were guests, and when Everard Feilding (Lady Cary-Elwes’s brother) and Grainger instigated a competition offering a first prize of 10/6 to “whoever can supply the best unpublished old Lincolnshire folk song or plough song”, Frank Kidson was the judge; four entered the competition, the winner was Joseph Taylor. After the competition Broadwood and Grainger noted eight songs from the singers.

Enthused by this initial experience Grainger continued his work in London noting nine songs from the Sussex born Alfred Hunt, then living in Wimbledon before he returned to Lincolnshire in September of that year to note further songs, but although he had the assistance of the Elwes’ son Geoffrey to take down the texts while he concentrated on the tunes it became obvious that his concern for noting not just tune variants and rhythmic irregularities but also dialects necessitated a permanent recording method. For Grainger, the phonograph was the obvious solution to this dilemma, consequently when Gervase Elwes invited Broadwood and Grainger to adjudicate at Brigg the following year he came armed with a phonograph, an instrument probably partially paid for by the FSS via a donation of £5 from George Gardiner.

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68. de Val pp.102-103, for the probable donation see Bearman, ‘Percy Grainger, the Phonograph and the Folk Song Society’, pp. 439 & 455.
So began Grainger’s phonograph work, a justly celebrated enterprise in which between July 1906 and August 1909 he made 216 cylinder recordings, mainly in Lincolnshire, but also in London and Gloucestershire (the songs collected in Surrey and Devon being restricted to pen and paper⁶⁹).

As already noted in my Introduction, despite its importance, Grainger’s collection falls outside the remit of this thesis, not only has his work been thoroughly documented, but his collection is physically not part of the EFDSS collection. Nonetheless the fact that he made so many recordings and that, until recently, it was thought that the other members of the FSS hadn’t, and the fact that his field work only continued for a year after ‘Collecting with the Phonograph’ was published by the JFSS⁷⁰ has led to the already noted assumption that he became dispirited by the Society’s reception to his work and that the general reaction within the FSS had been negative. Even O’Brien followed this lead when she wrote of his article having been “controversial”⁷¹, but little of the surviving evidence proves this to have been how the FSS thought of Grainger’s work.

It is certainly true that objections were raised to the utilisation of the phonograph, but not blinkered, but practical ones, based on the limitations of the new technology, its impracticability, the difficulty of using such bulky and fragile equipment in the field, and its variance with the various established methodologies of collecting and publishing songs that had marked the previous hundred years work⁷², the period that covers roughly the time from Bishop Percy’s Reliques of 1765 to Child’s monumental and highly influential The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, the last volume of which had only been published, posthumously, in 1898, and was thus contemporaneous with the collectors, a work which though modern in its pan-European breadth and comparative methodologies, is firmly a work of the mid-19th Century in its emphasis on text to the near exclusion of music.

Furthermore, it should also be remembered that Grainger was not the first member of the Society to make recordings, but because he was the first to make the medium a large part of his collecting methodology and he presented us with, as it were, a manifesto for using the technology in the detailed analysis of his experiences presented in his Journal article, and because the next largest collection after his, Ella Leather’s, hasn’t survived, he has come to be seen – especially amongst Grainger scholars – as being synonymous with the medium. However, these same critics have also assumed that his inability to build on this work was due to what they have interpreted as the Society’s negative attitude to his ideas, but this is hardly likely, apart from the evidence that I will bring in the succeeding Part II of this Thesis to show the seriousness and enthusiasm with which some Society members embraced the new technology, there is also the complex question of Grainger’s own character to be borne in mind: he was, as is well known, a man of immense energy and enthusiasms, but such people can often be easily distracted, especially when seized by a new interest. His legacy of compositions in which the same – often short – piece could be worried over for decades only to then finally come to fruition in multiple versions, utilising his “elastic scoring” testifies to his organic methodologies and I think, along with his having to leave the United

⁶⁹. For the full list see: O’Brien, Jane, Grainger English Folk Song Collection, Music Monograph 6 (Nedlands, WA: Department of Music, University of Western Australia, 1985).


⁷¹. O’Brien, Jane, Grainger English Folk Song Collection, xi.

Kingdom abruptly for America in 1914, gives a better clue to the cessation of his English Folk-Song collecting than any supposed rift with the Journal’s editorial board.

Furthermore, it smacks of a-historicism to condemn the collectors for having not thrown away their notepads and pens and embraced the phonograph en masse, especially when their aims, when taken individually were often quite separate from that of making ethnographic recordings per se. Grainger’s work is now probably the easiest to understand because he, of all the collectors who worked in Britain, had an attitude that sits most closely with our contemporary ethno-musicalogical attitudes which acknowledge authorial primacy to the interpretive voice of those recorded. Such, however was not the case with the majority of collectors in the British Isles, where the importance of the recording was usually seen not in its usefulness as a documentary artefact, but as a tool for aiding transcription.

Nonetheless, in general, the Society had a measured position towards the new technology, as represented by the editorial note added to Grainger’s article:

“About the phonograph as an aid to collecting there can be no doubt; whether it is sufficiently perfect as yet to be preferred as a substitute for the human ear is still a disputable point. Similar careful records and analysis of the performances of trained singers and instrumentalists would therefore be of great value in helping to determine this.”

But this certainly wasn’t the first time that the idea of acquiring a phonograph had been considered within the FSS, in fact the subject of the phonograph within the FSS is nearly as old as the FSS itself, when the topic was broached by the Society’s Vice-President, Sir Hubert Parry at his Inaugural Address to the Society on the 2nd February 1899, in which he not only pointed out the problems and trials of collecting folk-songs, but suggested a solution –

“Some people seem to think they have but to walk out along the by-ways and hedges, and pick them up; but in reality, the collection of folk-songs requires the most extraordinary faculty of accurate attention, of accurate retention, of self-criticism and practice as well, to distinguish what is genuine from what is emasculated. The attention required makes it almost impossible to take down folk-songs with certainty. To my mind, the only way to do it with absolute accuracy would be to make use of the phonograph, and have an apparatus with resonators and self-recording instruments to put down the actual vibration value of all the notes, and so arrive at an exact record of the songs as they are sung.”

This was obviously a deeply held opinion as he reiterated this belief at the first committee meeting of the revived Society in 1904, urging the ‘the purchase of a phonograph’; furthermore,
we know that early the following year the Lancashire based song composer Graham Peel (1878-1937) had made recordings on the Isle of Skye as his friend James Campbell MacInnes played them to Lucy Broadwood on May 18th. To the best of my knowledge, none of these recordings, nor any information on them other than the passing reference in Broadwood’s diaries has survived, but it is interesting to note that both Sharp and Vaughan Williams visited her later that same day to work on the Journal and it is inconceivable that Peel’s field recordings wouldn’t have been a major topic of conversation amongst them that evening 76; finally, there is an important Addendum slip pasted to the inner title page of the journal in 1906 which specifically proposes the purchase of a machine [see Illustration I, next page]:

“Notice

December 10th, 1906.

The Hon. Secretary has recently received a donation of £5, to be applied at her discretion for the benefit of the Folk-Song Society.

She therefore proposes with this sum to open a fund for the purchase of the most satisfactory kind of Phonograph, or other recording machine, and invites further donations. 77

As well as this, two further crucial pieces of evidence for the reception, and use of the phonograph by the Society, can be found in two of its Reports, in the ‘Report of the Annual General Meeting Held […] On Friday, 6th December, 1906’ and in the later ‘Annual Report. June, 1907-8’, which, for reasons that will become obvious, have been overlooked due to their ephemeral status and the misdating of the latter.

The first of these is an unpaginated single sheet report for December 6th 1906 which ends with Grainger giving his “interesting description (with illustrations) of his experiences of the value of the phonograph in collecting Folk-Songs in Lincolnshire”, as the occasion was an AGM this dates discourse with Grainger over the new technology within the general Society (rather than just the Committee) to two years earlier than the publication of Grainger’s paper, but this has rarely been cited as its absence of pagination (as well as having been published unbound) has led to its often being omitted from sets of the Journal 78. The later Annual Report has survived in more sources, but due to its misdating has often been overlooked.

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76. Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/19: Thurs 18/05/05: “Mr McInnes came before 1 with phonograph. Records of Sky songs taken by Mr Peel himself. He stayed to luncheon.” I am deeply indebted to Irene Shettle for going to the Surrey History Centre to make a transcript of this entry for me. For Information on Peel see the Society’s ‘Members, March, 1905’, JFSS, 2 no. 1 (1905), vi, and Scowcroft, Philip L., ‘A First Garland of British Light Music Composers: Graham Peel’ on MusicWeb International.

77. Addendum slip pasted to the inner title page of JFSS, 2.4 (no. 9) (1906).

78. Full title: ‘Report of the Annual General Meeting Held at the Royal Academy of Music, Tenterden Street, W. (By Kind permission of Sir Alexander C. MacKenzie, Mus. Doc) On Friday, 6th December, 1906, 4.45 p.m.’, no pagination. This Report is bound as if page [vii] of Journal No. 10 (Vol. III, No.1, 1907) of the VWML open access set, but is found at the very end of the British Library copy, it does not appear in either the EFDSS copy available on JSTOR, Broadwood’s own set at the VWML or in the Indiana University Library copy on the “Internet Archive” at
Illustration I. Addendum slip pasted to the inner title page of JFSS, 2.4 (no. 9) (1906) [open access reference copy at the VWML]. Courtesy of VWML/EFDSS.

http://www.archive.org/details/journaloffolkson02folk and http://www.archive.org/details/journaloffolkson03folk [accessed 29/02/12]. To complicate matters, the previous report (from December 1905) is undated and has a nearly identical title: 'Report of the Annual General Meeting Held at the Royal Academy of Music, Tenterden Street, W. By kind permission of Sir Alexander C. Mackenzie, Mus. Doc.', v-vi., confusingly this is bound at the end of Journal No. 9 (Vol. II, No.4, 1906) in the BL copy, whilst it is found bound between pages 108 and 109 of Journal No. 7 (Vol. II, No. 2, 1905) of the Indiana set, but again, does not appear in the EFDSS copy on JSTOR.
The ‘Annual Report. June, 1907-8’

The ‘Annual Report. June, 1907-8’ presents us with a list of those who “used a phonograph, either as a substitute for, or supplementing ordinary methods.” in the collectors’ list designed to show “in what parts of England members have collected since the last Report was issued”, with an asterisk clearly printed by each collectors’ name to denote phonograph work [see Illustration II, next page], unfortunately this crucial piece of evidence was not only printed as a separate piece of ephemera, unlike earlier Society Reports which came bound with their accompanying Journal, but to make matters worse it was also mistitled ‘Report of the Annual General Meeting June, 1909.’, an Erratum note explaining this error, and giving its correct title was included in JFSS No. 14 (1910) on page 82, but by this time it was too late and consequently the few copies that have survived have been mis-bound out of sequence, being found, where they do survive, in any Journal from No. 10 (1907), to No. 13 (1909), even Lucy Broadwood’s personal copy of the Report is bound after the title-page of No. 13 where she has inked an “8” over the incorrect “9”, not surprisingly, this Report is relatively unknown. Those named (by County) as making phonographs are:

Derbyshire: Mr. C. Sharp.
Devonshire and Gloucestershire: Mr Percy Grainger.
Herefordshire: Mrs. Leather.
London: Miss L. Broadwood.
Sussex: Mr. Walter Ford.
Sutherland: Mr. G. Graham-Peel.
Inverness-shire: Miss. Lucy Broadwood
County Mayo: Mr. Walter Ford.

Though it should be noted that the extent of Broadwood’s phonograph work in Scotland is noted ambiguously, the exact wording being “Miss Lucy Broadwood* has collected Gaelic songs in INVERNESS-SHIRE, and from Gaelic-speaking Highlanders in London, besides noting songs in PEEBLES-SHIRE. “79, as can be seen, the asterisk is given by her name, not by the areas, but recourse to the surviving recordings shows that what is meant here is that phonographs were made in Inverness-shire and London, with “noting songs”, in this case at least, meaning pen and paper transcriptions with regards to the Peebleshire transcriptions.

Of course, the Reports list doesn’t pretend to be complete, and without knowing that it is misdated the omission of both Vaughan Williams’ and George Gardiner’s phonograph work would seriously invalidate it as a resume of such activities, but knowing its cut-off date to be June 1908 explains Gardiner’s absence, he hadn’t made any recordings by then: what is far more problematic is that by the time of the follow-up Report covering ‘June, 1908-9’80 not only had he made recordings but the Society had just issued a volume devoted to his collection81, but there is still no mention of his recordings.

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81. JFSS No. 13 (III, no. 4, 1909).
REPORT OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

JUNE, 1908.

The Executive Committee reports with pleasure the steady growth of the Folk-Song Society. During the year which ended May 31st, 1908, thirty-five new members have been admitted, and, although the Society has lost thirteen subscribers through resignation or death, it has at present two hundred and thirty-six members.

It is with deepest regret that the Committee has to record the death of the eminent musicians, Dr. Joseph Joachim and Dr. Edvard Grieg, who honoured the Society not only with their membership but with their sympathy and encouragement. Three other members, Mrs. Rafe Leycester, Dr. J. Culwick and Dr. F. J. Sawyer, have also passed away, all of whom were actively interested in folk-music.

Much excellent work has been done during the past year in collecting folk-songs and dances, and in popularising them by publication and performance. The following list, which does not claim to be exhaustive, shows in what parts of England members have collected since the last Report was issued:

BEDFORDSHIRE: Miss L. Edna Walter. DORSET: Miss L. E. Walter and Mr. H. E. D. Hammond. DERBYSHIRE: Mr. C. Sharp. DEVONSHIRE AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE: Mr. Percy Grainger, Mr. Harry Piggott, Mr. C. Sharp. HAMPSHIRE: Dr. G. B. Gardiner. HEREFORDSHIRE: Mrs. Leather. LANCASHIRE: Miss Annie G. Gilchrist. LINCOLNSHIRE: Mr. P. Grainger. LONDON: Miss L. Broadwood, Mr. P. Grainger, and Mr. C. Sharp. MIDDLESEX: Mr. P. Grainger. NORFOLK: Dr. Ralph Vaughan-Williams. OXFORDSHIRE: Mr. C. Sharp. SHROPSHIRE: Mr. George Kaye-Butterworth. SOMERSET: Mr. C. Sharp. SUFFOLK: Dr. R. Vaughan-Williams. SUSSEX: Mr. G. Kaye-Butterworth, Mr. Walter Ford, Mr. C. Sharp, Dr. R. Vaughan-Williams. WORCESTERSHIRE: Mr. P. Grainger.

In SCOTLAND, Mr. Gavin Greig and the Rev. J. B. Duncan have continued their important work of collecting on behalf of the New Spalding Club of Aberdeen, chiefly, but by no means solely, from singers in the north-east of Scotland (ABERDEEN, BANFF, KINCARDINE, etc.) Mr. J. A. Fuller-Maitland and Mr. G. Graham-Peel have noted Gaelic songs from singers of Sutherland. Miss Lucy Broadwood has collected Gaelic songs in INVERNESS-SHIRE, and from Gaelic-speaking Highlanders in London, besides noting songs in PEEBLES-SHIRE.

† See Journal of the Folk-Song Society, No. 11, p. 143.

In IRELAND, Mr. Walter Ford has collected from singers in County Mayo.

Those collectors against whose name there is an asterisk have used a phonograph, either as a substitute for, or supplementing ordinary methods.

The following members have lectured, or published papers, on folk-music: The Rev. J. B. Duncan, Mr. Walter Ford, Dr. George B. Gardiner, Mrs. G. L. Gomme, Mr. Gavin Greig, Mr. Frederick Keel, Mr. Frank Kidson, Mr. J. A. Fuller-Maitland, Mr. Cecil Sharp, Miss L. Edna Walter, Dr. R. Vaughan-Williams. Mr. F. Kidson has adjudicated prizes for the best folk-songs at the Musical Competition Festivals of Pontefract and Retford.

Illustration II. Section from Lucy Broadwood’s personal copy of the mistitled ‘Annual Report. June, 1907-8’ with asterisks denoting collectors who used the phonograph; Note how Broadwood has inked “8” over the incorrect “9”. Courtesy of VWML/EFDSS.
A number of reasons can be posited for this. Firstly the later Report doesn’t utilise the asterisk system of its predecessor to note phonograph work, in fact the only reference to such work is with regards to the Scottish work of Broadwood and her associates, secondly Gardiner wasn’t on the Society Committee and thus it is unlikely that Mrs. Walter Ford (the Report’s author) would have known him well enough to have known about these recent experiments, and finally it could also reflect how peripheral Gardiner might himself have seen this series of recordings when taken in the overall context of his collection, after all we only know of them via his letter to Vaughan Williams – which gave no detail about the recordings themselves – and the fact that one surviving recording is unmistakably from one of his singers.

With Vaughan Williams the omission is harder to explain, as I will show in the later chapters he was to be entrusted with the rôle of the Society’s “in-house” transcriber for those, such as Ella Leather, who made phonographs because they didn’t trust their skills in musical transcription, which could have meant that he wasn’t thought of so much as a cylinder recordist in his own right, but it should be noted that the ‘Annual Report. June, 1907-8’ list is at its weakest in noting his research regardless of whether or not it was with the phonograph. He is only credited with collecting in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Sussex, thus omitting his work in Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire and Yorkshire in the second half of 1907, nevertheless this would be an incomprehensible series of omissions had the – uncredited – Report been written by Broadwood since she had a detailed knowledge of his collecting work, but, as already noted, the Report falls into the period when Mrs. Walter Ford was the Honorary Secretary, and although anonymous, the Report stylistically stands out, in its detail and County by County analysis, as being the companion, and by the same hand, as the succeeding years Report, and that one is signed “On behalf of the Committee, L. Ethel M. Ford”. Assuming that both Reports were by her it can thus be seen that despite the greater detail of her Reports compared with the other years, she was hampered but not having such a direct knowledge of the individual members field-work and was probably reliant on information gleaned from committee discussions and general FSS conversations, information, in the case of Vaughan Williams, probably mediated by the composers own modesty.

With regards to this it could be suggested that the asterisk simply means that at some point that collector used a phonograph and its presence isn’t meant to be read as County specific, but the internal logic of the article disproves this, Broadwood is noted as making phonograph recordings in London, and Leather – inevitably – in Herefordshire, but Sharp, for example, is noted as having collected in Derbyshire, Devonshire and Gloucestershire, London, Oxfordshire,


83. VWML: RVW Scrapbook 2/120 and C37/1627.

84. Though it is correct in not including his Herefordshire, Surrey, and Derbyshire work from 1908 as that was all post-June. See Kennedy, The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams (London: Oxford University Press, 1964) pp. 670-675. On page 672 Kennedy also lists songs as having been collected in Colcombe, Devon, in 1908, but this is an error, “Colcombe” refers to William Colcombe, the songs listed being those that Vaughan Williams collected from him on July 29th 1909, see: RVW MSS Collection (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p. 309.


86. That she was the author of these reports also explains why her husband’s relatively small body of work wasn’t overlooked when larger ventures were. Consequently Ford is not only listed twice, under Sussex and County Mayo but both times with the asterisk that denoted phonograph work.
Somerset, and Sussex, but his name is only asterisked for Derbyshire, likewise Grainger is noted as having collected in Devonshire and Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, and Worcestershire, but is only noted as having made phonographs “since the last Report was issued” in the first of these, Devonshire and Gloucestershire, but – surprisingly – not Lincolnshire: these anomalies again suggest that the Report, whilst official, might be a rather imprecise document and hardly to be trusted, until one notes that though the product of an AGM it wasn’t to be taken as a direct reflection of the last years work, but of the collecting “since the last Report was issued” which was the ephemeral one page report for December 6th 1906 which ended with Grainger giving his talk on the “value of the phonograph in collecting Folk-Songs in Lincolnshire”87, so it can thus be assumed that Grainger’s Lincolnshire phonograph work was omitted from the ‘June, 1907-8’ tally not only because it had been covered in the 1906 Report but also because it had Journal 12 (May 1908) devoted to it. Furthermore the fact that the ‘June, 1907-8’ Report covers more than just the previous twelve months removes the anomaly that we have no knowledge of any collecting work by Ford later than 1907, consequently the Report isn’t as imprecise as it initially seems, just rather more wide ranging.

**Kidson’s opposition**

Despite these signs of encouragement within the society, one member of the Committee was to come out against the use of the phonograph, Frank Kidson, but I think it can be shown that there were other factors that conditioned his resistance to the medium, and that these were hardly contemporaneous with Grainger’s article.

As I noted in the previous chapter, for Kidson nearly all folk songs of any antiquity had ancestry within either the art music of the early modern period or from those genres such as glee songs, catches, rounds, or the songs to be found in the 18th century ballad operas which could be said to inhabit a hinterland between art and vernacular song. Consequently for him the interest was in the survival of these compositions, sometimes complete, usually as floating verses, and less so as artefacts from vernacular culture. As the input of the singer was for Kidson a matter of secondary importance to that of tracing the antique sources of a composition it is easy to see why the whole matter of phonographic reproduction was of little concern to him88 especially as, on a practical level he believed it to be a hindrance in noting a song correctly –

> “eight folk-singers out of ten asked to sing into that strange funnel above a moving cylinder will be nervous and not sing their best, either in time or tune. A sturdy young farmer, perhaps, who knows all about the gramophone, may come out of the ordeal with flying colours, and his strong masculine voice be reproduced with good effect, but not so the feeble old lady whose songs can only be obtained by careful tact and sympathetic manner, nor can such be noted otherwise than by getting constant repetitions and making selections from her differing renderings”89

but in giving this quote it should be noted, as Chris Bearman has pointed out90, that Kidson’s opposition to the phonograph wasn’t contemporaneous with Grainger’s article or the FSS’s short


89. Ibid, p. 50.

‘rider’ of Committee member observations that was inserted into it, at the time Kidson made no opposition to the new technology, it was only later that he was more vocal in his opposition, and even then he couch his objections temperately –

“The motive that inspires the use of the phonograph is praiseworthy in the extreme, but those opposed to its use suggest that these results are sometimes not very satisfactory where transcriptions taken directly from phonograph records have been published. They are generally complex and confusing, and for examples of the excessively elaborate rhythms and shifting tonality from phonographic records, the reader is invited to refer to some particular Journals of the Folk-Song Society. The transcriber should certainly bear in mind that mixed rhythms (2-4 time changing to 6-8, 7-8, 4-4, 5-8, and so forth in one short air) can hardly belong to the original structure of the tune, but rather to the method of singing it.”

Essentially his objection wasn’t that the phonograph was a flawed medium for documenting a performance, rather that by such detailed veracity it obscured the nature of the song. If this seems an alien perspective to us now, we have to remember that we are writing from a critical position (the norm since the 1960s, if not earlier) in which a song and its singer are indivisible, Kidson, as inheritor of the scholarship of the Ballad Society saw the Gordian knot of the relationship between singer and song as something that could easily be cut. Furthermore, by the time of the publication of English Folk-Song and Dance the Society was in the hiatus brought about by the Great War and collecting with the phonograph was hardly a priority. So to a large extent his opposition by this time was academic, though it could be suggested that it was less to do with genuine disquiet about the technology, and more because of his by then amicable working relationship with Mary Neal over this publication.

Neal had been one of Sharp’s first allies with regards to the revival of the Morris dance, her first Espérance Morris side, formed in late 1905, predating Sharp’s first side by some six years. Unfortunately, by late 1908 they were to fall out badly over matters of interpretation regarding authenticity in performance, though issues of who should dictate the policy of the fledgling folk dance movement were probably at the root of the problem, but whatever the cause, by the following year the split had become increasingly acrimonious and bitter, something which can be charted in the changes Sharp made between the two editions of Part One of The Morris Book. Kidson though managed to remain on good terms with both of them but it was to be


91. Percy Grainger, ‘Collecting with the Phonograph’, JFSS, 3.3 (no. 12, 1908), 147–242. ‘rider’ on p. 159.

92. Kidson, Frank, and Mary Neal, English Folk-Song and Dance, 1915, p. 49.

93. As William Kimber later recalled of his conversation with Sharp soon afterwards – “he said couldn’t go on like that William” he said “that wouldn’t do” I said “what was up then?” “Oh!” he said “she wasn’t satisfied with having a ride” ah that was ’is words “a ride in the conveyance” he said “she wanted to ’ave the reins and I couldn’t allow that””. William Kimber: Interview: 6th February 1957. Christopher Chaundy Collection: C1133/1 S1 C1 “Interview – Part 1”. British Library Sound Archive [transcription by author for the BLSA].


with Neal that he worked, albeit on only one major project, writing the song half of their collaborative *English Folk-Song and Dance*, a slim volume but one prestigiously published by the Cambridge University Press in 1915[^96]. Could Kidson’s later aversion to the phonograph have been due to his collaborative publication with Neal? As far as we know Neal wasn’t – in principle – opposed to the phonograph, as Dorothy Marshall of the Espérance Club made at least three recordings in 1911[^97], but Kidson may have (ironically) associated the use of the phonograph within the FSS to Sharp’s influence, the question of its utilisation having been broached soon after he (Sharp) joined the Committee, and consequently in retrospect, and being out of sympathy with many of Sharp’s innovations and now working with one of Sharp’s opponents, he subsequently decided that it was a bad thing.

But in mentioning these factors it should be emphasised that we are dealing with the objections of only one Committee member of the Society. Compared with other ethno-musicological groups the FSS had in fact acted promptly and efficiently to acquire one of the new machines. The FSS’s flurry of activity in this direction in fact makes heartening reading when compared to, for example, the abortive attempts of the Committee for the Collection of Slovenian Folk Songs (OSNPO) to acquire a phonograph [See Appendix VII][^98], of course, the FSS, unlike OSNP was an independent society rather than a centrally funded Government one; consequently it could set its own agenda, and as this chapter has shown, didn’t ignore, but actually evaluated, and in many cases embraced the new technology. Of course, as a Society of individuals the aims and objectives of each collector who used the phonograph was different, and it is in telling their individual stories that Part II of this Thesis will be concerned.


[^97]: Clive Carey Manuscript Collection: CC/1/9: ‘The Young Recruit / The Orange And The Blue’, William Lemming, Terwick, Sussex, March 1911 [? – this is the date given on the *Full English* VWML database, but no evidence to suggest this]; CC/1/116: ‘Green Bushes’, Stephen Spooner, Midhurst, Sussex, 21 Sep 1911 [*Full English* incorrectly lists it as the 29th]; CC/1/131: ‘The Nutting Girl’, Stephen Spooner, Midhurst, Sussex, 18 Oct 1911. The last one was unsuccessful as Marshal notes “this was not a v[er]y exciting tune, & he was get[tin]g v[er]y horse when he sang it, & I couldn’t get it on the gramophone”. Her phonograph work is also referred to in Dorothy Marshall to Clive Carey, 22 Sep 1911 (CC/2/146) and Dorothy Marshall to Clive Carey, 27 Sep 1911 (CC/2/147). For more background context see also Howes, Frank, ‘Letters to Clive Carey’, *English Dance & Song*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Spring 1971), pp. 65-66.

[^98]: See See Drago Kunej, “‘We have plenty of words written down; we need melodies!’: The Purchase of the First Recording Device for Ethnomusicological Research in Slovenia”, *Traditiones*, 34.1 (2005), pp. 138-140.
Part II

The Collectors

Chapter I – Ella Mary Leather

Ella Leather is the least known of the major collectors who used the phonograph, in fact it wasn’t until the publication of my 2010 paper on her\(^1\) that the true size and quality of her collection and a truer awareness of the total number of the phonograph recordings that she made – something in excess of 60 cylinders – became known. As I discovered, not only did she make more recordings than any other collector except Grainger, but she also predated most of them, first experimenting with the technology in December 1906.

In doing this work I had some unexpected good fortune. I had started writing this paper as a chapter of this Thesis in early 2008 expecting it to be one of the shorter ones, the only evidences for phonograph work in Leather’s collection then being the songs noted as having been collected that way in her *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* (1912) and a handful of references to her work to be found in the two volumes of Ralph Vaughan Williams Scrapbook of Texts and Letters\(^2\), I knew that the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (henceforth VWML) had once owned her ‘Notebook’, purchased in 1966 (see below) but that this had gone missing, probably during the early 1970’s, and consequently the rediscovery of this manuscript just as I was embarking on my chapter completely altered what was possible to discover about Leather’s work, for not only did it cover her earliest collecting, when she relied upon a network of friends and associates to transcribe tunes for her, but also the very beginnings of her use of one of the Folk-Song Society’s Edison phonograph recorders, and her subsequent work with Ralph Vaughan Williams.

As well as its importance as a central repository of Leather’s work at this crucial juncture, the Notebook was also important in providing us with a ready-made guide to her handwriting and that of her collaborators. The result of this was that it was then possible to go through the other collections in the VWML and publications of the Folk-Song Society identifying songs from Leather’s collection that had previously been attributed to other collectors or that had simply languished as being of unknown provenance. Consequently what had originally been envisaged as a short chapter, mainly reliant on secondary sources became a major work of reappraisal, positioning Leather not only as a collector of consequence, but also as one who was central to the Society’s engagement with the phonograph. Nonetheless, as she is still a relatively unknown figure compared with Sharp or Vaughan Williams I shall recapitulate my earlier findings here, thus not only placing her in the history of the Folk-Song society, but also – hopefully – giving us a truer appreciation of this engaging figure from the Edwardian revival.

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Leather’s Reputation

Upon its publication in 1912, Ella Mary Leather’s *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* was immediately recognized as a model of scientific scholarship. The former president of the Folk-Lore Society, Charlotte S. Burne, described it as ‘the most complete account of the folklore of any English county that has yet appeared’, noting with approval that in the thirty years since the publication of her own *Shropshire Folklore* (1883–86), ‘the advance of folklore study has turned what were then thought interesting parallels and explanations into mere truisms and padding. Mrs Leather has therefore been well advised to omit all but the very slightest tincture of commentary from her collections.’

Burne added that Leather had ‘been peculiarly successful in recovering traditional songs and music, aided by Dr. Vaughan Williams, who reduced her phonographic records to writing […] her survey of the field has throughout been singularly thorough.’ Reading this glowing review, it is sobering to dwell upon the fact that much of the work and most of the papers of both reviewer and subject were to suffer similar fates. It seems probable that Charlotte Burne’s work was destroyed by one of her surviving siblings. Ella Leather’s papers were dispersed owing to a combination of factors: her unexpected death from a heart attack in 1928 at the age of fifty-four; followed by her husband’s death seventeen months later; and then the total break-up of their estate upon the death of their surviving son in 1943.

Consequently, as with Burne, until recently it was necessary to reconstruct Leather’s work from her publications, a meagre selection of correspondence, and a handful of posthumous biographical sketches. This task is more problematic than in the case of the older folklorist, not least because, unlike Burne, Leather did not keep a diary, and her narrower interests – essentially the folkways of a single county – meant not just that she left a substantially smaller body of work but that she inhabited a much narrower social circle, leaving us with fewer reminiscences from contemporaries. In describing Leather as inhabiting a restricted social circle, I do not mean specifically in terms of class, but simply that she was a collector who was conditioned by the concentration of her work on one area, and that she rarely travelled, let alone collected beyond her native county. She was what Richard Dorson termed a ‘County Collector’; later described by Simpson and Roud as one who conducted fieldwork ‘in their native area which they knew well, and whose collections have added greatly to our store of

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folklore knowledge, but who did not otherwise play a large part in the greater world of folklore studies’.  

Be that as it may, with regard to social distinctions, most of the anecdotal evidence suggests a personage who, though a pillar of the local community, was not totally conditioned by the more stifling class conventions then prevalent. Examples include the occasion in 1908 when she joined in with the hop-picking at the Homme Farm in order better to make the acquaintance of Gypsy singers, many of whom she subsequently went on to describe as her ‘friends’; the visits from John Lock (sometimes noted, especially in Sharp’s manuscripts, as Locke), the fiddler whom she introduced to Sharp in 1909, and who would announce himself ‘by playing away under our windows until we came to listen’; and her numerous sessions at Weobley workhouse, taking down songs from William (listed initially as Thomas) Colcombe. These activities, plus her directing during the war years of the Red Cross Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) at Sarnesfield Court hospital, where she was known (apparently affectionately) as the ‘Commandant’, all suggest a personage who did not stand on ceremony.

If, as anecdotal evidence also suggests, she became less easy to work with in her last decade, the same sources also indicate that this change in her character was very much caused by the loss of


8. Her father was described as a ‘gentleman’ farmer (Jones, ‘A Nest of Singing Birds’, p. 23).

9. Leather, Ella M., ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies in Herefordshire’, Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, 3rd ser., 4 (1925), p. 59. She dates her ‘first experiences in collecting folk-songs from Gypsies’ to September 1908, and goes on to speak of joining in the hop-picking at the Homme Farm, near Dilwyn, Herefordshire. This is backed up by EML/2/4/a–i, a manuscript list of titles of songs that ‘The gipsies sang at the Homme & C hadnor farms near Weobley’, collected in September 1908.

10. ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies’, p. 63. In a letter to Lavender Jones in 1926, regarding another member of the Lock family, she wrote, ‘Polin Lock still comes and plays under our windows’, quoted in Lavender Jones, ‘The Gentlemen Locks’, English Dance & Song, 26.4 (1964), pp. 84–85. Jones mentions that a Lock was found dead in the snow on the Montgomeryshire hills with his fiddle by his side and wonders if this was ‘Polin’, and also whether ‘Polin’ was the unnamed brother who played with John Lock when Leather met him in 1908. The Shrewsbury Chronicle, 30 December 1927, p. 3, gives inquest details which confirm Jones’s conjectures, naming the deceased as Isaiah Lock (aged sixty-five). Isaiah was known within the family as James ‘Pollen’ Lock (Keith Chandler, telephone interview with David N. Roberts, Kinnel Bay, Clwyd, 28 October 2006; email from John Kirkpatrick to Derek Schofield, 29 October 2006, describing Kirkpatrick’s visit to Albert Lock in the mid-1970s). Furthermore, it was John Lock who acted as witness at Isaiah’s wedding on 23 January 1893. I am indebted to Keith Chandler for sending me this information on ‘Pollen’ Lock. It should be noted that Jones mistakenly conflates Leather’s meeting with the two Locks at Pembridge Fair in May 1908 with their meeting with Sharp the following year, in that she assumes ‘Pollen’ was present at the latter meeting as well. ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies’, p. 63, and transcriptions at EML/1/A p and in Cambridge, Archive of Clare College, Cecil J. Sharp MSS, ACC1987/25, Folk Tunes, make it clear that only John Lock was present on that occasion.

11. This was her actual position. She had joined the local branch of the Women’s VAD upon its foundation in 1910 (her husband being the area Honorary Secretary) and became its second Commandant in 1912 (Jones, ‘A Nest of Singing Birds’, p. 25; Randerson, p. [3]; and Weobley and District Local History Society, 2005/02/02, Sarnesfield Court [1916–18] photographer folder. Incidentally, although the majority of the contents of the British Red Cross Society: Voluntary Aid Detachment (Women) Record for Herefordshire concerns the Second World War, the cover inscription, ‘[County] Herefordshire. [Number] 6. [Address] Drill Hall, Weobley’, is unmistakably in Ella Leather’s hand (Weobley and District Local History Society, 1996/10/03).
her eldest son, John Francis, who signed up on the first day of the First World War and served in both Gallipoli and France, only to succumb to the influenza pandemic three weeks before the Armistice. Nevertheless, the abiding memories of her in Weobley are invariably positive: ‘She was a lovely person, she loved children, she was a friend to everybody. She didn’t think herself any better than anybody else. She liked to think she was on an equal with everybody’; If anyone poor in the village was ill, she would send them some soup, or fish or something like that […] She was always thinking of others – not of herself […] People would come to her with troubles and she would sit and listen to them. But she was always quiet and would never brag about it. If one adds to these humanitarian qualities her understanding of her county, its people, and their ways, one can see why she was such an able folklorist. As she herself explains in the Preface to The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire: ‘It is useless for the collector of folk-lore to ask bald leading questions; like travellers of another sort, it is well to carry samples, for your old countryman loves to hear a story: having heard, he longs to tell you one as good, or better. Of course it may not be of the kind that is wanted, but it is well to listen patiently.’

Beginnings

Ella Mary Leather was born Ella Mary Smith, in Bidney, in the parish of Dilwyn, Herefordshire, in 1874. Upon her marriage to the solicitor Francis Leather in 1893, she moved to the small market town of Weobley, and it was there that she was to live for the rest of her life.

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography notes that in 1905 her friend the Revd Compton Reade persuaded her to contribute a chapter on ‘The Folk-Lore of the Shire’ to his Memorials of Old Herefordshire and that this, plus the inclusion of some folktales in the first issue of the Herefordshire Magazine, in 1907, stimulated her interest in the subject. But it is evident that this places the beginnings of her interest too late, not least because Memorials was published in 1904. The Preface to The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire states that ‘The greater part of the present collection of Herefordshire folk-lore has been gathered since 1905’, that being the year in which she joined not only the Folk-Lore Society, but also, on 6 April, the Folk-Song Society. However, she had already sent Lucy Broadwood a first batch of Herefordshire songs in January

12. Randerson, p.[ 1]; Birt, p.[ 2]; London, British Library Sound Archive, Traditional Music in England Project, [ICDR0010594 BD1–7 NSA], interview with Lavender Jones, 25 October 1988. Discussing the fact that Leather had nothing to do with the Herefordshire branch of the Folk Dance Society after its classes were moved from Weobley to Hereford, Jones states, ‘[I] think you know she wasn’t quite normal really after all that trouble she had.’ [Palmer:] ‘What trouble was that?’ [ Jones:] ‘Well, her son dying, had been killed in the war.’

13. Mrs James, aged ninety-three in 1996; see Birt, p. [1].


15. Folk-Lore of Herefordshire, p. xvi (italics in original).


17. Folk-Lore of Herefordshire, p. [xi].


19. VWML, Folk-Song Society Minutes, p. 59 (Thursday, 6 April 1905).
1905; 20 and the Folk-Song Society’s minutes from two weeks before she joined indicate that she had already offered ‘a large number of songs, words & music, collected by herself in Herefordshire, & that she would allow the Society to use them for a forthcoming Journal’. 21 Furthermore, the earliest entries in her Notebook go back to the previous year and represent the fruits of a network of enquiries and contacts that she must have built up over some time. Consequently, we must assume that she had already been looking into the question of folk song in Herefordshire for some time before her article in the Memorials.

Interestingly, although Leather joined both the Folk-Lore and Folk-Song Societies in 1905, she did not join the Gypsy Lore Society when it was newly reformed in 1907 (having been in abeyance since 1893). This is surprising, considering the number of Gypsy singers represented in her collection and the involvement in the society of other Folk-Song Society members, such as Lucy Broadwood and the Revd Charles Marson. 22 There could be a number of reasons. First and most prosaically, it could be that initially she simply was not aware of the Gypsy Lore Society. Another reason might be that in the personage of John Sampson (1862–1931), Librarian of the University of Liverpool, the Society already had an established and (as a noted philologist) textually more rigorous collector, whose work covered similar territory to hers. 23

Finally, it could have been due to a divergence of ideology. Leather’s one publication for the Society was her ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies in Herefordshire’, which, although published in 1925, deals with her fieldwork of 1908–12. 24 It is a delightful, anecdotal paper, discussing pre-Reformation carols, John Lock’s meeting with Sharp at Leominster, and Harriet Jones’s muttered incantations, which Leather noted only to be told by the then Honorary Secretary of the Society, T. W. Thompson, that ‘they were too horrible to translate’. 25 However, it ends abruptly with the following conclusion: ‘the Gypsies sing English folk-songs and carols, and play traditional dance tunes, in no way distinguishable from those collected from English folk, or house-dwellers as the Gypsy would say. They borrow their music, as they do their

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20. Woking, Surrey History Centre, Lucy Broadwood Diaries, 25 January 1905. I am indebted to Professor E. David Gregory for this information.

21. Folk-Song Society Minutes, p. 54 (Thursday, 23 March 1905).

22. Lucy Broadwood is listed as a member in Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, n.s. 1 (1907), [1], and contributed twice to the journal’s Notes & Queries: ‘English Gypsy Musicians’, n.s. 1 (1908), 287; ‘Gypsy Legends from Legendes Religieuses Bulgares’, n.s. 4 (1910), pp. 71–72. Her English Traditional Songs and Carols received a short review in n.s. 2 (1909), p. 270, on account of its inclusion of two songs from the Goby family. The Revd Charles Marson was another contributor to the journal’s Notes & Queries with his ‘Gypsy Prayers’, n.s. 3 (1909), p. 77, in which he is eulogized as follows: ‘The Gypsies have found many a friend among the clergy, but none more devoted than the Rev. Charles L. Marson of Hambridge Parsonage, near Taunton, author of The English Jerusalem, an historical guide to Glastonbury, and an enthusiastic collector of folk-songs.’

23. His series of ‘Welsh Gypsy Folk-Tales’ extended to forty articles between 1907 and 1930 (the numbering goes up to 41, but there was no number 13!). For a short biographical sketch, see ‘John Sampson (1862–1931)’, University of Liverpool, Special Collections and Archives, http://www.liv.ac.uk/library/sca/colldescs/gypsy/Sampson.htm [accessed 14 September 2014].


25. Ibid, p. 62. T. W. Thompson was Honorary Secretary of the Gypsy Lore Society from 1922 to 1932; see University of Liverpool, Special Collections and Archives, Gypsy Lore Society Officers http://sca.lib.liv.ac.uk/collections/gypsy/jglsobits.htm [accessed 19 August 2009].
religion, from the country of their adoption.’  

Leather was certainly not alone in this evaluation of Gypsy culture. Eight years later, Frank Howes was to write, ‘it now seems to be established that the Gypsies are not a creative people and have no folk-music of their own composition’ (though it should be noted that to this he does add – ‘They have, however, an extremely sturdy and distinctive tradition of performance.’)  

One can imagine such assertions being accepted, possibly with caveats, in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society or Folk-Lore*, but they seem highly unlikely to have found favour with members of the Gypsy Lore Society, whether academic philologists such as Sampson or idealizing romantics like the artist Augustus John, with his sky-blue and canary-yellow caravans.

**The manuscript Notebook**

As noted above, until recently, our main sources for Ella Leather’s collecting work were published ones: her 1910 article ‘Carols from Herefordshire, Collected by Ella M. Leather’, the culmination of her initial publication enquiries from 1905; *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* (1912); her collaboration with Ralph Vaughan Williams, *Twelve Traditional Carols from Herefordshire* (1920); and the 1925 article ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies in Herefordshire’. In addition, there is Lavender Jones’s short biography, ‘A Nest of Singing Birds’ (1978), which contains as an appendix seven pages of photocopies of her manuscripts, prepared by Dave Jones, containing a total of eighteen songs. Twelve years before this last publication, however, the VWML acquired, for the sum of £5, a ‘Large Notebook of Songs and Dance Tunes’ (EML/1/, henceforth the ‘Notebook’).  

Unfortunately, this manuscript went missing, probably at some point in the 1970s, and was only returned to the library in early 2008 when Tony Foxworthy discovered it in a bookshop in Greenwich.  

The Notebook bears upon its front flyleaf the inscription ‘E. M. Leather / 1907’. It is immediately apparent, however, that the manuscript covers a much wider period and is not chronological (although it contains a larger selection of songs contributed by other collectors in its first half), with entries running from 1904 to 1913. Sixteen loose sheets are tucked between the cover and front flyleaf, and there are a further eight pages of sheet music comprising an appendix at the end of the Notebook. The loose sheets, as well as containing four early songs, i.e. no later than 1906 also contain six sheets that mark her return to collecting in 1922.

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26. ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies’, p. 64.


29. VWML, Accessions Register, vol. 2, pp. [21r and v].

30. VWML, accession no. 5857. See Sources A.

31. Communications with Malcolm Taylor (various times). Malcolm joined the VWMS as assistant librarian in 1979, the Notebook was no longer on site by this time.


33. ‘The Moon Shines Bright’ (EML/1/0/a), ‘The Man That Lives’ (EML/1/0/c), ‘Dives and Lazarus’ (EML/1/0/d), ‘The Dark-Eyed Sailor’ (EML/1/0/e).
including a version of ‘Cold Blows the Wind’ with a covering letter to Ralph Vaughan Williams, whilst the pages of music in the appendix consist of Cecil Sharp’s transcriptions of the dance tunes he collected from the fiddlers John Lock and William Preece in December 1909 at the meetings that Leather arranged on his behalf.

The main manuscript is not really a Notebook, as its accession card describes it, but rather a scrapbook, in which Leather has pasted the words and tunes of songs collected either by herself or by others on her behalf. The manuscript is, in other words, a collection of the songs she had collected up until 1907, after which she added material as it was collected, including further variants of songs she had already collected. Where there was no more space on the relevant page, she would employ pins or brass fasteners.

The Notebook gives a very good idea of the network of associates she had built up in Herefordshire who would send her songs, and it provides an invaluable, albeit selective, cross-section of her collection. Of the dozen or so contributors to the notebook, the two with the most entries are her children’s governness, Miss Annie M. Webb (later Mrs Brockman), and the young Francis Jekyll, a protege of Lucy Broadwood’s. Fifteen songs collected by Webb appear in the Notebook (plus three duplicates), and ten from Jekyll (again with three duplicates). A few of the songs are undated, but Webb seems to have been collecting in Herefordshire from 1904 to 1906, and Jekyll in 1906.

Although no correspondence has survived, it is probable that Jekyll was encouraged in his work by Leather, or possibly Webb. All of Jekyll’s Herefordshire songs were collected from the same singer, William Colcombe, at the Weobley workhouse; and in all but one of the instances

34. EML/1/0/b/1, Ella Mary Leather to Ralph Vaughan Williams, 15 September 1922; EML/1/0/b/2, ‘As I Passed by a Willow Tree’ (printed); EML/1/0/b/3, ‘Cold Blows the Wind’.

35. EML/1/26/a) is the same collector as Dr King (EML/1/13/c, EML/1/38).

37. Jones, ‘A Nest of Singing Birds’, p. 35. Annie M. Webb is variously credited in JFSS as Annie M. Webb and Annie Webb (2.2 (no. 7) (1905)), and A. M. Webb (2.2 (no. 7) (1905); 4.1 (no. 14) (1910)).


39. An eleventh song is given in the manuscript with Jekyll’s name, but I consider this an associative attribution, see n. 42.

40. One song, ‘North Country Damsel’, is dated 1905. However, since the eleven songs collected from William Colcombe replicate those found in the Lucy Broadwood Collection (where they are credited to Thomas Colcombe; see next note), which are from 1906 (‘A Brisk Young Sailor Courted Me’ being more precisely dated to September 1906), this is probably a scribal error (LEB/5/222–225).

41. Confusingly, he is initially called Thomas Colcombe in the Notebook and in the early volumes of JFSS. He is correctly noted as W. or William at two points in the Notebook (EML/1/17/a, EML/1/34/a) and his name is corrected in JFSS from no. 14 (1910) onwards. The confusion is apparently explained by
Jekyll collected from Colcombe a song Webb had already collected, being at least a year behind the other collector. For example, Webb collected ‘North Country Damsel’ in 1904, and Jekyll in 1906; Webb collected ‘The Mountains High’ in 1905, and Jekyll in 1906. The importance of this work to Jekyll’s brief career is that it pre-dates not only his joining the Folk-Song Society in 1907, but also marks the beginning of his collecting work with George Butterworth, in that half of the songs collected from Colcombe were noted in collaboration with the composer.

Briefly, the other pre-phonograph contributors to the Notebook are as follows:

- R. Hughes Rowlands, the local schoolmaster, whom Leather described as ‘a little Welshman who has noted some tunes for me, very well’. Seven songs (two duplicated), though it should be noted that this only makes up half of his overall contribution to Leather’s collection, the other seven songs being dispersed around the other manuscripts.

- Mr F. Gwilliam. Six songs (two duplicated).

A photograph of him included in the Sidgwick ‘Bitter Withy’ folder, where his name is given on the reverse as W. T. Colcombe and on the front as ‘Stumpy Bill’ (his nickname) (FSBW/1/52). It seems probable that he was known as Bill or William to his friends, but by his second name, Thomas, to others. He is recorded in the Weobley Union Workhouse censuses for 1851, 1861, 1871, and 1881, and in the Stoke Prior census for 1891, and in each case his name is given as William. I am indebted to Keith Chandler for this information.

42. ‘There Is an Alehouse’ (EML/1/40/c), a transcript of a phonograph of [Mr?] Hirons, of Haven, Herefordshire, 1909, is seemingly ascribed to ‘Mr Jekyll’, but with the additional information, ‘Noted / by / R. V. Williams / Mus ; Doct : / Phono / E. M. L.’. The reference to Francis Jekyll is therefore probably intended simply to indicate that the song is the same as one already collected by Jekyll: ‘There Is an Alehouse’ / ‘A Brisk Young Sailor Courted Me’ (EML/1/40/a; ‘A Brisk Young Sailor’ (EML/1/40/b).

43. The exception is ‘Poor Mary of the Silvery Tide’, collected by both Webb and Jekyll in 1906 (EML/1/33/a (Jekyll), EML/1/33/b (Webb)). One other case in which one cannot decide on precedence relates to the song that Jekyll collected from Colcombe as ‘Billy Taylor’ and that Webb collected under the title of ‘William Taylor & Sarah Gray’. Both are undated, but, based on the Broadwood Collection (LEB/5/222–225), one can assume Jekyll’s version to be from September 1906, and so in all probability Webb’s version was again earlier.

44. I have included these in the main catalogue of Leather’s collection (Appendix III). The three other songs that Jekyll and Butterworth collected together in Herefordshire, but which do not appear in the Notebook, are from a Mr Smith of Stoke Lacy: ‘Erin’s Lovely Home’ (GB/7a/53); ‘It’s of a Farmer All in This Town’ (GB/7b/19, GB/6b/16); ‘Little Brown Jug’ (GB/6b/18, GB/7b/26). For these, plus the five from Colcombe, see London, EFDSS Archives, George Butterworth Collection http://library.efdss.org/archives/index.html [accessed 12 October 2009]. Jekyll and Butterworth were to later collect together in Sussex (1908) and Norfolk (1910); see Michael Dawney, ‘George Butterworth’s Folk Music Manuscripts’, Folk Music Journal, 3.2 (1976), p. 100.

45. RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [originally p.84a (a loose page between pp. 84–85)]. Ella Mary Leather to Ralph Vaughan Williams, 3 November 1908. See Sources D in Appendix III for an explanation of the need for retaining the original numbering.

46. The name is written as ‘Gwilliam’ in the first two Notebook entries, the only times when the collector’s name is not in Leather’s hand. Confusingly, it appears as ‘Gwillim’ for the remaining entries and in the Broadwood collection, in one case (LEB/5/244) being rewritten after Leather had initially written his name illegibly. ‘Gwillim’, furthermore, is the spelling used for his one appearance in the Journal of the Folk-Song Society. But against this evidence must be weighed that of the 1901 census, where Frank Gwilliam, a lodger at 56, the High Street, Weobley, is listed as a 29-year-old ‘Surveyor of Highways Worker’ from Clodock, Cwm Dulas. As he was the only ‘F. Gwilliam’ or ‘F. Gwillim’ in the village at that time, I have followed this spelling.
• Mr J. Griffiths, the local miller’s son. Three songs (two duplicated) plus a fourth song in the Lucy Broadwood collection.

• Dr King. Two songs (one a single-line fragment): who may possibly be the same collector as -

• The Revd Edwin King. One song (plus a further, duplicated, song in the other manuscripts).

• Eleanor Andrews and Dr Quinten Darling, friends of Leather’s from Eardisley. One song.

• Miss Nellie Smith. One song.

• A harmonized setting by W. D. V. Duncombe, sent to Leather by the Revd Custos Duncombe (with a further song in the other manuscripts).

• Mr Walter Pilley, a local worthy who left a considerable collection to Hereford City Library. One song (though this might have been copied from his broadside collection).

• Miss Nona Swire, a ward of Colonel Leather’s, who contributed one duplicated song in the Notebook, ‘The King and the Keeper’, from Mrs Brace, Weobley.

Writing to Lucy Broadwood in May 1905 about possible publications in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, Leather admitted:

‘I am rather greedy. I should like to keep the “K. & Keeper” tune! i.e. if it is good. It seems to me pretty. But you shall have it if worthy of a place in the journal, as I want to encourage my little niece. She is still at school, & I hope she may join the society when she leaves next year.’

That she must have been at least partially successful in encouraging Nona’s interest in folk song is apparent from Nona’s reminiscences:

‘Ella used to take me round in the dog-cart, to visit old folk where she had heard folk songs could be sung. My part was to note them down with the aid of a tuning-fork and my own ear! Later a phonograph was produced and we sallied forth with that. Pembridge was about the greatest distance we covered.

Finally, there is one song in the Notebook copied from H. E. D. Hammond’s collection, ‘Rose in June’, unattributed but textually identical to George Dowden’s version. A slip in Lucy

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47. Jones, ‘A Nest of Singing Birds’, p. 35; sometimes credited as ‘John Griffiths junior’ (EML/1/0/c, EML/1/20/b).

48. ‘Dives and Lazarus’ (EML/1/0/d). Their description as Leather’s ‘friends’ is in JFSS, 2.2 (no. 7) (1905), 125.

49. The Library World, 16.4 (1913), 96–128, noted this bequest from the late Walter Pilley, JP. I am indebted to the late Roy Palmer for informing me of Pilley’s donation.

50. EML/1/43/a, EML/1/43/b.

51. LEB/5/283, Ella Mary Leather to Lucy Broadwood, 11 May 1905.

52. Jones, ‘A Nest of Singing Birds’, p. 34.
Broadwood’s handwriting has been pasted to it, stating boldly, ‘Copied from M. S. sent by H. E. D. Hammond Esquire. Clevedon, Somerset. To whom you apply if you wish to use them in public or in print’, thus showing the store that the early collectors set on ownership and accountability. The remainder of the pieces in the Notebook – twelve songs in all (plus one duplicate) – consists of phonograph work.

Using the phonograph, and thus freed from having to arrange for music transcriptions by local amanuenses, Leather could concentrate on noting the texts, knowing that the transcription would be left to the capable hands of Ralph Vaughan Williams. I will consider these entries in the next section.

For those acquainted only with Leather’s collection from published sources, a number of things become apparent from a consideration of the Notebook: (i) the extended network of friends and assistants that she established; (ii) the wide range of songs that she collected, much greater than just those that saw publication; and (iii) the number of songs from her collection that were published but that were not credited to her.

With regard to the first of these points, certainly it can be put down in part to her position and influence in the village of Weobley, but it must also have been a consequence of her growing reputation as an authority on the subject of local folkways, either via word of mouth or through her occasional publications. Her reputation was such that by late 1907 we find informants passing her name on to other collectors. Pattie Leaper wrote to Frank Sidgwick in December of that year:

There is a lady, Mrs. Leather, whose address is,

Weobley

Herefordshire,

Who has written a great deal about folk lore, & last Xmas she had written something about this carol which we call ‘The Bitter withy’ in The Hereford Times. I think she could give you much information. 

As well as being a noted editor of old ballads, and from 1909 until his death in 1939 managing director of the publishing firm Sidgwick & Jackson, Frank Sidgwick is also known for having discovered ‘The Bitter Withy’ [Roud 452] the importance of which was that it was a ballad that hadn’t been included in Child’s canon, he would therefore have been eager to pool resources with another collector of early ballads and carols who had independently noted other variants of it.

53. EML/1/36/c.

54. VWML, FSBW/1/18, Pattie Leaper to Frank Sidgwick, 22 December 1907.

55. Popular Ballads of the Olden Time, ed. by Frank Sidgwick, 4 series (London: A. H. Bullen; Sidgwick & Jackson, 1903–12); Frank Sidgwick, The Ballad (London: Martin Secker, [1915]).


57. ‘Carols from Herefordshire’, p. 34. Two stanzas had first appeared in Notes and Queries, 4th ser., 1 (1868), p. 53, contributed by ‘C.F.S.’. Sidgwick then published a complete version of nine stanzas from
If it has survived, Sidgwick’s first letter to Leather has not been located, but evidently he acted upon his informant’s information, since a correspondence had begun by, at the latest, the following February. This is apparent from items preserved in the two volumes of Frank Sidgwick’s ‘Bitter Withy’ folder, which was presented to the VWML by his daughter in 1976 and 1987 and comprises a selection of letters, cuttings, and notes that Sidgwick made over many years on the subject of this curious ballad. Unfortunately, Leather’s first letter to Sidgwick isn’t to be found in these papers, but a subsequent one is, which not only reinforces Nona Swire’s point about the logistical problems of distance when collecting, but alludes to other pertinent issues such as the place of folk song collecting among Leather’s other domestic responsibilities.

Castle House.
Weobley.
Feb : 23 : 1908.

Dear Sir,

I send you another tune for the Bitter Withy.

Mr. Brimfield is much disappointed that he has not had a letter from you! An acknowledgment in the paper is not enough for him. I am writing to thank him for the tune. Miss Andrews tells me he knows of other folk singers, but alas! he is ten long miles away from me, & I am a mother to a small Person of six years, & Hausfrau, & other things before folk-song collector.

It is very nice of you to flatter me so much in the Hereford Times. Have we any mutual friends? I cannot remember revealing any antiquarian leanings in my correspondence.

The tune of the ‘Juniper Tree’ which is promised me from the Monmouthshire border, has not arrived yet, nor have I been able to go to Pembridge to look for the singer of ‘Bells in Paradise’, the weather is so rough when I have time,

Yours Truly
E M Leather

Accompanying the letter is an insert with the tune to Mr Brimfield’s version of ‘The Bitter Withy’, as noted by Edith Andrews. Though no more of their correspondence is to found in amongst these papers it must have continued throughout 1908, since Sidgwick’s folder contains other versions of ‘The Bitter Withy’ from Leather’s collection, as well as three of Leather’s photographs: one, a landscape photo of willows, on which Leather has written, quoting the

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58. VWML/FSBW/1/, FSBW/2/. Frank Sidgwick, ‘Bitter Withy’ folder, 2 vols (VWML, MPR 50; accession no. 10347 [vol. 1 only]). Consisting of two A5 ‘cloth Binders’ Dummy’ folders, to quote Frank Sidgwick’s daughter, Ann Baer, in her description of the manuscripts which she appended to the second volume.

59. FSBW/1/25, Ella Mary Leather to Frank Sidgwick, 23 February 1908.
ballad, ‘It shall be, the very first tree / To perish at the heart’; and two photos of singers, one of Mrs Wheeler and one of William Colcombe [Illustration III].

Illustration III. “Stumpy Bill” – William Colcombe, singer of the ‘Bitter Withy’: photograph sent by Leather to Frank Sidgwick (FSBW/1/52), Courtesy of VWML/EFDSS.

The two issues of what the Notebook can tell us about the wide range of songs she collected, and the number of songs from her collection that were published but that were not credited to her, can be considered together.

Those acquainted only with the published material could be forgiven for imagining the vernacular song culture of Herefordshire to have been predominantly pre-Reformation, sacred, and of specifically Gypsy provenance. But while it is to be expected that any collector would wish to concentrate on the most ancient, unique, or unusual of their finds, the Notebook does give a much more rounded overview of the song repertoire in Herefordshire at that time. For every ‘The Moon Shines Bright’, there is a ‘Pretty Ploughboy’ or ‘Basket of Eggs’; for every carol, a broadside. Nevertheless, there are unusual variants of common ballads, and even the occasional secular song of great rarity. To mention but a few, ‘The Mountains High’, collected from William Colcombe, is a version of the rare ‘Captain Barnwell’ [Roud 955], otherwise noted only by Alfred Williams in Berkshire (twice), H. E. D. Hammond in Dorset, Sharp in Somerset, Christie in Banffshire, and Greig in Aberdeenshire, along with a couple of American


61. EML/1/34/a (Jekyll, 1906), EML/1/34/b (Webb, 1905).

62. Williams noted it from William Jefferies of Longcot, adding ‘I have not heard of it elsewhere, except at Shrivenham, hard by’, but does not list his other source http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getfolk.php?id=7 [accessed 24/08/09].
versions. Two unique hunting songs are ‘The Fox-Hunting Chase’ (‘Come all you bold sportsmen’) [Roud 22252], 63 and ‘The Fox-Hunt’ (‘All you that love hunting attend to my song’) [Roud 22251], 64 both of which were printed in The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire (the latter under the title ‘The Herefordshire Fox-Chase’) but without the tunes included in the Notebook. Another curiosity is ‘The Honest Weaver’ [Roud 22255], which Annie Webb took down from the singing of a Mr C. Burton. 65 The song is an extended, albeit incomplete, text of seemingly great age – but it is actually a near-verbatim recitation of a verse narrative entitled ‘The Three Gifts: A Tale of North Germany’ by the American poet John Godfrey Saxe (1816–87), from his Clever Stories of Many Nations Rendered in Rhyme (1865). 66 It would be interesting to know by what paths this art setting came to be in the mouth of a middle-aged wheelwright of Dilwyn.

As well as the unusual songs that were not published, the Notebook also reveals the number of songs from Leather’s collection that were published but that are not generally known as being from her collection. ‘Carols from Herefordshire’ is rightly considered her main contribution to the Journal of the Folk-Song Society, and in light of the contents of the Notebook it is apparent how quickly the Society took up her suggestion that it publish from her ‘large number of songs, words & music’. 67 However, in following the journal’s house rules of noting only the name of the music transcriber, she was rarely credited as the collector. J. Griffiths, F. Gwilliam, and Annie Webb are all noted as collectors of some songs, but not Ella Leather. 68 Occasionally a credit is given in the succeeding notes, such as ‘noted and communicated by Mrs. Leather’. 69

Sometimes, too, a piece of further information testifies to Leather’s role as collector, such as the additional note accompanying a version of ‘Oh, Have You Heard and Seen Our Saviour’s Love’
from Mrs Caroline Bridges: ‘Mrs. Leather, who communicates this tune, describes the fine effect produced by Mrs. Bridges’ beautiful deep voice.’

In consequence, a careful reading of the entries from Herefordshire in the pages of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* for 1905 alongside the Notebook and other loose papers (EML/2/) reveals that eleven songs from her collection were published, rather than just the four that mention her in the song notes. While it is evident that there was no intention on the part of the editorial board to marginalize Leather’s contributions, the house rules did mean that she received less credit than was her due – a matter that was of little consequence when those involved were still alive to correct any misconceptions (or to explain the journal’s rules of attribution), but is of greater consequence for subsequent historical accuracy. This matter of attribution in the pages of the journal was, albeit to a lesser extent, also to be an issue with regard to Leather’s later work, with the phonograph.

**Sharp, Vaughan Williams, and collecting with the phonograph**

Leather’s difficulties in arranging for transcriptions of tunes have already been touched upon, and her surviving correspondence with Lucy Broadwood emphasizes the problems she and her transcribers faced: ‘Miss Webb said the “Pride of Glencoe” was very hard to write down, although she had it “in her head” quite clearly & is sure it is right. She has left us, & sent it to me, & I can’t fit it with the words, but probably you can. I send you the 8th verse, as that is the one that went best.’ This must have been just a temporary absence from Weobley, since Annie Webb was transcribing from William Colcombe and Mrs Powell the following year, but it seems that at least one carol defeated her, finally being transcribed by J. Griffiths: ‘Miss Webb tried to get the “Man that lives”, but found it difficult. Am I right in thinking it an old modal tune? That E flat is ugly, but Mr. Griffiths has a fine ear, & it is right. [postscript] I can’t get any more sensible conclusion to the carol. There must be some more.’


72. *JFSS*, 2.2 (no. 7) (1905): (no. 18) ‘The Basket of Eggs’; (no. 27) ‘Dives and Lazarus’; (no. 34) ‘Christmas Now Is Drawing Near at Hand’; (no. 36) ‘Oh, Have You Heard and Seen Our Saviour’s Love’. In the case of ‘Dives and Lazarus’, from Mrs Harris, the clue is that the collectors, E[leneor] Andrews and Dr Quinten Darling, were friends of Mrs Leather’s; see EML/1/0/d; *JFSS*, 2.2 (no. 7) (1905), pp. 125–26.

73. Her next contribution, the last three stanzas of ‘The Sally Twigs’ or ‘The Bitter Withy’, in ‘Note on “Our Saviour Tarried Out” or “The Bitter Withy”’, *JFSS*, 2.4. (no. 9), 300–304, does credit her as collector, but does not list the singer. It can be assumed that it must be from William Colcombe, because she was later to write ‘one singer at Weobley, Mr. W. Colcombe, always called it “The Sally Twiggs”’ (‘Carols from Herefordshire’, p. 34).

74. LEB/5/283, Ella Mary Leather to Lucy Broadwood, 11 May 1905. She is referring to LEB/5/279.

75. LEB/5/258, Ella Mary Leather to Lucy Broadwood, 12 October 1905 (the letter’s accompanying envelope, to which Broadwood has added the titles of the songs contained, is at LEB/5/249).
At times it was not possible to get a transcription at all, as described in a note to an undated list of songs that Leather sent to Lucy Broadwood for possible inclusion in the journal: ‘I have not had time to see Mr. Gwilliam about tune yet, but will write again. Most of the words I have taken myself, it is all I can do!’ Thankfully, this cry for help was to be answered and, by December 1906, ‘Miss Lucy Broadwood, then Honorary Secretary of the Folk-Song Society, decided that the matter was deserving of expert attention, and secured for me the invaluable assistance of Dr. Vaughan Williams, who lent an Edison phonograph, with recorder and reproducer from which the music could be noted.’

Leather and Sharp

Leather’s work with Sharp, arranging for him to see Mr Trill’s Brimfield morris men on Boxing Day 1909, and to meet with John Lock the following day and with William Preece on 29 December, has been considered elsewhere. However, since three of the phonograph transcripts in his notebooks are certainly the product of this work, they should be considered briefly. Unfortunately, we possess only three items relating directly to their work together, of which one comprises the eight pages of sheet music of Herefordshire dance tunes that Sharp sent to Leather, and another is Leather’s letter of condolence to Sharp’s widow.

Nonetheless, the one surviving letter is very informative, especially since it pre-dates their collecting work and once again shows very clearly how wary the early collectors were of infringing on one another’s territory. It is worth quoting in full:

189 Adelaide. Road:

8. Dec. 09

76. LEB/5/290, Ella Mary Leather to Lucy Broadwood, [n.d. (the list of songs suggests 1905 as the probable year)].

77. RVW/Scrapbook/1/46 [originally p. 61 upper], Fragments of Songs & Carols, from Mr. J. Probert, Weobley, Dec 1. 1906; and, for a song recorded in January 1907, ‘Carols from Herefordshire, pp. 47–49 (‘Dives and Lazarus’).

78. ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies’, p. 59. In this article Leather is talking about her first collecting work with Gypsies in October 1908; but, besides the trial cylinder with J. Probert (n. 72 above), ‘Milkmaid’s Song’ / ‘The Milk Maid’s Fair’, from Mrs Powell (EML/1/13/a, EML/1/13/b, EML/2/10/n), ‘Dives and Lazarus’ from Mr J[ohn] Evans (‘Carols from Herefordshire, pp. 47–49), and ‘The Moon Shines Bright’ from Mr G. Vaughan (‘Carols from Herefordshire, pp. 10–11) were all recorded in 1907 (the second in January and the last in May).


80. EML/1/Ap/1–16.

81. VWML, Cecil J. Sharp MSS, Correspondence, Box 2, Ella Mary Leather to Constance Sharp, 24 June 1924.

82. Sharp MSS, Correspondence, Box 2, Cecil J. Sharp to Ella Mary Leather, 8 December 1909.
Dear Mrs. Leather.

I agree with everything in your letter of the 6'. I will gladly look through the dance & same portion of your forthcoming book and do all I can to help you. You in return will help me to see dances in your neighbourhood wh[ich] is most kind of you. I will never publish anything wh[ich] I note directly through y[ou]r assistance, without your permission.

I don’t think we shall disagree!

etc etc etc

Y[ours]

Cecil Sharp

Both were as good as their word. Leather would acknowledge Sharp in her Preface to The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire as having ‘given me the benefit of his great experience in noting morris and country dances, and has noted the dance tunes’, 83 Sharp was introduced by Leather not only to the fiddlers John Lock and William Preece, but also to the Brimfield morris and to further examples of morris at Madley and Weobley. The fruits of this collecting tour can be found in the appendix to the Notebook and in Sharp’s Folk Tunes and Folk Words manuscripts, but what is more to the point are the four references to, and three transcriptions from, phonograph recordings.

Two of the dances in the Notebook appendix are known to have been recorded at the time: ‘Sheepskins’, which Sharp noted as ‘Tested by phonographic record taken by Mrs. Leather’; 85 and ‘The Morris Dance’, subsequently published in The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire, 86 which was initially titled ‘Sheepskins’ in the Notebook appendix but subsequently re-titled, as Sharp explains, ‘This was noted from phonographic record taken by Mrs. Leather. Locke told her this was “Sheepskins” but he gave me the other tune (2416) by that name.’ 87 Unfortunately, one of the four surviving Herefordshire cylinders, labelled on the box, ‘There is an Ale house / Dance Tunes / played by Locke’, merely replicates this confusion, in that on the bottom of the box is written ‘There is / an ale house / Gipsy / Locke / Sh[ee]pskins / Hornpipes’. 88 As I show in my chapter on Vaughan Williams, while the fiddle tune is very probably from Lock the tune bears no resemblance at all to any of the John Lock tunes in any of the manuscripts, least of all to those that Sharp finally decided to call either ‘Sheepskins’ or ‘The Morris Dance’. The fact that

83. The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire p. [xvi].

84. EML/1/ Ap/1–2, 6–7, 9–14 (Lock); EML/1/ Ap/4–5, 15 (Preece); Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, pp. 2413–2422, 2426 (Lock); Folk Tunes, pp. 2423–2425 (Preece); Folk Words, pp. 2191–2192 (Brimfield); Folk Words, pp. 2194–2196 (Madley); Folk Words, pp. 2193, 2197–2201 (Weobley).

85. 93 EML/1/ Ap/14; Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, p. 2416.

86. The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire, p. 131.

87. EML/1/ Ap/2; Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, p. 2426. In the Sharp MSS this tune is titled ‘Sheepskins (?)’.

88. EFDSS Wax Cylinder Collection, C37/1590.
subsequent articles have christened it ‘John Lock’s Polka’ is convenient, but brings us no closer to knowing its true title.

Furthermore, at the time of this chapter’s first publication in the *Folk Music Journal* I was still of the generally held opinion that this recording had been made by Sharp, but my later discovery that the recording’s anonymous companion ‘There is an Ale house’ was of a Mr Jones, definitely recorded by Vaughan Williams, can only mean that although the box inscription repeats Sharp’s errors in nomenclature the instrumental couldn’t have been recorded by Sharp.

That issue dealt with, let us turn to the references that concern us in which Sharp asks Leather to make him phonograph recordings of tunes of which he is uncertain. The first of these is William Preece’s ‘Jack off the Green’, where Sharp notes, ‘It would be well to get a phonographic record of this if you can, in order to rectify it. I am not too sure about it.’ As far as is known, no recording was made of this tune; certainly there is nothing to suggest this in Sharp’s manuscripts. The second is Lock’s version of ‘Boyne Water’, of which Sharp writes in the Notebook appendix, ‘I should like a phonographic record of this. He may have forgotten (partially) second strain.’ In this case, Sharp’s fair-copy manuscripts indicate that this recording was indeed made, for while p. 2420 of Folk Tunes gives the tune as noted on 27 December 1909, p. 2419 gives it as ‘noted from phonograph. Jan 26. 1912’.

So we know not only that Sharp and Leather were in continuing correspondence after their initial joint collecting work, but that Leather made more than one series of recordings of John Lock.

**Leather and the phonograph**

As already noted, while the new technology was impractical for Sharp to use consistently in the field, and of little use to his evangelistic work in education, these issues were not of relevance to Leather. Her main dilemma was always over the transcription of tunes, and while she had invited Ralph Vaughan Williams to Herefordshire specifically for this purpose, his first visit being in late July–early August 1908, this was still not a long term solution to the problem. The phonograph, therefore, was an eminently suitable solution, an ever-present and scientific amanuensis. She found the new technology less off-putting for her singers than the Cassandras in the Folk-Song Society had anticipated:

> ‘The surprise of the singers when they heard their songs immediately reproduced was great, and acted as an inducement to those reluctant at first to sing.’

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89. EML/1/Ap/5; Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, p. 2423.

90. EML/1/Ap/10. My thanks to Dr Elaine Bradtke for deciphering this sentence.

91. EML/1/Ap/10; Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, pp. 2419–20. The tune on p. 2419 continues on to the following page with two staves of variant refrains written under the earlier version.


93. ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies’, p. 69.
Not that the technology was without its problems. Her earliest known surviving letter to Vaughan Williams, from 3 November 1908, notes the usual set of problems that a collector—with or without a phonograph—could expect to face when collecting in the field:

vii. Mrs. Whatton, voice feeble, words scrappy, but will send them if tunes are any good.

[vii.] b. is I fear almost same as Mrs. Bridges’.

ix. Prosser had a cold, first verse is repeated at end his very loudest.

xii. Is two verses of same from Mrs. Herbert. She has sung in choirs a good-deal, & has had some training.

Colcombe learnt Tiresome wife from an old man of 90, day before he died, & insisted on my noting it! I feel doubtful about it, & the words are horrid.94

The follow-up letter, of 9 November, however, concentrates more on the problems of working with the phonograph:

I send 6 more records. Some are very bad, but it is really not my fault. Mrs. Harris has no more voice, & Mrs. Powell was very shaky & I think in Pretty Caroline she shook the table. It was in No III. that Hancocks leaned on the horn. I afterwards broke the record, but have taken another: it was the Holy Well.

I hope this is new: to my untrained ear its beautiful.

Mrs. Powell has sung me a Thresherman, yet to come, & I think a little different.

I almost despair of getting the other Claudy Banks, & doubt if one can get a good record, as poor old John Morgan is always in bed now.95

As mentioned above, the Notebook lists only twelve songs (plus one duplicate) that are from phonographs. Eight bear the description ‘Phonographed E. M. L. / noted R. V. W.’, or a variant thereof. These are ‘Tailor and the Crow’, ‘Seasons of the Year’, ‘Milkmaid’s Song’ (duplicated), ‘The Bitter Withy’, ‘The Mantle of Green’, ‘There is an Alehouse’, ‘Sailor Boy’, and ‘The Trees They Do Grow High’.96 The other four can be identified as having been recorded, either from entries in the Journal of the Folk-Song Society and The Folk-Lore of

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94. RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [originally p. 84a], Ella Mary Leather to Ralph Vaughan Williams, 3 November 1908. The companion list of songs, possibly an insert that went with the cylinders, is to be found at RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 [originally p. 84 upper]; the fact that these two documents were linked would have been evident from their proximity to each other in the original Scrapbook, but is now far less apparent.

95. RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [originally p. 84 upper], Ella Mary Leather to Ralph Vaughan Williams, 9 November 1908.

96. John Lloyd, ‘Tailor and the Crow’(EML/1/4, EML/2/10/o); Mr He[ny] Beddoe, ‘Seasons of the Year’ (EML/1/8/b); Mrs Ellen Powell, ‘Milkmaid’s Song’ (EML/1/13/a, EML/1/13/b, EML/2/10/n; The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire, p. 205); Charlotte Stephens, ‘The Bitter Withy’ (EML/1/23); Mr. [George] Eckley, ‘The Mantle of Green’ (EML/1/26/b); Mr Hirons, ‘There is an Alehouse’ (EML/1/40/c); Mrs [Caroline] Bridges, ‘Sailor Boy’ (EML/1/47); and Mr Hirons, ‘The Trees They Do Grow High’ (EML/1/49/a).
**Herefordshire**, as in the case of ‘Dilly Dove’ and ‘Cold Blows the Wind’, or because they are recognizable from a surviving recording, as in the case of ‘Americkay’ and ‘The Bitter Withy’. Furthermore, three of the dances in the Notebook appendix, ‘Morris Dance’, ‘Sheepskins’, and ‘Boyne Water’, are known to have been recorded, either from references in the Notebook or from Sharp’s manuscripts.

The loose papers (EML/2/) give six songs known to have been recorded, but three of these duplicate material in the Notebook, and of the other three only ‘Bold Robin Hood’ is marked unequivocally ‘Phono / E.M.L.’ and provides totally new material. The remaining two songs, ‘Christ Made a Trance’ and ‘The Holy Well’, both of them fragmentary, are only given in a complete form in the published versions. Two more songs, ‘Under the Leaves of Life’ and ‘There Was a Lady in Merry Scotland’, which we know were recorded, are mentioned in the loose papers, but only as titles in a list of songs collected in September 1908 which ‘The gipsies sang at the Homme & Chadnor, farms near Weobley’, although both exist in published forms.

To these can be added three phonographed songs from Box 5 of the Lucy Broadwood Collection which are not found elsewhere. These are ‘The Jeweller’s Wedding’, ‘Claudy Banks’, and an incomplete transcription of ‘God Rest You Merry Gentlemen’ which is rather confusingly titled ‘God Our Father’, the title coming from what must have been the singer’s second stanza (the third stanza in most published versions), since Vaughan Williams, after giving one tune variant at the end, has written, ‘Otherwise Verse 1 too bad record to note from’. Also present here are versions of ‘The Holy Well’ and ‘The Bitter Withy’ that were later published.

Finally, one phonograph transcription is found in the second volume of Frank Sidgwick’s ‘Bitter Withy’ folder. This is the manuscript source of Mr Holder’s version, very much as found

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97. Mrs [E.] Goodwin, ‘Dilly Dove’ (EML/1/12, EML/2/10/a; *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire*, pp. 204); Mr W. Hirons, ‘Cold Blows the Wind’ (EML/1/49/b; *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire*, pp. 202–03 (composite text)).

98. ‘Americkay’ (C37/1587, EML/1/6/a, EML/3/a); ‘The Bitter Withy’ (C37/1587, EML/1/6/c, EML/3/c).

99. ‘Morris Dance’ (EML/1/Ap/2; Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, p. 2426, where it is titled ‘Sheepskins (?)’); ‘Sheepskins’ (EML/1/Ap/14; Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, p. 2416); ‘Boyne Water’ (EML/1/Ap/5; Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, p. 2423).

100. Mark Jones, ‘Bold Robin Hood’(EML/2/7).


103. Mrs Powell, ‘Claudy Banks’ (LEB/5/259), Mrs Tristram, ‘The Jeweller’s Wedding’ (LEB/5/269); ‘God Our Father’ (LEB/5/287). The last is probably from Mrs Johnson and Mrs Smith, recorded in September 1912 as noted at EML/2/13/a and in *Twelve Traditional Carols*, pp. 14–15, but could possibly be from Mr Colcombe, July 1909, *JFSS*, 4.4 (no. 17) (1913), pp. 338–40.

in the published versions, but of great interest for the way in which Leather has credited each of the collectors with their respective roles, namely: ‘[Disconnected:] FS / Phono: EML / Noted: R. V. W.’ [see Illustration IV, next page].

Consequently, we have twenty-six songs, either complete, incomplete, or by title only, in the Notebook (EML/1), loose papers (EML/2), the Broadwood Collection (LEB/5/), Frank Sidgwick’s ‘Bitter Withy’ folder (FSBW/), or in Sharp’s manuscripts, that can be identified as having been recorded to cylinder. To these can be added a further four of the fifteen recordings identified among Leather’s published songs or tunes which do not duplicate items in the manuscripts. This gives a total of thirty recordings made between 1907 and 1909, with a brief return to the medium with three recordings in 1912–13, the last two songs being found in Vaughan Williams’s rough notebooks at the British Library where they are titled “Phonograph Records of songs sung to Mrs. Leather by Charlotte Stephens aug: 1913”.

While thirty songs, probably recorded over some sixteen or so cylinders, is certainly more than Ella Leather was previously thought to have made, based on published references and surviving recordings, this is actually only half the story. This becomes evident when looking for Leather’s papers in the two volumes of the Ralph Vaughan Williams Scrapbook of Texts and Letters held in the VWML, for here one finds not only the correspondence (quoted from above), but five lists of phonographs. Three of these are described in Vaughan Williams’s own ‘Index


107. The recording of ‘Boyne Water’ made for Sharp on 26 January 1912 (Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, p. 2419); and Charlotte Stephens, ‘The Bitter Withy’, August 1913 (EML/1/23; RVW 54187 bk 5 – Herefordshire Folk Sg p76v) and ‘God Our Father’ (LEB/5/287; RVW 54187 bk 5 – Herefordshire Folk Sg p76v).

108. I come to this conclusion based on the phonograph lists in the Ralph Vaughan Williams Scrapbook of Texts and Letters. There, sixty-one songs are ascribed to thirty one cylinders, which means that each song would on average comprise just over half of one cylinder, and thirty songs would occupy 16.2 cylinders; but this is, of course, only a rough estimate based on the extant evidence.

109. The five lists are: (i) RVW/Scrapbook/1/46 [originally p. 61 upper], dated 1 December 1906; (ii) RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [originally p. 84a], dated 3 November 1908, with companion list of songs at RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 [originally p. 84 upper]; (iii) RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [originally p. 84 upper],
of Letters, Notes, Lists and Addresses’ as ‘Phonograph records / Leather’. Considered along with the relevant correspondence, this means that the recordings discussed above amount to less than half of those that were actually made.

Illustration IV. Mr Holder’s version of ‘The Bitter Withy’, with each of the collectors individually credited (FSBW/2/13) Courtesy of VWML/EFDS

As already noted, the earliest extant piece of correspondence from Ella Leather to Ralph Vaughan Williams is her letter of 3 November 1908, in which she talks about Mrs Whatton’s voice being feeble and complains of having to record William Colcombe’s ‘Tiresome Wife’. A number of her papers in the Scrapbook substantially pre-date this letter, but whether they were sent to Vaughan Williams at the time, forwarded to him via Lucy Broadwood, or collated at a later date, remains impossible to determine from the surviving documentation.

The earliest, and most important, of these items is a single sheet entitled ‘Fragments of Songs & Carols. from Mr. J. Probert, Weobley, Dec 1. 1906’, beneath which is written ‘Edison “Home”

dated 9 November 1908; (iv) RVW/Scrapbook/2/124 [originally p. 87], dated 11 February 1909; (v) RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [originally p. 95 upper] and RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [originally p. 95 lower], March 1909 or later.

110. RVW/Scrapbook/2/155 [originally p. 97 reverse]. Vaughan Williams gives only three page numbers for these lists in the index (pp. 84, 87, 95), but this is because the lists for 3 and 9 November were both pasted to the same page (p. 84), and the list on p. 61 gives the contents of just one recording and therefore was not, strictly speaking, a list of multiple cylinders.

111. As can be seen in the top left corner, the Full English database has renumbered this MS FSBW/2/12, this is their prerogative, the fact that they have also attributed it to the wrong collector and misspelt the singer’s name on their database is another matter altogether.
Phonograph record’, followed by texts of four fragmentary recordings, ‘Carol – In a Manger’, ‘Carol – Riches Are But Vanity’, ‘Abroad as I Was Walking’, and ‘Down by the Shining Water’. The brevity of these pieces, and the singular noun ‘record’, indicate that this is a list relating to just one cylinder. That this was a recording made in Weobley (rather than one of the adjacent villages), and the fact that only short sections from four very different pieces were recorded, suggests that it was probably a trial recording, in which the collector was acquainting herself with the equipment, discovering how much material could be sensibly included on one cylinder blank, and ascertaining the optimum speeds to use. The fact that we have documentation for only four songs recorded over the following year does not necessarily mean that there were teething problems with the new technology; it might have been that other collectors had a call on the machine, or simply that Leather had in hand too many of the ‘other things’ about which she wrote to Sidgwick. Without any extant correspondence, it is difficult to come to conclusions about 1907. Consequently, the beginning of her documented correspondence with Vaughan Williams in the following year provides valuable clues to her work.

**Leather and Vaughan Williams**

As well as the trials and tribulations of collecting noted above, the first things apparent from reading the letter of 3 November 1908, and its companion list of recordings, are not only that this is unlikely to have been the first letter in their correspondence – it is written in an abrupt, truncated style, hardly that of a new correspondent, but designed to provide the maximum of information in the minimum number of words – but also that this could not have been the first set of cylinders to be sent to Vaughan Williams, because the numbering runs from VII to XII. Furthermore, it is apparent that the loan of the phonograph was originally envisaged as a short-term one, for she begins the letter as follows:

“Herewith 6 records. There are 4 more taken, including repetitions of True Lover’s downfall, & Divus & Lazarus (Eardisley) I have 6 blanks left, & am afraid that’s all I shall be able to get at present, so will get them filled & return phonograph as soon as may be.”

These ‘4 more taken’ were promptly sent the next week, since both ‘True Lover’s Downfall’, from Noah Richards, and ‘Diverus & Lazarus’, from Mrs Harris (of Eardisley), the latter spread over two cylinders, are included in the list of 9 November 1908. To these were added a further three recordings (over two cylinders) from Mrs Powell, making a total of six cylinders in the batch. Confusingly, rather than continuing the numbering of the previous letters, these are numbered I–VI. With the additional two cylinders from Mrs Powell, this left four cylinder blanks remaining, and although no letter survives, the next list, from February of the next year, does indeed contain just four cylinders rather than the usual six.

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112. RVW/Scrapbook/1/46 [originally p. 61 upper].

113. RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [originally p. 84a], Ella Mary Leather to Ralph Vaughan Williams, 3 November 1908, with companion list of songs at RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 [originally p. 84 upper].

114. RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [originally p. 84 upper], Ella Mary Leather to Ralph Vaughan Williams, 9 November 1908.

115. RVW/Scrapbook/2/124 [originally p. 87], Ella Mary Leather to Ralph Vaughan Williams, 11 February 1909.
And there, if we were to believe the plans of 3 November, is where the recordings should have ended, with the blanks all used up and the phonograph returned to the Folk-Song Society. Surprisingly, however, this was not to be. As the last of the ‘Phonograph records’ lists in Leather’s hand, dating from March 1909 or later, indicates, either Vaughan Williams had sent more blanks to Weobley or else a convenient source had been located in Herefordshire. Over two pages are set out her most extensive and consistently documented series of phonographs, amounting to no less than forty-three separate recordings, of thirty-six songs, recorded on sixteen cylinders, from ten different singers.\textsuperscript{116} Again, rather than continuing from the previous lists, the numbering starts again at I; but it is evident that this is a separate series from the others, because only two of the singers, Noah Richards, a blacksmith from Moorhampton, and G. Vaughan of Dilwyn, are familiar from previous lists.\textsuperscript{117} Furthermore, very few of the recordings in this last list duplicate any of the extant manuscripts. Of the five songs noted in the list of 11 February 1909, only two, Mrs Tristram’s ‘Down in the Fields of Bilberry’ and ‘Joys of Mary’, are otherwise unknown in Leather’s collection, and each cylinder includes at least one song already noted elsewhere in the manuscripts, either as a title or a transcription. In this later list, however, only three of the thirty-six songs exist elsewhere in the surviving manuscripts or publications: John Lloyd’s ‘The Taylor & the Crow’ and Mrs Goodwin’s ‘Dilly Dove’ and ‘The Holy Well’.\textsuperscript{118} These are all from 1909, but the date of ‘The Holy Well’ is given as March of that year, thus providing a better idea of the time from which the list dates.

As reference to Appendix II, 2 shows if we add the total number of cylinders from these lists – one (1 December 1906), six (3 November 1908), six (9 November 1908), four (11 February 1909), and sixteen (March 1909 or later) – to the twenty five or so inferred from the other manuscripts,\textsuperscript{119} we are left with a total of fifty-eight cylinders recorded before the end of 1909, to which can be added a further five made in 1912-13. This is, of course, a highly provisional total. For example, we do not yet have any way of knowing whether the six cylinders that predated the list of 3 November 1908 are among those noted in the other manuscripts; but the fact that we know of at least five songs recorded on cylinders in September and October 1908 suggests that these probably made up the first batch after the previous year’s trial attempts. Nevertheless, this provisional estimate does give us a much better idea of the breadth and depth of Leather’s collecting work with the phonograph.

**Later work**

That Leather made relatively few recordings after 1909 can be attributed not only to the time needed for seeing \textit{The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire} through the press, but also to the increasing

\textsuperscript{116} RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [originally p. 95 upper], RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [originally p. 95 lower].

\textsuperscript{117} Noah Richards is previously mentioned at RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [originally p. 84 upper], and G. Vaughan at RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 [originally p. 84 upper], assuming that this is the same informant (‘Vaughan’ in the earlier list).

\textsuperscript{118} John Lloyd, ‘Tailor and the Crow’ (EML/1/4, EML/2/10/a); Mrs [E.] Goodwin, ‘Dilly Dove’ (EML/1/12, EML/2/10/a; \textit{The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire}, pp. 204); Mrs Goodwin, ‘The Holy Well’ (EML/2/10/b, ‘Carols from Herefordshire’, pp. 26–28; \textit{The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire}, pp. 186–87).

\textsuperscript{119} Details of these can be can be found with each entry in Appendix II, 2; some are only known from passing references, for example the two songs of Mrs Whatton’s [p. 38] noted in a letter from Leather to Vaughan Williams 03/11/08 (BM, MS bk 7, p. 310) or the undated transcription of ‘Old Garden Gate’ [p. 37] which contains no other information other than that it was from one of Leather’s cylinders.
social responsibilities that went with her husband’s various positions in the village over the next
decade: Honorary Secretary of the local Red Cross; manager of the local branch of Lloyds
Bank; Registrar of Births, Marriages, and Deaths for the village; member of the Board of
Guardians of Weobley workhouse. Nonetheless, 1912 did bring the most famous of her
collecting experiences, when she and the Vaughan Williamses located Alfred Price Jones, who,
in the twilight of a Gypsy camp, sang them ‘Cold Blows the Wind’, and while Dr. Vaughan
Williams noted the tune his wife and I took down alternate lines of the words. Leather
continued:

‘It is difficult to convey to those who have never known it the joy of hearing folk-songs
sung as we heard that pathetic ballad: the difference between hearing it there and in a
drawing room or concert hall is just that between discovering a wild flower growing in
its native habitat and admiring it when transplanted to a botanic garden.’

Vaughan Williams was subsequently to describe this as his ‘most memorable musical
impression for the year 1912’, and whilst it is unfortunate that this song was never recorded,
it now looks increasingly likely that one of his other recordings may have been: this is one of
the recordings to be found on the EFDSS 78 rpm of cylinder transfers made in 1935, three
tracks of which (out of five) being from phonographs that haven’t survived in the main
collection, the third of which being ‘Claudy Banks’ – unfortunately no information is given as
to the singers (or titles) so one is set a considerable task in ascertaining their identities. Looking
through all the known phonographs of this song it is obvious that it can’t be Leather’s recording
of Mrs Powell as the singer is male, nor can it be of John Morgan as the tune is completely
different from his version, ditto Gardiner’s recording of Frederick White (the original of which
has survived anyway). Fortunately a clue has survived in the first of the Karpeles/Slocombe
“Report on Phonograph Cylinders” lists from their survey of 1949-50. As will be explained at
greater length in the concluding chapter, the first list consisted of a very basic résumé of the 12
boxes of cylinders that made up the surviving collection up to that date, totalling 109 cylinders,
whilst the second list consisted of slightly more detailed descriptions of those recordings that

120. Jones, ‘A Nest of Singing Birds’, p. 25; Randerson, p. [2].
121. EML/2/13/e; ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies’, pp. 62–63.
122. ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies’, p. 63. Vaughan Williams also spoke about this
experience on Lavender Burne’s [Jones’s] radio programme about Ella Leather in 1954. Unfortunately,
his section was prerecorded to disc (BBC DBM 10364) and was not included in the transmission script;
see Lavender Burne, ‘Ella Leather of Weobley’, BBC Midland Home Service, 29 August 1954
(transcript); copy held in Weobley and District Local History Society, 1972/383, Ella Mary Leather file. I
have been unsuccessful in locating a copy of the programme; its transmission tape number is BBC
TBM.10371.

123. VWML Sound Archive: 78: TPX 29.1 / March 35 [3 copies, Archive Nos. 67, 67 A, & 67 B]. I
made dubbings of 67 A in May 2012.

124. For Mrs Powell see: RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84]; LEB/5/259; EML/1/48/b; EML/2/10/e;
Confusingly the two Tunes book sources are attributed to Powell, these have been corrected but in a light
pencil which hasn’t always been noticed, hence the erroneous entries in the Full English Project.
Collecting from Morgan was problematic as Leather noted in a letter to Vaughan Williams “I almost
despair of getting the other Claudy Banks, & doubt if one can get a good record, as poor old John Morgan
is always in bed now.” RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84 ul]; EML to RVW, 09/11/08. For White see: JFSS
No. 13 p. 287 (not cited as phonograph); GG/1/7/388 [pp. 3–4], & EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll.. C37/1632.
had been kept after the survey had been finished. What concerns us here is that Box 1, cylinder c. is listed as “Claudy Banks Gypsy (2)”, furthermore, with the exception of a blow-in cylinder of a – probably – commercial recording of a foxtrot listed by Karpeles and Slocombe as “What do you do Sunday May.”, but which I’m inclined to think is the song “What Do You Do Sunday, Mary?”126, the remaining six cylinders are all from either Leather’s or Vaughan Williams’s collections. Looking at the second Karpeles/Slocombe list this version of Claudy Banks is no longer extant, the only version of this song now being titled “Title illegible on container. ? Claudy Banks.”127 This can be easily proved as being the Frederick White recordings as it is listed as cylinder 16 on the second list, that number being found on its box. Consequently we know that the recording on the 78 is of a gypsy, collected by either Leather or Vaughan Williams, and that the source cylinder is no longer extant, which leads us by process of elimination to Leather’s transcription of Alfred Price Jones’s ‘The Claudy Banks’, made at Monkland on September 11th 1912128. The problem here is that the manuscript is text only, so here are the first two verses as noted by Leather –

As I rode out one evening O it was in the Month of May
Down by a flowery garden he carelessly did stray
I overheard a maiden O in sorrow to complain
It was for her absent lover O which ploughed the raging main.

I stepped to this pretty fair maid, I put her all in surprise;
I own she did not know me O I being in disguise,
I said my handsome fair maid O my joy & Hearts delight
How far have you to travel on this dark & windy night

And here are the same verses as found on the recording –

[As I rode out one evening O it was in] O the Month of May
Down by a flowery garden O I care[li-zer] did stray
I overheard a pretty maid in sorrow to complain
It was for her absent lover O which ploughèd the raging main.

I stepped up to this pretty maid, I put her in surprise;
I will own she did not know-O me O me being in disguise,
I said my handsome fair young maid my joy & Hearts delight
[How far have you to travel on this dark & windy night]

As can be seen, they aren’t identical, but nor are they sufficiently different to seriously argue their being from different sources, Leather makes no reference to a phonograph on the manuscript so it can probably be assumed that the recording was made on a different occasion and – as is clear from previously discussed sources – singers that tend to sing songs identically

125. Karpeles and Slocombe, Phonographs [1 page, unpublished] found with the Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society [also unpublished]

126. From the Musical Comedy “Poppy”, later recorded by Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra, Victor, 19145-A, 1923.

127. Karpeles and Slocombe, Phonographs [2nd list] [1 page, unpublished] found with the Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society [also unpublished], see Appendix V

128. EML/2/13/b.
between sessions can be numbered in the minority, there is usually some degree of divergence, especially with travellers, furthermore, what is probably more instructive is to compare the similarities in the use of grace notes, especially in the “O”s that Price Jones makes liberal use of, none of these are central to the narrative and appear in few printed versions so the fact that so many are found to match over less than two verses and that two of them, in lines 4 and 6 are so unusual suggests, even though the absence of a score makes this identification provisional, that what we have here is a recording of Alfred Price Jones, a fitting end to the bulk of Leather’s work.

A handful of songs were noted in 1913, including the already mentioned phonographs of Charlotte Stephens, but with the beginning of the Great War her work as Commandant of the Red Cross Voluntary Aid Detachment at Sarnesfield Court Hospital took precedence over her other activities, and folklore and folk song were put aside for the duration. Interestingly, it is from this time that most of the surviving photographs of Leather date, one an evocative portrait probably from near the end of the war (Figure 4), and three group portraits of the patients and staff at the hospital, with the Commandant seated in the middle. 129

The Post-War Years

Though grief-stricken by her eldest son’s death in 1918, Ella Leather’s last decade was certainly not one of decline, and in 1920 she and Vaughan Williams published their Twelve Traditional Carols from Herefordshire, in which, following the example of Vaughan Williams’s Eight Traditional English Carols of the previous year, they allowed themselves the luxury of composite texts and musical arrangements:

“The object of this volume is not scientific but artistic; it is simply to preserve these carols in a form in which they can be sung by those who value our traditional songs and melodies. The Editors have therefore not hesitated (while keeping as much of the original text as possible) to emend corruptions in the words, to correct grammatical errors and to supply missing lines and verses from other sources […] With the melodies the case is different – here the question of verbal logic and grammar does not come in – the sole question is that of artistic value.

129. For the group photographs, see Weobley and District Local History Society, 2005/02/02, Sarnesfield Court [1916–18] photograph folder; the portrait photograph of Ella Leather is mounted separately in the corridor at Weobley and District Local History Society. Intriguingly, Randerson, p. [1], states, ‘A photograph exists taken in Manningham, Bradford of young Frank Leather and Ella Smith presumably as an engaged couple visiting his family’, but I have not managed to locate this.
The melodies in this volume, therefore, remain exactly as they were sung to the Editors who hope that only those of distinct musical merit have been included.”

Although both names are found beneath this Preface, the editorial hand of the composer is stronger than that of the folklorist. If the sentiment seems a far cry from Leather’s earlier championing of the ‘wild flower growing in its native habitat’, it should be remembered that she was being presented here with a golden opportunity to popularize the carols of her county. While Vaughan Williams’s earlier volume had included carols from no less than six counties, with just one from Herefordshire, now all of them were to be from the county. Furthermore, those who wished to see the original texts were directed to the relevant sources, and the informants were invariably cited. Only in one instance is there a noticeable and regrettable failure of nerve, when the terrifying sickness- unto-death text of ‘There Is a Fountain’ is simply dismissed as being ‘full of the rather unpleasant imagery which is characteristic of much of the Eighteenth Century Evangelistic verse’, and replaced in toto by that of ‘Joseph and Mary’ from William Sandys’s Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern (1833).

Twelve Traditional Carols was to be Leather’s last major publication, although this was certainly not by design. In 1925, the same year in which her informative but essentially anecdotal ‘Collecting Folk-Melodies from Gypsies in Herefordshire’ was published, she helped to found the Herefordshire branch of the English Folk Dance Society and served on its executive committee. Whether or not it was because she felt slighted when its meetings were transferred to Hereford, her interest subsequently turned to other areas of local history. Her final paper, ‘The Timber Houses of Weobley’, published in 1926, led her to her last work, a History of Weobley, which unfortunately she did not live to finish, the manuscript being lost when the family papers were dispersed after her surviving son’s death in 1943.

But Twelve Traditional Carols was not quite her last major involvement with folk song, because among the loose sheets at the beginning of the Notebook are found six pages consisting of a letter to Vaughan Williams, dated 15 September 1922, discussing her visit the previous week to see Alfred Price Jones, the text of his (newly collected version of) ‘Cold Blows the Wind’, and a printed version of ‘As I Passed by a Willow Tree’, which, she thought, ‘seems to be a cutting from the Gypsy Lore Society’s journal’. It is worth mentioning these later additions to the Notebook because Alfred Price Jones was the same man who had sung so memorably for Leather and Vaughan Williams ten years previously. In this light, this last collecting work can

130. Twelve Traditional Carols, p. [3].

131. Twelve Traditional Carols, pp. 10-11.


135. EML/1/0/b/1, Ella Mary Leather to Ralph Vaughan Williams, 15 September 1922; EML/1/0/b/2, ‘As I Passed by a Willow Tree’ (printed); EML/1/0/b/3, ‘Cold Blows the Wind’.

136. See EML/2/13/e for ‘Cold Blows the Wind’ (1912); and EML/2/13/b for the same singer’s version of ‘The Claudy Banks’. 
be seen, along with *Twelve Traditional Carols*, as her way of consciously re-establishing links with that world before the war that she had done so much to preserve.

**Conclusion**

Ella Mary Leather’s work in documenting the folk song of her county was wider-ranging, as regards the types of songs she collected, and more plentiful than has been formerly realized. That she was only recognized in her lifetime for one specific area of her collection – that is to say, the carols – was more by accident than design. Many of the Herefordshire carols were very ancient, some were unique, and, understandably, the Folk-Song Society wanted to concentrate on those rather than on local variants of common songs. Consequently, her collection came to be seen as more specialized than it actually was. That her collection was also a collaborative venture, initially with a team of local friends and associates, and later on with Ralph Vaughan Williams, should not blind us to the organizational flair that she showed in managing and directing this work. Again, more by accident than design, the house rules of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* were to credit the collector who noted the tune, and consequently many songs that Ella Leather was instrumental in discovering were credited only to her associates. That the vast majority of her surviving papers have now been identified and nearly all reside in the VWML makes a proper evaluation of the legacy of this ‘County Collector’ an achievable and worthwhile goal.

With the exception of Percy Grainger, Ella Leather made more phonograph recordings than any of the other collectors associated with the Folk-Song Society – more than Lucy Broadwood, substantially more than Cecil Sharp – but only four of Leather’s phonograph recordings (at the very most) seem to have survived from her collection of at least sixty-three cylinders – a rate of attrition substantially in excess of the other collections, but the reasons for this I will leave to the concluding chapter.

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137. Of the forty Scottish Gaelic recordings in the EFDSS Wax Cylinder Collection, half were made by Lucy Broadwood, and half by Farquhar MacRae. A few of Broadwood’s late recordings have not survived, but the vast majority (say, 90 per cent) have; none of her earliest Gaelic recordings have come down to us, but these numbered substantially fewer than the forty or so that would have been needed to permit her phonograph collection to exceed that of Leather’s.
Chapter II
Lucy Broadwood

Introduction

As a collector who first came to prominence in the early 1890’s, Broadwood’s early career and involvement in the foundation of the Folk-Song Society has already been considered in Chapter II of Part I, whilst her central role in reconstituting the Society in 1904 with Vaughn Williams and Sharp was considered in Part I’s third chapter. In this chapter I intend to consider her later work and specifically her utilisation of the phonograph as a collecting tool.

It was Broadwood who wrote the addendum slip note that was pasted to the inner title page of the 1906 *JFSS* (no. 9) in which she proposed that the recent gift of £5 that the society had received should be used “to open a fund for the purchase of the most satisfactory kind of Phonograph”\(^1\), and whose close working relationship with Grainger had probably been instrumental in assisting him with the extended loan of an instrument via a financial donation from George Gardiner, but to discover why she increasingly came to believe in the necessity for the new recording medium one has to look at her own later collecting work which increasingly led her to the conclusion that certain aspects of tradition song were ill served by musical notation.

Fortunately we are now in a much stronger position for considering this work than ever previously, due to two rediscovered manuscript sources that either hadn’t previously been available for researchers or had been temporarily mislaid. The first of these consists of three pages of manuscript notes, in Broadwood’s hand, listing her lost recordings of Kate McLean, made at Galloway, Arisaig in 1907. I discovered these, along with two letters on Gaelic material from Broadwood to Sharp, at the VWML in the library box folder VWML MPS/10 (21), almost certainly overlooked due to having been catalogued under McLean’s name rather than Broadwood’s\(^2\). With one exception none of these songs were published during Broadwood’s lifetime\(^3\), being printed in three of the four articles devoted to her Gaelic collection that were edited by Frank Howes, A. G. Gilchrist and A. Martin Freeman with transcripts previously made by Frances Tolmie and posthumously published in the last issue of *JEFDSS*.

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1. Addendum slip pasted to the inner title page of *JFSS*, 2.4 (no. 9) (1906) in the VWML open access copy.

2. Catalogue entry title: *Songs Scotland, Phonographic Records – Kate McLean*. A further contributory factor to these papers not being recognised for what they are is possibly because the catalogue follows the incorrect spelling that is given in this MS for the singers name, viz. “McLean”, though this is understandable as the editors of Broadwood’s songs in the four posthumously published sets from her Gaelic collection that appeared in the *JFSS* and *JEFDSS* also followed this spelling. The correct spelling “Maclean” is found not only in Broadwood’s diaries but also conclusively in Maclean’s own correspondence, see Surrey History Centre, Kate Maclean to Lucy Broadwood 2185/LEB/1/243.

3. The song ‘Oran do Mhac’-ic-Alasdair Ghlinne-Garaidh (Ailean Dall)’ which appeared - music only and attributed “Catriona McLean”, sans any reference to being a phonograph transcription – in the *JFSS* 4.3 (no. 16, 1911), 154: m [“Catriona McLean”]
the JFSS and the first two volumes of its successor\(^4\): whilst the manuscript is only a list of titles with observations, its importance, when compared with the journal transcriptions, is that it divides the songs into the cylinder order in which they were recorded noting which recordings were made together and how many song fragments were included on each cylinder.

The second manuscript source is a substantial body of work that I have named the Broadwood-MacRae papers, which consists of: 35 pages devoted to Broadwood’s April to July 1908 London phonographs of Dr. Farquhar MacRae and John Mr MacLennan; 54 pages devoted to Broadwood’s catalogues and transcriptions of the recordings that Dr. MacRae made later that year on her behalf in Ross-shire, Inverness, and Lewis; and 3 loose pages of rough notes devoted to the McLean recordings. This important body of documentation was originally deposited at the VWML along with the majority of Broadwood’s folk-song material as part of her bequest but was then lent to the School of Scottish Studies (as then was) in the early 1960’s at the request of Ethel Bassin to facilitate her important 1965 paper ‘Lucy Broadwood, 1858-1929: Her contribution to the collection and study of Gaelic Traditional Song’\(^5\). Unfortunately, as often occurs with such loans, the combination of Bassin’s death in 1974 and changes of staff at both the VWML and the School of Scottish Studies meant that the papers were shelved away at the latter archive, essentially unrecognised.

In 2004 the Heritage Lottery Funding for my position as a project worker for the Traditional Music in England Project had come to an end so I suggested that, if funding could be found, it would be helpful if I could update the BLSA catalogue entries for the EFDSS cylinder collection based on my recent research. This application was supported by my line manager and I was consequently granted leave to correct these entries. Initial enquiries as to the whereabouts of the Broadwood-MacRae papers proved fruitless until a phone conversation with Dr Cathlin Macaulay at the Scool of Scottish Studies Archives in which I mentioned Broadwood’s system of semi-hieroglyphs that she had used on the phonograph boxes of Farquhar Macrae’s field recordings\(^6\), some as simple as boxes and dotted circles and triangles, but others consisting of eyes, spades, hearts and crosses [see Illustration VI, next page], Dr Macauley remembered having seen manuscripts with these sigils and by November 2004 I was in possession of a complete set of photocopies of the papers devoted to Broadwood’s London recordings and MacRae’s ‘highland ones’\(^7\). As reference to them - especially the final batch of 54 items - is


6. I use this term here to differentiate them from Broadwood’s London recordings of MacRae.

7. Dr Cathlin Macauley to Andrew King, correspondence 16th November 2004. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Macauley for sending me this set, a copy of which I deposited at the VWML. Unfortunately I have no record of our previous correspondence as this was immediately wiped by the BL at the final termination of my contract in 2005, something I only discovered after the event. NB. According to Bassin the collection contained 52 tunes noted in Arisaig but the copies that I was sent contained only eight transcripts over three pages, I can only assume that the other pages of the 1906-07 transcripts have been separated from the bulk of the collection, for this reason my Appendix II list can only be considered provisional. For the three pages see LEB-FM/[1/8/1], [1/8/2], & [1/9] for Bassin see, Bassin Ethel, ‘Lucy Broadwood, 1858-1929: Her contribution to the collection and study of Gaelic traditional song’, Scottish Studies, 9 (1965), pp. 145-146.
essential for identifying most of the non-London Gaelic recordings I have catalogued them as Appendix II of this thesis.

Illustration VI. Cylinder lids from MacRae’s collection with Broadwood’s identification emblems; a spade on C37/1566, a heart on C37/1566. Courtesy of VWML/EFDSS & BLSA

The final new evidence that I can bring to these recordings is from recent correspondence, with Joyce Seymour-Chalk, President of the Gaelic Society of London (Comunn Gàidhlig Lunnainn) who accessed a series of the Society's papers on my behalf for information on her predecessor Dr Farquhar MacRae. Armed with the above sources and Broadwood’s diaries, it is now possible to give a much fuller evaluation of her Gaelic collecting and phonograph work.

**The first Gaelic collecting work**

In 1905 Anne Geddes Gilchrist had joined the FSS, and although not a Gaelic speaker she had a wide ranging and enthusiastic knowledge of Gaelic tunes that she was happy to discuss with Broadwood over a series of meetings which began in May 1906, marking the beginning of another fruitful working relationship for Broadwood. Admittedly most of Gilchrist’s knowledge of Gaelic music was from secondary (printed) sources, but based on her experience of collecting in England, and the form of plain, unadorned transcription that she divined were most desirable for scientifically noting a folk song, she was of the opinion that previous Gaelic collections had suffered from over-elaborate, unsubtle or unsuitable arrangements, and consequently new work was needed in the field, a challenge that Broadwood was happy to accept.

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8. Andrew King and Thomas Macaskill, email correspondence 07/06/13; Andrew King to Joyce Seymour-Chalk, correspondence 06/07/13; Joyce Seymour-Chalk to Andrew King, correspondence 09/08/13. All references to this material are from the last of these letters. I am especially indebted to Joyce Seymour-Chalk for her work on my behalf for two reasons, firstly the very incomplete and uncatalogued nature of the Society’s archives which makes research very difficult, secondly the fact that a number of the papers are in Gaelic an obvious barrier to a non-Gaelic speaker such as myself. With regards to Mrs Seymour-Chalk’s researches the following documents were accessed: Register of Members 1868-1891; Attendance Book, 18th April 1900-1910; Concert Programmes 1900 and 1903 [others missing]; Minute Books 1900-1929.

Although there may be some truth in Dorothy de Val’s suggestion that Broadwood’s sudden embrace of Gaelic song was partially a reaction to Sharp’s increasing dominance of the collection of English song, Broadwood’s new direction was probably the result of a number of other factors: firstly it shouldn’t be forgotten that she was, by birth if not upbringing, Scottish, secondly *English County Songs* and her subsequent work had – as it were – covered the folkways of England, but Gaelic song was new territory and one which, Gilchrist had shown to her, needed to be looked at anew, with a rigour that the FSS could provide, and that this was an area where Sharp was unlikely to follow was simply an additional matter in its favour.

In late May-June 1906 she paid an extended visit, along with her niece Barbara Crastor, to her nephew Frank Pryor, at Arisaig, Invernessshire. As well as socialising, walking, writing to “F. S. S. ites”11, sketching and playing golf she also attempted to collect songs in Gaelic, an experience which brought forcibly home to her the problems of transcribing songs in a tongue other than her own. Her first introduction to a local singer was on Tuesday 5th June -

“[…] Frank sent M. Powell[,] B[arbara] & self in trap driven by Mr. McAlpin to Loch Morar where the interesting M. Caldwell of Morar House met me at the Sea Falls to introduce me to Mº. Angus Mc Clellan (Achnaluinbeg, North Morar, by Mallaig) who sings Gaelic songs. […]”12

The following Friday -

“Fri. In mor[n][in]g B[arbara] & I walked to Loch Morar, ate our lunch out of doors and we sketched a little. In early aftº I went to Mº. Angus Mc Clellan’s cottage, she gave me milk & sang long Gaelic songs, very interesting but most hard to note as I cld. not check the verses & chorus etc: properly not knowing the language.[…]13

The following two days she visited her friends the Bowmans to play them the two Gaelic songs collected so far and on the Sunday she -

[…] Talked to the Trigh gardener Sandy Macdonald abº. Gaelic songs & he advised me to go to Mº. Maclean, crofter at Cross close to Carnas Darach, Mº. Macdonalds former sort of bailiff. Frank took me to call on the Macleans [.] Mº. [Maclean] (79) unable to read Gaelic or English, & hardly able to understand a word of English, a famous singer & teller of old stories, his wife (Gaelic & English,) & daughter (ditto) The old man sang delightful Gaelic laments etc: to us, which owing to his age & feebleness I was unable to note. Made appointment with his daughter Kate to sing next day wº. me. […]”14

Consequently, on the last day of her holiday she was able to write –

“Mon. Day capricious, began misty ended in glorious sunset effects etc. Packed & collected plants & flowers. At 2 met Miss K. Maclean on a hill-side. She sang 11

12. Tuesday, 5th June 1906, Diary of Lucy Broadwood 6782/20.
13. Friday, 8th June 1906, Diary of Lucy Broadwood 6782/20.
beautiful old songs to me which I noted. Delightful poetical girl – arranged to meet her again (we went on till ¼ to 5) at 8. She sang to me till 10 minutes to 10 on a hill side again. Lovely sunsets going on in mean time. I noted another 7 songs from her. 20 Gaelic songs in a fortnight. 18 in one day!

Packed. Slept ra[the]`. badly.”

Further details of this occasion are found in Broadwood’s “Notes on the Singers” in her posthumously published “Twenty Gaelic Songs”, eighteen of which were from Kate McLean’s repertoire, where she noted –

“Her voice was exceedingly true, and her whistle perfectly true also. Her rhythm was very good and she was admirable at stopping, and repeating. She knows neither tonic-sol-fa or staff-notation, but confesses to a passion for music. She had learnt the songs almost all from her father, who learnt them from boyhood upwards from boatmen, crofters, weavers, bards, etc.”

But whilst Broadwood was delighted by these songs, and subsequent diary entries prove that few of her visitors were to be spared trial performances of them, she was aware, despite her considerable musical proficiency, of her limitations at transcribing the Gaelic, hence her decision the following year to take a phonograph on her subsequent holiday to Arisaig.

The Phonograph

Broadwood had been introduced to the possibilities of the phonograph as early as 1905 when her friend James Campbell McInnes visited her for lunch on Thursday 18th May to play her Graham Peel’s recordings from the Isle of Skye, this was to be a busy day, as that evening “Mr Cecil Sharp and Ralph V. Williams came at 6 and we worked at Journal 7 till dinner” and it is inconceivable that the recording technology and Peel’s achievement wouldn’t have been a major topic of conversation that evening. The following year Percy Grainger was to give her phonograph demonstrations in October and December, the latter after the Society’s AGM, whilst between these two events Ella Leather stayed at Broadwood’s between November 12th - 15th, only two weeks before her first attempts at using the phonograph when she made four short recordings – to one cylinder – of John Probert, so it can be assumed that using the new technology for noting songs must have been a topic of conversation during her visit. Furthermore, in March 1907 it was the turn of Vaughan Williams to show her the fruits of his initial attempts at making recordings when on the 21st of that month we are told that he came to


17. 18th May 1905. Diary of Lucy Broadwood 6782/19, I am indebted to Irene Shettle for sending me a transcription of this entry.

18. Entries for 14th October and 6th December 1906. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/20, I am indebted to Dr. Chris Bearman for alerting me to these two references. Phonograph references at: VWML/RVW/Scrapbook/1/46. 1st December 1906.

19. Entries for 12th-15th November 1906. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/20, again I am indebted to Dr. Chris Bearman for sending me his transcriptions of these entries.
lunch bringing a phonograph and some unspecified recordings of Sussex singers prior to a visit from Sharp “to discuss FSS Journal” after which Broadwood spent the next three days playing or showing the recordings to her guests. On the 22nd she “Let Mr Lidgey hear phonograph F[olk], S[ongs].’s.” the following day “McInnes came […] let him & maids hear phonograph F[olk], S[ongs].” and finally, and most importantly on the 23rd she notes: “M’. W. Toynbee & M’. Graham Peel called. Showed latter phonograph w[ith]. records of Sussex Singers”20, which was the same day when she used the machine to record two of her guests in the evening, a Mr. R. Jelton (?) and a Mr. E. C. Strode21, but the fact that they were supper guests argues against them being song informants but rather social acquaintances who indulged Broadwood in her experiments with the new technology and it can be assumed that any recordings that she made before late June 1907 were trial experiments, as on the 27th of that month her friend Graham Peel came round to her house again to show her how to work the machine he was lending in readiness for her trip to Arisaig the following month, the very trip where she made her first proper attempts at field recordings, those of Kate Mclean on the 11th July22.

The Trial Recordings

Before turning to the now lost Arisaig recordings this is probably a good point to consider two recordings that probably fall amongst Broadwood’s trial experiments but haven’t until recently been identified with her work. C37/1555 ‘The trees they do grow high’ and C37/1559 ‘Tarry Trousers’ and ‘Bushes and Briars’. With regards to the latter cylinder, the combination of the complete absence of associated manuscripts, the assumption that the singer’s name isn't on the cylinder box, and wishful thinking has led to a general received opinion that this recording is of Mary Ann Humphreys of Ingrave, Essex, recorded by Vaughan Williams23. It is easy to see how this story has come about, “Bushes and Briars” [Roud 1027] was the first folk song Vaughan Williams collected and it is therefore assumed (understandably) that the song would have had a special meaning for him, of course the singer that he noted the song from on that historic occasion in December 1903 was Charles Pottipher, and the phonograph recording is of a woman, so by process of elimination the title has been given to Mrs Humphreys for whilst there is no evidence that she knew ‘Bushes and Briars’ Vaughan Williams did collect ‘Tarry Trousers’ [Roud 427] from her.

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20. Entries for March 21st-23rd 1907, Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/20, and for March 24th 1907, Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21, again, I am indebted to Dr. Chris Bearman for alerting me to the phonograph references for the 21st and 22nd of March.


23. Michael Yates, in ‘Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph’ FMI, 4 (1982), suggests that ‘The Trees’ is possibly Mattie Kay, with Sharp providing piano accompaniment, and that ‘Tarry Trousers’ and ‘Bushes and Briars’ may possibly be by Mrs Humphreys, recorded by Vaughan Williams (p. 273). Yates is correctly provisional in these attributions, Kendall suggests the second of these attributions on his CD A bicycle ride with Vaughan Williams (1995, booklet pp. [2]-[3]), but Cubbin assumes it to be so, suggesting that the recording was possibly made in 1909 or 1914 (Cubbin, Sue, That Precious Legacy: Ralph Vaughan Williams and Essex Folksong (Chelmsford: Essex, 2006. p. 9); but both these dates are problematic, the former as we have no evidence that Vaughan Williams collected in Essex in 1909 and the latter because with two exceptions in 1922 and 1955 Vaughan Williams had ceased collecting by 1913 (see Kennedy, The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams, pp. 675 & 680). My main narrative will explain why I think these recording to both be from Broadwood.
In itself, and with no evidence to the contrary, this isn’t an especially problematic conclusion to come to, after all, as a number of other recordings in the collection prove, absence of manuscript sources do not preclude the identification of a singer with a recording. As Chris Bearman’s research on Cecil Sharp has shown, the absence of a transcript doesn’t mean that a recording isn’t of a certain singer if other associative material, such as evidences of the collector visiting the singer at a time when they were in possession of recording equipment, can be brought to hand.

But this isn’t the case with regards to the contents of C37/1559, and for reasons connected not only with the evidences for the supposed singer, but also with regards to the cylinder recording itself and its associative documentation. To take the former issue first, Mrs Humphreys version of ‘Tarry Trousers’ was first published in the *JFSS* for 190624 where it is printed undated, but Vaughan Williams’ manuscript collection firmly dates the songs collection to April 25th 190425, and we know that he didn't collect from her after 1904, so consequently long before he started using the phonograph (in fairness, it should be noted that little weight can be applied to the fact that ‘Bushes and Briers’ isn’t included in his manuscript list of her known repertoire – probably written by their mutual acquaintance Miss Heatley – as this list, though informative, also omits ‘Tarry Trousers’, ‘American Stranger’, and ‘Adieu to Old England’, all songs he later collected from her26).

With the attribution to Mrs Humphreys problematic, what evidence does the cylinder recording, and its packaging give us? The answer is substantially more than people have previously recognised, firstly the recording of ‘Bushes and Briars’, which only consists of the first verse, is identical to the transcript in the Journal of Mr. Pottipher’s version, even to the use of a grace note on the word “and” in the penultimate bar, whereas the more extensive recording of ‘Tarry Trousers’, though utilising the same tune as Mrs Humphreys version is at variance at a number of points from the recording, most noticeably in the fact that the singer starts on the 5th verse (sans the first four words, obviously sung as the equipment was being started), omits the 1st verse and then goes onto verses 2-4 complete, but with numerous slight points of divergence from the transcript: “foreign lands” rather than “foreign parts” in verse 3, “When they are” for “When he’s in” in verse 4, etc. Of course, if this song was a discrete recording, these differences in themselves wouldn’t be enough to suggest that the singer wasn’t Mrs Humphreys, there are after all many other transcriptions of recordings in the collection which do not exactly reflect their source recordings, but if this actually is a recording of Mrs Humphreys then the obvious combination that one would expect would be that the transcription of ‘Tarry Trousers’ would closely follow its source recording whilst ‘Bushes and Briars’, where the printed transcription is from a different singer, would be more likely to diverge, when in-fact the reality is the exact opposite. Consequently what we have here is a musically trained singer (or at the very least, one who could read music) trying their hand at two songs from Journal No. 8, one exactly as written (though only singing the first of the three printed verses) and the other with a degree of


25. RVW MSS Coll. BL 54190/2.3/97 and RVW MSS Coll. (VWML): Scrapbook 2 (Tunes) p. 6. NB the latter source is undated and uncredited and on the VWML *Full English* has been left as anonymous, but as well as being the same tune as the BL MS the transcript shares a page with the song ‘American Stranger’ [Roud 1081], which Vaughan Williams only collected from Mrs Humphreys, for a fragmentary transcript of the words (but no tune) see BL 54190/2.4/106.

26. See: RVW MS coll.: Scrapbook of Texts & Letters (VWML) item 128.
improvisation, changing the phrasing but remaining firmly within the transcripts tune\textsuperscript{27}, this latter point is important as such a degree of interpretive input argues that the singer wasn’t a straightforward classically trained performer – they would simply have followed the transcription as printed – but a classically trained singer with a considerable knowledge of folk-song, taking such liberties with the printed text whilst staying within the parameters of the genre can only mean one thing, that the recording is of a collector.

Further evidence of this is provided by the other recording C37/1555 ‘The trees they do grow high’ which features the same anonymous singer, but this time with piano accompaniment. This time the source for the song isn’t from the \textit{JFSS} but from the 1st Series of Sharp’s \textit{Folk Songs from Somerset}, from the singing of Harry Richards of Curry Rivel\textsuperscript{28}, as with ‘Tarry Trousers’ what we have here is an informed performance of the transcription, the words on the recording are virtually identical, but the tune shows a degree of improvisation, with the first two phrases and final line being the same as Sharp’s, but the middle section a variation of the printed source dictated by the nature of the accompaniment. Mike Yates suspected this recording might be of Mattie Kay, Sharp’s demonstration singer, in which case Sharp would of course have been the pianist\textsuperscript{29} but a number of factors suggest otherwise. Firstly, as the performance isn’t a straight run-through of any of the printed versions it is highly unlikely that a singer and their accompanist – even bearing in mind the instinctive skills that classically trained partnerships develop – could have both deviated into the same variation patterns as effortlessly as they do on the recording, this is only likely to happen under one condition, namely when a singer is accompanying themselves on the piano. Secondly, comparing the two recordings, reveals the singer of ‘The trees they do grow high’ to be the same as on ‘Tarry Trousers’ / ‘Bushes and Briars’, and whilst there is nothing to suggest that these recordings are from Sharp’s collection, there is a lot to suggest that they are from Broadwood’s.

The packaging for ‘The trees they do grow high’ may initially seem unhelpful in that it is blank save for the inscription – in a later hand – on the cover: “mildewed / un-noted / 31”, but it does provide a clue in that it is of the same make of brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box that is used for its companion (C37/1559) and the earliest of the London Gaelic recordings, namely the one surviving recording from the 4th April 1908, the six recordings made on the 2nd of May, and the first of the recordings made on the 14th May, as the later recordings all have grey Edison Bell boxes with blue lids\textsuperscript{30}, thus proving the early provenance of these recordings.

More tangible evidence is found on the cylinder box for ‘Tarry Trousers’ / ‘Bushes and Briars’, as the inscription on the side of the box is “75 / Tarry Trousers. / Bushes & Briars. / L. E. B”, with Broadwood’s initial’s then repeated on the cylinder lid: now a lot of the Gaelic recordings were initialed by Broadwood to remind herself that she had transcribed them, but these were always done as small initialisations, very different from the large upper case lettering found on

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} I am once again deeply indebted to Dr. John Bentley for analysing these recordings on my behalf, and confirming my suspicions regarding the nature of the singer.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Sharp, Cecil J., ed, \textit{Folk Songs from Somerset}, 5th series (London: Simkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent; London: Schott; Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 09), Song XV , pp. 30-31, 64.
\item \textsuperscript{30} The London Gaelic recordings with plain boxes being: C37/1535-1542, corresponding to “Boxes” 3/4 and 8-14 as noted in LEB-FM/1/2/2-5.
\end{itemize}
this one [see Illustration VII, below], which thus suggests a different purpose, not as an aide-mémoire, but rather as a credit, furthermore I don’t think it too fanciful to suggest that the way in which the ink has badly bled on the cover initials also provides a further clue, namely the inexperience of the recordist as to the absorptive properties of the cylinder’s card box, an error that isn’t replicated with the Gaelic recordings, suggesting its chronological primacy amongst the recordings. The speeds also suggest that these are trial efforts C37/1555 is at 135 rpm, C37/1559 at 144 rpm, we of course have none of the Arisaig recordings for comparison, but by the time of the London Farquhar MacRae recordings 160 rpm had become Broadwood’s chosen speed, only returning to 144 rpm for her three surviving recordings of John MacLennan made on the 23rd May\textsuperscript{31}.

![Illustration VII. Broadwood’s initials on the side of C37/1559 Courtesy of VWML/EFDSS & BLSA](image)

A final piece of evidence regarding the provenance of these two recordings are to be found in the unpublished Karpeles and Slocombe Phonographs and Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society lists, the latter of which gives ‘Tarry Trousers’ / ‘Bushes and Briars’ (cylinder no. 75 in the list) as being from “Box 2: L.E.B.’s. Noted or Experimental.”, a factor backed up by the un-itemised reference to Box 2\textsuperscript{32} in the Phonographs list which simply notes that the recordings in that box were “L. E. B.’s”.

Admittedly the evidence for ‘The trees they do grow high’ (C37/1555) is less transparent in these non-contemporaneous lists. The problem here is that Karpeles and Slocombe list this recording as no. 31 in their Report but without noting which box the recording came from. As I will show in the final chapter, the box by box analysis of the Phonographs list isn’t in the same order as the individually numbered cylinders that make up the Report, for example, the first

\textsuperscript{31} MacRae: C37/1535-1547, C37/1551-1553 & C37/1569 corresponding to “Boxes” 3/4, 8-19 & 26-29; MacLennan: C37/1548-1550, corresponding to “Boxes” 21-23. Three of MacLennan’s recordings, “Boxes” 20, 24 & 25 haven’t survived, likewise MacRae’s Box 2. See LEB-FM/1/2/2-12.

\textsuperscript{32} It is unfortunate that Broadwood sometimes listed her individual phonographs as “Boxes” as this can lead to confusion with the Boxes of multiple cylinders as listed in the Phonographs list and Report. To differentiate the two usages, Broadwood’s numbering will be given in double inverted commas thus “Box 2” etc, the other usage without, e.g. Box 2.
recording in the *Phonographs* list, ‘Pretty Caroline’ (Box 1. a\textsuperscript{35}) becomes cylinder 64 in the *Report*. But comparing the two lists does reveal a pattern that gives an insight into how the recordings were numbered in 1950 in that the handful of surviving recordings from Boxes 1-6 (of 12) in the *Phonographs* list when cross referenced with the later *Report*, show that the numerical gap between extant recordings mirrors the number of cylinders noted in the boxes. For example, ‘Pretty Caroline’ is no. 64 and ‘Tarry Trousers’ / ‘Bushes and Briars’ is no. 75 in the *Report*, we know that there were 8 itemised cylinders in Box 1 and 10 un-itemised ones in Box 2, but that the last cylinder in Box 1 was (by 1950) broken\textsuperscript{34} and therefore wouldn’t have been included in the numbering in the *Report*, consequently the positions of cylinders 64 and 75 in relationship to each other in the *Report*, match those in the *Phonographs* list. Cross-referencing between these two lists thus allows one to fill in some of the gaps, at which it becomes apparent that boxes 1-6 in the *Phonographs* list, match cylinders 64 to 111 in the *Report* and Box 7 matches cylinders 44-51. As I will show in the final chapter, this cross-referencing isn’t practicable for all of the boxes, nor does it fully explain some of the duplication of numbering found in cylinders 3-40, but it does help to fill lacunae in the *Report*.

The problem with ‘The trees they do grow high’ is that its Karpeles-Slocombe number – 31– doesn’t tie in with any of the numbers that one finds in the four boxes listed as being devoted to Broadwood’s own recordings in the *Phonographs* list, namely Boxes 2, 4, 9, and 10. Of these, 4 and 10 can be discounted as the former consists only of “Rv. [sic] MacRae’s own voice records” whilst the latter is of recordings of MacRae and MacLennan, this leaves Box 2, titled in the *Report* “L.E.B.’s. Noted or Experimental.” and 9, given in the *Phonographs* list as “7 Garvamor [sic] 1907, 1 piano, 1 broken’. The issue here is that by cross referencing the two lists we are given two spreads of numbers into neither of which 31 figures; for if the recording was from Box 2 then one would expect it to be numbered between 71-80 whilst if it were from Box 9 it would have to fall between numbers 124-131.

Solutions can be posited for both box source options but with only one cylinder, ‘Tarry Trousers’ / ‘Bushes and Briars’, in the collection possessing a number that falls within these two spreads one is forced into supposition. Box 2 initially seems the more likely, based on its title and the fact that it contains the companion recording, which as No. 75 falls nearly in the middle of the series, which leaves 4 unidentified recordings before it in the sequence and 5 after. Going through the Broadwood collection for a batch of unnumbered recordings that might fit these sequences brings nothing that matches 71-74, but 76-80 would indeed match the five Farquhar MacRae recordings, C37/1536-C37/1539 and C37/1541, from May 2nd once one realises that their companion recording, C37/1540, couldn’t have originally been boxed with them by its subsequent appearance as cylinder no. 103, in the Karpeles-Slocombe Report\textsuperscript{35}, where it is the only one of the London Gaelic recordings to be included in the list, consequently its presence, set amongst a batch of Farquhar MacRae’s own field recordings, proves that it must have been

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\textsuperscript{33} Strictly, it is listed as ‘Box 1. 8a.’, but the 8 simply refers to the number of cylinders in the box and is thus confusing if retained. See Karpeles and Slocombe, *Phonographs* [1p, unpublished] and *Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* [3pp, unpublished]. WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder. [two versions of both].

\textsuperscript{34} ‘Box 1. h. Herefordshire 23. (broken)’, as above.

\textsuperscript{35} WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder/Karpeles and Slocombe, *Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* [5pp, unpublished, 2 copies, slightly different wording], p. [5].
confused with that series. This leaves the four numbers, 71-74, which I have listed in my reconstruction of the Report list (see Appendix V, 4) as possibly being trial recordings, and thus the possible original location for ‘The Trees’, with the discrepancy in that recordings numbering being explained by the fact that we know that Karpeles and Slocombe were to renumber a number of cylinders during their survey the better to bring related recordings together. Had ‘The Trees’ originally been one of the trial recordings in Box 2, and thus should have been numbered between 71-74, it isn’t inconceivable that it was renumbered in order to place it amongst the bulk of the English recordings.

The Box 9 argument is simpler, but also relies on a reassigned number. Here the strongest evidence is the Phonographs list’s title to the box: “7 Garvamor [sic] 1907, 1 piano, 1 broken”, as ‘The trees they do grow high’ is the only surviving recording with piano in the collection this would seem conclusive evidence, but it shouldn’t be forgotten that there could originally have been other piano or piano accompaniment cylinders present, with at least one recording that hasn’t survived from Box 1 probably being a commercial recording, but additional evidence is found in the Report which states that cylinders “124-131. Not labelled with titles.” whilst the Phonographs list notes that Box 9 contains 9 cylinders of which 8 are attributed to Broadwood, with the ninth, being broken. Of the eight surviving cylinders seven are listed as being from Garramor, Arisaig with the remaining one being listed as “piano”. The problem with ‘The trees they do grow high’ having come from Box 9 is twofold, firstly in that whilst the Report correctly only lists eight surviving cylinders in numbering them 124-131, they are all listed as being “Garramon [sic] 1907”, and secondly, in that if the last of these eight was indeed ‘The trees’ then its number in the series should be 131, when in-fact it is separately listed in the Report, and on its box lid, as number 31.

The first of these problems is of little matter: since the Report is not an archival catalogue, it has many errors in it, such as attributing all six of the recordings in Box 7 to Sharp, when in-fact only four of them are, and propagating the scribal error that attributed some of the recordings to 1919, consequently the fact that it attributes all eight cylinders to Garramor, rather than listing them as “7 Garvamor [sic] 1907, 1 piano […]” as the Phonographs list does doesn’t rule out ‘The trees’ as being in this box, especially as the manuscript evidence shows that Broadwood actually only made six phonographs of Kate McLean at Garramor, thus giving us

36. “Box 1. d. What do you do Sunday May. Foxtrot”, probably “What do you do Sunday, Mary” from the musical Poppy, though it should be noted that although this work is set in the late 19th century it was written in the early 1920’s. Although this would make it a very late date for a commercial phonograph it isn’t beyond the realms of possibility, though it could also be a home recording of the same piece.

37. “8 L. E. B.’s”

38. Although noted in the Phonographs list, none of the broken cylinders were included in the Report or survived the culling, it is therefore impossible to know what this ninth cylinder consisted of. See also Part II Chapter X of this thesis for more information on this, and Appendix V, 3 for the probable Box allocation of Broadwood’s cylinders, and Appendix V, 5 for the allocation of Box 9 in the Report.

39. The errors being David Penfold’s ‘The Trees’ [C37/1583] and Henry Day’s ‘On the banks of the Nile’ [C37/1592], the former being definitely and the latter probably recorded by Vaughan Williams.

40. i.e. Peter Verrall’s ‘Rambling Sailor’ [C37/1630], the original of Priscilla Cooper’s ‘Indian lass’ [C37/1628] and Daniel Wigg’s ‘Lord Nelson’ [C37/1629].

two surviving recordings in Box 8 (in 1950) that whilst probably made by Broadwood probably weren’t from her 1907 Gaelic series.

The numbering of ‘The trees’ though is much less problematic, and as with the explanation posited for the recording having been from Box 2 also assumes a renumbering, either with what should have been numbered as 131 being numbered as 31 in error, or more likely, being renumbered when (as I show in Part I, Chapter X) cylinders that seemed out of sequence were reallocated new numbers42 consequentially the disparity between this recordings possible numbering of 131 and actual numbering of 31, when also taken in consideration with the numerous errors and reallocations found within the survey makes it less of an issue than it may initially seem to be.

As already noted, both these posited theories for the original source box and context of ‘The trees they do grow high’ [C37/1555] rely on supposition and the assumption of either errors or reallocations in numbering, but the evidence of the ‘piano’ reference for Box 9 does I believe give it the stronger claim, but not being able to cite the exact Box context of this recording and its companion [C37/1559] when the cylinders were surveyed in 1950 doesn’t invalidate the more important conclusions that can be drawn from these recordings, firstly that they are of the same singer, secondly that that singer was not only classically trained but also had a considerable knowledge of traditional song, and therefore must have been a collector, and finally that the initialisation on the box of ‘Tarry Trousers’ / ‘Bushes and Briars’ and the cumulative references to these recordings in the Karpeles and Slocombe Phonographs list and Report, though ambiguous regarding initial provenance proves beyond reasonable doubt that these recordings were from Lucy Broadwood’s collection, this factor, taken with the second point can then only mean that they are recordings of Broadwood herself.

It is understandable that this conclusion may be a disappointment for those who wish all of the recordings in the FSS collection to be of source singers, and especially for those that have a regionally inspired desire for these recordings (or at least one of them) to be of Mrs Humphreys, but Lucy Broadwood’s importance in collecting folksong is incalculable and so with regards to these two recordings I think we should rejoice that we have extant recordings of one of the major figures in the history of the FSS rather than lament that we have two less recordings of a source singer.

The last point to be considered here is at what point did Broadwood make these recordings - In 1907 before her set of Kate McLean recordings, or in 1908 before embarking on her London ones? The answer may be both. As trial recordings one would assume the former, especially given the crucial evidence of Broadwood’s own diary when she writes of how on the 27th of June 1907 “M'. Graham Peel bro[ugh]’s phonograph & taught me its use.”43 which whilst not stating that trail recordings were made would strongly suggest that such happened, for how else would a collector learn the strengths and weaknesses of the technology other than by trial and

42. For example, all the cylinders that were originally numbered between 61 and 70, with the exception of 64, and including the duplicate numberings for 61 and 62 were later renumbered 100-102, & 104-110. See Appendix V. 5. Furthermore, although there is no evidence in the Report that any of the Welsh Folk Song Society cylinders were included in the survey, there are good grounds for believing that they may have initially made up the bulk of the first 43 cylinders to be catalogued, only to later be omitted from the Report, with their numbers being mainly reallocated to English recordings, see Part II, Chapter X.

43. 27th June 1907. Lucy Broadwood Diaries 6782/21.
error? Furthermore the Karpeles Slocombe Phonographs list backs this up by placing ‘Tarry Trousers / Bushes and Briars’ as having come from Box 2, which their Report describes as “L.E.B.’s. Noted or Experimental.” whilst, if ‘The Trees’ is the ‘piano’ recording that went with the Garramor recordings in Box 9 then that is further evidence of 1907 as the date of these two recordings. Nonetheless a couple of caveats should be mentioned for without the other 1907 cylinders for reference it is hard to be absolutely certain, and a number of factors do suggest a possible later date, firstly the packaging of both recordings is the same as that of the first batch of the Farquhar MacRae recordings, in that (using Broadwood’s own numbering system) cylinder “Boxes 3/4” and “8-14” [C37/1535-1542] 44, all have the same generic brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ boxes as the two trail recordings, furthermore, although the first of the MacRae recordings hasn’t come down to us the one manuscript describing its contents lists it as “Box 2” 45 which begs the question as to what was “Box 1”. Of course, had the numbering for this recording been 3 then we would have clear evidence that the two trial recordings are the missing “Boxes” 1 and 2, but with only one number missing this simple solution isn’t possible. Without further documentation coming to hand the most likely solution, bearing in mind that the two recordings are at different speeds and that one is unaccompanied whilst the other has piano accompaniment, is that they were made on different occasions, with ‘The Trees’ based on the evidence of its having originally been bracketed with the Garramor recordings being one of the experimental trial recordings that Broadwood made after her phonograph lessons from Graham Peel, whilst ‘Tarry Trousers / Bushes and Briars’, was another trail recording made by Broadwood in 1908 before she embarked on her London recording. The evidence for this is circumstantial, but it does add up, firstly there is its provenance in Box 2, which probably contained some of the London Farquhar MacRae recordings, secondly there is the fact that it would fit the cylinder 1 lacunae in Broadwood’s otherwise complete 1908 list, thirdly there is the already mentioned badly bled ink on the box initialisation which I have suggested means that, although packaged the same way as the early MacRae recordings, it predates them, and finally there are the different speeds and arrangements of the recordings. Consequently I have placed ‘The Trees’ at the beginning of Broadwood’s phonographic work, and ‘Tarry Trousers / Bushes and Briars’ between her two batches of source recordings.

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44. The curious numbering of the first of these is due to Broadwood initially deciding to think of each separate recording on a cylinder as having its own reference number, a procedure that she maintained with her catalogue list of Farquhar MacRae’s own Scottish recordings but abandoned with her own recordings after this second of her Farquhar MacRae London recordings.

The First Gaelic Recordings

None of these recordings have survived, and only one transcription related to them, that of the air “Cuir a nall duinn am botal” was to be published during Broadwood’s lifetime, and then only as an adjunct to her edition of the Tolmie collection, fortunately direct transcriptions of thirteen of the twenty two songs that we now know she recorded to phonograph are to be found in the first three of the four selections from her Gaelic collection that were posthumously published from her manuscripts by Frank Howes, Annie Gilchrist, A. Martin Freeman, using Frances Tolmie’s transcriptions as ‘Twenty Gaelic Songs’ [1 cylinder transcription], ‘Ten Gaelic Folk Songs’ [10 transcriptions], and ‘Eleven Gaelic Folk Songs’ [2 transcriptions], between 1931 and 1933 a fortunate piece of publishing, for as well as the loss of the recordings we only have original MS transcriptions for two of the songs in the collection. To these thirteen transcriptions can be added “Lament on a famous Cameron”, found in the first set, which whilst not directly noted as a phonograph transcription has associative manuscript evidence that suggests it probably was.

Of course, what these transcriptions don’t tell us is what percentage of the recordings made these represent, or indeed the number of cylinders used. Based on Broadwood’s London

46. Broadwood, Lucy E., ‘Additional Note on the Gaelic Scale System’, Journal of the Folk-Song Society, Vol. 4, No. 16 (1911), p. 154. I say related for whilst this transcription was made during Broadwood’s second visit when she made her phonographs she notes in her MSS that for the song “Oran do Mhac’-ic-Alasdair Ghlinne-Garaidh (Ailean Dall)” [Cylinder No. 3, track 1] that the “Air: “Cuir a nall duinn am botal”, is directed to be used for this, in [space] book. / Kate McLean thinks her tune is probably the air mentioned, it is one used to a good many sets of words (Gaelic) VWML MPS/10 (21) p. 2, consequently although we know that this is the tune for this song it is unlikely that the Air published in 1911 was a direct transcript of McLean’s phonograph.

47. Cross referencing these articles with VWML: ‘Songs Scotland, Phonographic Records’, MPS/10 (21) ‘Twenty Gaelic Songs’ JFSS 8.5 (no. 35, 1931) is found to contain 2 recorded songs: cylinders 1.2 and 6.2 [variants], ‘Ten Gaelic Folk Songs’, JEFDSS 1.1 (1932) has 10 recorded songs: cylinders 1.1; 1.3 & 1.4; 2.1 to 2.4; 3.2 & 3.3; 4.1. Whilst ‘Eleven Gaelic Folk Songs’, JEFDSS 1.2 (1933) has 2 songs: cylinders 5.1 and 6.1. The final instalment ‘Eleven Gaelic Folk Songs’, JEFDSS, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1934), contains no direct cylinder transcriptions.

48. A tone transcription of the aforementioned “Lament on a Cameron of the Braes of Lochaber”, cylinder 1.2 is found in the Lucy Broadwood-Farquhar MacRae papers as “Cameron of Letterfinney”, see LEB-FM/[1/8/2]: whilst “Lament of a woman on her beloved (a captain or officer)”, cylinder 1.4 is found, in two sources, again music only, as “Lament of a Woman on her Love” LEB-FM/[1/8/1] and “Lady’s Lament” LEB-FM/[1/8/2].

49. The problematic entry is of the second tune on the 1st cylinder “Lament on a Cameron of the Braes of Lochaber”, which Broadwood identifies with the “Lament on a famous Cameron” in her extended notes to the latter song in her ‘Twenty Gaelic Songs’ JFSS 8.5 (no. 35, 1931) pp. 285-288, this tune had already caused problems of identification for in 1906 Kate McLean had accidentally sung it with the words of the “Lament on Sir John Cameron of Fassiefern” mentioning to Broadwood the following year saying that the tune really belonged to a different song the text of which was later to be provided by Tolmie. But this isn’t the actual problem with this piece, which is actually that there is no direct reference to the tune being a phonograph transcription. Fortunately with regards to the first tune given for “Lament on a famous Cameron” Broadwood notes that “Kate came up and hummed the tune to me on Saturday” (p. 286) which marries well with the MSS reference to “Lament on a Cameron of the Braes of Lochaber”, for in VWML MPS/10 (21) we are told that the tune was “whistled once. (1st few notes faulty) [Mr. McLean Knows the words.]”. Of course, this doesn’t prove that the transcription is of the cylinder, it was probably a conflation of it and a MS transcript, but it can be assumed that the first tune given for “Lament on a famous Cameron” represents the same piece that McLean whistled to phonograph.
cylinders from 1908 there could be anything from 2 to 4 recordings on an individual cylinder, though in two cases, including that of the now lost first phonograph of Farquhar MacRae singing “Chuachag nan Craobh” (the Cuckoo of the Groves) there is only the one song on a phonograph.\(^{50}\) Adding all of the recordings from 1908 together gives a total of 62 discreet recordings, dividing this by the 24 cylinders they were recorded to gives an average of just over 2.6 songs per cylinder\(^{51}\) which would suggest that Broadwood’s twenty-two 1907 recordings would have been spread over eight and a half cylinders. This is close to the totals we are presented in the unpublished Karpeles and Slocombe Phonographs list which clearly notes 7 cylinders as having been made at Garvanmor [sic], as part of Box 9, consisting of nine cylinders made up of: “L. E. B.’s (7 Garvanmor 1907, 1 piano, 1 broken, no lid so no record)” whilst its companion Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society has eight spaces in its list (nos. 124-131) for “Cylinders labelled: Garramon [sic] 1907).”\(^{53}\) The discrepancy between 8 and 9 cylinders being easily explained by the fact that the Report only concerned itself with cylinders that had survived the survey’s culling, hence the broken one noted in the first list wouldn’t have been included in the Report.

If our only manuscript source for these missing recordings was these two lists and the associated JFSS and JEFDSS transcripts then we would be justified in assuming, despite the many errors in the later lists, that these recordings had indeed been spread over seven cylinders, but the recent discovery of the Songs Scotland, Phonographic Records – Kate McLean folder conclusively proves that these first Gaelic recordings were recorded to six cylinders. [see Illustration VIII next page].

Confusingly Broadwood calls the recordings “Box” rather than “cylinder” in the manuscript\(^{54}\), which could suggest that what we have here is a box containing three or four individual cylinders, but as with Ella Leather’s trial recording of John Probert\(^{55}\), Broadwood’s recordings of Kate Maclean weren’t of complete songs, only of fragments; often of just the one verse: “the 1st verse (twice)” or “hummed twice over”, occasionally of “chorus and verse once”\(^{56}\), and thus wouldn’t be long enough to fill a full blank, consequently we can assume that by “Box” Broadwood meant cylinder and that there were four song excerpts apiece on all bar one of the cylinders, namely the 4th which contained three recordings. Thus we now know how many

\(^{50}\) The details of this recording are only known from three MS sources: LEB-FM/1/2/2: text; LEB-FM/1/4/1-2: music; and LEB-FM/1/7: text [1911 copy]. The other single song cylinder is C37/1541 also sung by MacRae titled: ‘Oran Calum Sgàire, Bearnara, Leogheis [Leodhais]’.

\(^{51}\) But 61 songs, as ‘Oran Calum Sgàire’ is split over cylinders C37/1540 and C37/1541; or 60 songs if the two versions of ‘The Kintail dirge’ on C37/1536 are counted as one song.

\(^{52}\) 2.583333.

\(^{53}\) Karpeles and Slocombe, Phonographs [1 page, unpublished] found with the Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society [also unpublished]. WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder.

\(^{54}\) VWML MPS/10 (21)/Songs Scotland, Phonographic Records – Kate McLean.

\(^{55}\) VWML/RVW/Scrapbook/1/46 [61]. See Part I, Chapter I.

\(^{56}\) These are the notes for, respectively: ‘Lament on Mr. Astley; Coire-Cheathaich’; and ‘Oran do’n Ghunna’, see VWML MPS/10 (21).
recordings were made in this series, namely 23, or 22 if the two different tunes for ‘Brughaichean Ghlinn’-Braon’ on cylinder 3 are counted as one recording.

Furthermore, comparing the MSS to the transcriptions in the Journals’ reveals that far more of them were based on the cylinders than would immediately be apparent. For whilst the second set of songs from Broadwood’s collection ‘Ten Gaelic Folk Songs’, (JEFDSS 1.1, 1932) clearly states that the transcriptions are taken from her phonographs its sequel ‘Eleven Gaelic Folk Songs’ (JEFDSS 1.2, 1933) doesn’t, only mentioning in passing in the notes if a song was transcribed from a recording, as was the method for the first set ‘Twenty Gaelic Songs’ (JFSS 8.5 [no. 35], 1931). The third collection only mentions two songs as being from phonographs, song 32, the un-transcribed “Soldier’s Song” (cylinder 5.1), and song 35 “An Gille Dubh Ciar-Dhubh” (cylinder 6.1), which leaves nine songs, but if one compares this with the phonograph
manuscript, and deducts those songs listed in that which are found in the previous two collections there are nine remaining songs, the titles of which are not only the same as those in ‘Eleven Gaelic Folk Songs’ but in some cases follow the same ordering as they were recorded to cylinder, thus we know that all of songs in the article were cylinder transcriptions.\(^{57}\)

It is unfortunate that none of these recordings have survived in the collection, but their presence in the 1949-50 Karpeles and Slocombe phonograph Report proves that they weren’t discarded at that time, as others were to be, even though the survey notes that the “modulation very light. Only just distinguishable.”\(^{58}\) it is possible that the recordings were separated from the rest of the collection when Ethel Bassin wrote her paper on Broadwood’s Gaelic material in the mid 1960s and Broadwood’s manuscript papers were lent to the School of Scottish Studies, in which case there is the slight possibility that these recordings may one day be rediscovered, but until then we at least know their complete contents due to the manuscripts having been found.

Furthermore, we also know from these MSS that whilst Broadwood found the phonograph to be a very useful recording tool there were still some songs that, even with a cylinder for reference, came close to defeating her skills as a transcriber, either due to their complexity, such as ‘Feasgar Luain’ which was “very diffuse and variable, and impossible to bar satisfactorily either from singer or phonograph at any time.” or the already mentioned ‘Soldier’s Song’ the tune of which had probably been conflated with another song and which was “very rambling and impossible to note with certainty as regards rhythm.”\(^{59}\) It is possible that challenges such as these were instrumental in bringing about Broadwood’s next experiment with the phonograph, namely the recording of traditional singers that she made the following year, but not in the field but in the controlled environment of her own London flat.

**The 1908 London recordings**

Though it is unfortunate that none of Broadwood’s initial Gaelic recordings have survived, we are presented with a wealth of recordings and manuscripts regarding her remaining two series unrivalled within the FSS collection, for of the 24 cylinders that she made in 1908, 20 have survived (albeit with one amongst this number being broken), whilst the set of field recordings that Farquhar MacRae made on Broadwood’s behalf later that year consisted of at least 27 cylinders, 20 of which have come down to us.

With regards to manuscripts, until recently Broadwood’s collection was very much a mirror image of Leather’s, for whereas only four cylinders (at most) had survived from Leather’s collection the rediscovery of her Notebook and the subsequent identification of related manuscripts from her collection in Vaughan Williams’, Lucy Broadwood’s and Frank Sidgwick’s collections gave us in excess of 250 pages of manuscript material devoted to her work; for Broadwood the situation was the exact opposite, with 40 surviving cylinders but virtually no related manuscript’s amongst her voluminous papers. This situation altered

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57. So, song 31 = cylinder 4.2; 32 = 5.1 [un-transcribed but noted as phono.]; 33 = 5.2; 34 = 5.3; 35 = 6.1 [phono.]; 36 = 6.2 [title only as already transcribed as song 15 in ‘Twenty Gaelic Songs’; 37 = 6.3; 38 = 6.4; 39 = 3.2; 40 = 4.3; and 41 = 5.4.

58. WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder/Karpeles and Slocombe, Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society [5. pp, unpublished, 2 copies, slightly different wording], p. 3.

drastically in 2004 with the rediscovery of the Broadwood-MacRae papers, which though at 92 pages is a smaller collection, is actually far more informative than Leather’s corresponding MSS. For whereas the material there dealing with phonographs is totally dispersed throughout both her own, and other peoples, collections, with for example, the lyrics to a song being in her loose manuscripts, its transcription in one of Vaughan Williams’ notebooks and the list showing what cylinder it was on in his scrapbook, such isn’t the case with Broadwood’s papers, where nearly all the related material is in one source. Consequently, despite some manuscript absences in the collection, such as 11 of the cylinders made by MacRae for which no associated documents have been discovered, it is a much simpler task to get an overview of Broadwood’s later Gaelic phonograph work, with most recordings well attested with regards to singer, song and date, either in the manuscripts or on the cylinder boxes themselves.

Even with recourse to the phonograph Broadwood was unsatisfied with her musical transcripts of a couple of the songs that she had noted from Kate Maclean; furthermore she didn’t consider her basic knowledge of Gaelic up to the task of correctly transcribing the lyrics, which led her to ask the advice of another member of the FSS, Winifred Parker. This was a fortuitous decision, as it was to lead to a far ranging chain of events, for Parker, though a Highlander, wasn’t a Gaelic speaker so she asked advice of her Gaelic tutor Dr George Henderson, who suggested Frances Tolmie, but Tolmie was herself a song collector who had previously asked Henderson to help her find a suitable context in which to publish her work: consequently Henderson asked Parker if she would approach the JFSS, Parker approached Broadwood and within a week Broadwood was able to report to her that the committee was happy to publish her collection.60

Tolmie’s ‘One Hundred and Five Gaelic songs’ was to be published as the 16th JFSS in 1911, as already noted, an important and influential volume in that it was not only the first non-English language collection to make up a complete issue of the Journal, but also the first one not to be printed by the society’s usual printers Barnicott and Pearce of Taunton, being instead printed by Robert Maclehose & Co. Ltd, of Glasgow, in anticipation of Scottish interest in this volume, a hope that proved well founded since upon its issue membership of the Society rose (albeit only temporarily) by about 100 people61. But Parker’s instrumental role in the chain of events that brought about the publishing of this collection was only one of two services that she did for Gaelic song, the other one was that she introduced Lucy Broadwood to Dr. Farquhar MacRae, at that time a member of the governing council of the Gaelic Society of London (Comunn Gàidhlig Lunnaing) but soon to be its President62, who was to then introduce


62. Parker had known MacRae since at least 1900 as he contributed a quote from Ossian to her anthology “Sop as gach seid”, see: Parker, Winifred M., and Mabel C. Forbes, “Sop as gach seid” (“A straw from every sheaf”): A collection of favourite quotations in Gaelic, English, and other languages, from prose and poetry (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, 1900), p. 49. Interestingly his brother John also contributed to this volume, his choice being from The Ancient Mariner.
Broadwood to his friend John MacLennan, the precentor at the Gaelic services at Crown Court Church of Scotland, Covent Garden and Hon. Treasurer of the Gaelic Services Committee.\(^{63}\)

It was these two men that Broadwood was to make the subject of her second series of phonographs, and unlike those of Kate Maclean, field recordings made in Arisaig at the mercy of the vicissitudes of transport and temperature, these were to be made under the controlled environment of Broadwood’s own home, furthermore, knowing Broadwood’s liking for entertaining, and the further factor that these two singers were highly educated men, for whom recording technology would have been a matter of interest rather than being something potentially off putting, it can be seen that these recordings must have been a very congenial experience, the quality of the recordings certainly suggesting as much.

Of course, the class of the singers may lead some to query the integrity of these recordings as being of traditional song, but it should be emphasised that in both cases their recordings ring true as being those of source singers, in that there is no sense of the songs having been prettified or of them being Art settings, in the sense that one would get with a recording of, for example, a Thomas Moore song. The subject of the nature of the survival of vernacular song amongst the literate classes in 19\(^{th}\) Century Scotland is a vast one, and doubly so with regards to Gaelic song, and beyond the purpose of this thesis, but with more recent examples, such as the great Aberdeenshire singer John Strachan, it can be asserted that education, wealth and the oral tradition are not mutually incompatible.

What can be said here is that these documentary recordings of Gaelic song, made in 1908 under controlled conditions, would be of the greatest historical consequence even if they were in poor condition, but that they are not only technically brilliant recordings but also in near perfect condition, essentially in as good a condition as one could hope for in any privately made phonograph recording from the first decade of the 20th century, having obviously only been played the absolute minimum of times in order to be transcribed, makes them cultural artefacts of the very highest importance. When one adds to these factors that of their documentation (not only on the cylinder boxes themselves but also within the 31 manuscript pages devoted to them, which consists of 17 pages of cylinder lists and 14 pages of transcripts\(^{64}\)) it is easy to divine not only when the recordings were made, their contents, and who the singer was, but also which recordings from the series are missing. Consequently we have a much better idea of the extent of this series than of any other within the FSS collection.

The series started on April 4\(^{th}\) with three recordings over two cylinders of MacRae. The first recording, numbered as Box 2 in the series, of ‘Chuachag nan Craobh’ (‘The Cuckoo of the Groves’) hasn’t survived but its companion, with its two songs has; Broadwood lists them in the

\(^{63}\) de Val, In search of song, pp. 114-115. Bassin, ‘Lucy Broadwood, 1858-1929: Her contribution to the collection and study of Gaelic traditional song’, Scottish Studies, 9 (1965), pp. 147-149. Joyce Seymour-Chalk to Andrew King, correspondence 09/08/13 (information from this source on John MacLennan’s positions was courtesy of Norman MacLeod, the current committee organiser of the Gaelic Services at Crown Court Church Covent Garden).

\(^{64}\) Lucy Broadwood-Farquhar MacRae papers: LB-LEB-FM/1/2/1-12 [lists of songs recorded]; LB-LEB-FM/1/3/1-5 [rough lists]; LB- LEB-FM/1/4/1-10 [transcripts, both neat and rough]; LB- LEB-FM/1/4/1-4 [neat transcripts for the JFSS].
phonographs list as “Box 3 A” and “B”\textsuperscript{65}, but confusingly her transcriptions title them “3\textsuperscript{rd} Record” and “4\textsuperscript{th} Record”\textsuperscript{66}, suggesting that they are on separate cylinders, but this is simply a confusion of terminology with “Record” not meaning a discrete phonograph recording, but simply a separate song. Cross referencing the titles in both MSS sources reveals them to be the same cylinder, essentially Broadwood had yet to standardise her terminology between transcriptions, that the term “Box” was also to be used to describe the eleven boxes that the cylinders were subsequently arranged in, as noted in the \textit{Phonographs} list only complicates matters further.

Two other things can be noted about this first session. The first is that the cylinder numbering starts at “Box 2”, which begs the question what did “Box 1” contain? Without the Broadwood-MacRae papers the earliest cylinder number extant is “Box 3”, consequently it would be logical to assume that the first two recordings were from the same session, and the discovery of the associated manuscripts proves that this is indeed the case for the now lost “Box 2” but it also shows that it was with this number that the series started, as the title on the first page clearly reads:

\begin{quote}
Records taken from the singing of \\
\textbf{Dr. Farquhar MacRae}, (27\textsuperscript{A} Lowndes St.) \\
April 4\textsuperscript{th} & May 2\textsuperscript{nd} 1908.\textsuperscript{67}
\end{quote}

Whether “Box 1” was used up in a trail or test recording at this session and consequently not listed, or whether it had been used on a previous occasion is impossible to say, but it can be stated that the series begins with “Box 2”.

Secondly, it is obvious from the sources that even though recorded under controlled circumstances there were still a few teething problems with the technology, as the now lost first recording “began to stammer” and only half of the chorus of the second song on the second cylinder (“Box 3 / Box 4” in Broadwood’s numbering system) was recorded “as record came to an end”\textsuperscript{68}. Furthermore, whether due to poor storage, a change of temperature, or simple errors in the recording process, we are informed that the succeeding cylinders between 3 and 8 were spoiled\textsuperscript{69}, hence their not being listed in the papers; but here there is a small error in that Broadwood had forgotten that she had given the second cylinder in the series the double numbering of 3 and 4, consequently it can be assumed that a total of three cylinders (5-7), made on either the April 4th or May 2nd were rejected – for whatever reason – as unusable; although conjecture, I think the former date the more likely of the two options, as the classification of the rejected cylinders as “spoilt” and the long gap of nearly a month between the two series suggests a possible technical hitch with the recording equipment necessitating its repair, and as

\textsuperscript{65} As already noted, “Box” in inverted commas means that the term is being used in the same way that Broadwood often applied it, namely to describe a single phonograph, whereas Box [no inverted commas] means a box of phonographs as described in the \textit{Phonographs} list.

\textsuperscript{66} LEB-FM/1/2/2 [titles]; LEB-FM/1/4/2-3 [music]; also LEB-FM/1/7 [titles, 1911 copy].

\textsuperscript{67} LEB-FM/1/2/2.

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{69} LEB-FM/1/2/3. “Boxes following 3, Spoilt Records, till No. 8.”
only two dates are given for these initial recordings and a full six full cylinders were made on
the latter date it is more likely that the failed recordings were made on the first occasion.
Another point which suggests that the recording equipment was problematic is that Broadwood
didn’t get round to transcribing these first recordings until April 25th,70 a remarkably long time
between recording and transcription when the usual method was to transcribe a phonograph as
soon as possible after making the recording, as the collector’s memory of the performance
would be clearer.

When we rejoin the series at Box 8 we are at May 2nd, and here we are fortunate to have not
only full documentation, but a complete set of the recordings, consisting of six cylinders
containing a grand total of fourteen songs, although unfortunately the first in the series is
broken. As I will explain in the final chapter when discussing the Maud Karpeles and Marie
Slocombe Report on the phonographs (1949-50), neither of their lists note the London Gaelic
recordings individually. The second list (the Report proper) doesn’t mention them at all, whilst
the first (the Phonographs list) simply mentions them as making up the contents of Boxes 4, 5,
and 1071, but Box 9, which contained nine cylinders, is titled in the same list:

“L. E. B.’s (7 Garvamor [sic] 1907, 1 piano, 1 broken, no lid so no record)”

As the break in the Box 8 cylinder is clean and in otherwise excellent condition this suggests
that it was damaged early in its history, and could possibly be the broken one mentioned here,
but against this idea is the fact that not only are the bulk of the other recordings in Box 9 from
Broadwood’s now lost Garramor series but that broken cylinders mentioned in the Phonographs
list don’t make their way into the Report and were invariably destroyed, so this reference is
unlikely to be about that cylinder, consequently the damage to this recording must have
occurred either at some point post-1950 or it was already cracked but not yet broken. Of course,
if the latter is the case there is issue as to why this damaged phonograph was preserved whereas
a number of complete but poor quality recordings were destroyed in the 1950s, but whilst
Karpeles and Slocombe were willing to make value judgements on the merits or otherwise on
some of the Gaelic field recordings in the collection, for example cylinder 86 in the Report, of
Farquhar MacRae’s recording of his mother singing “Banarach dhonn a chruidh” (The brown
haired Milkmaid), where they noted “Of doubtful interest; poor singer”72, they were nonetheless
aware of their limitations as judges of this material, noting -

“N.B. It is suggested these should be kept for expert Gaelic advice on value of songs.”73

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70. Entry for 25 April 1908. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21. My thanks to Dr. Chris Bearman for
sending me this reference.

71. Box in this context now meaning a box containing a series of cylinders, not the individual usage
that Broadwood utilised. Box 4: “Rv. MacRae’s own voice records.”; Box 5: “Rv. MacRae (1 Gaelic
record) (1 mildewed)”; and Box 10: “L. E. B.’s 6 records Rv. MacRae. 5 rec[ord]s Mr. John MacLennan
(1 cracked)”; see: WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder/Karpeles and Slocombe, Phonographs
[1 page, unpublished].

72. WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder/Karpeles and Slocombe, Report on Phonograph
Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society [3pp, unpublished, 2 copies, slightly
different wording], p. 3.

73. Ibid.
Which is probably what preserved these recordings, some in far from good condition, from later destruction; Broadwood’s London recordings on the other hand were in much better condition, and this, coupled with the high esteem in which her work was held and the detailed notes inscribed on the cylinder cases – notes of obvious archival value – meant that even a cracked cylinder was unlikely to be discarded.

This point aside, the session of May 2nd must have been a success as, unlike the first session, MacRae visited the very next day to assist and advise Broadwood with her transcriptions though whether these extended to more than the two that we have extant it is impossible to say, but it is unlikely that more were done as Broadwood seemed particularly eager to get correct transcriptions of the two tunes to The Kintail dirge (‘Box 8’) as we possess no less than three contemporaneous transcripts of this song; that so many versions of this piece have survived in the Broadwood-MacRae papers suggests that had other pieces been transcribed from that session they would have been in the MSS too. Three of the cylinders contain excerpts from three compositions apiece, two of them have two pieces, and one, the last, one song, this piece ‘Oran Calum Sgàire’, must have been a song that Broadwood specifically wanted as complete a transcript as possible of, for it is actually spread over two cylinders, an excerpt makes up the last piece on the preceding phonograph, whilst the main recording consists of “chorus & verse thrice”.

A follow-up session was arranged for the 14th May, and “In evening after dinner Dr MacRae came & sang Gaelic songs into the phonograph till after 11.” producing six phonographs (“Boxes 14-19”), all of which have survived, and containing 19 song exceptions, including his one English language recording, a powerful and at times dangerously high rendition of “Lord Ronald my son” one of his mother’s spinning songs, MacRae couldn’t remember the first verse, and no MS transcript has survived, but one must have been made, for as a famous Child ballad [Child 12] it was, not surprisingly, published in the JFSS in 1915, one of the very few pieces from this series to be published during Broadwood’s lifetime.

One other point should also be made about this third series, after “Box 14”, the first recording made on May 14th, the make of phonograph box alters from the previously used brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box to that of the printed grey Edison Bell box with blue lid [see photographs at the beginning of Appendix 1]. Assuming that “Box 1” was used for some unconnected recording

74. Entries for 2 & 3 May 1908. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21. Again, I am indebted to Dr. Chris Bearman for sending me these references.

75. The two transcribed were: “Box 8” [broken] and “Box 9” [C37/1537].

76. The relevant MSS are: LEB-FM/1/2/3 [titles]; LEB-FM/1/4/4-5 [music]; LEB-FM/1/4/6 [music, rough notes of ver. 1]; LEB-FM/1/4/7 [music, rough notes]; titles are also given in the 1911 copy found at: LEB-FM/1/7.

77. “Box 12” [C37/1540] and “Box 13” [C37/1541]. LEB-FM/1/2/5 [title].

78. Entry for 14 May 1908. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21. With thanks to Dr. Chris Bearman for sending me this reference.

79. C37/1542-1547.

80. C37/1544; LEB-FM/1/2/6 [title and notes]; Song 8 “Three Northern Lullabies”, JFSS 5.2 (no. 19, 1915). pp. 119-120.
and the possibility that the thrifty Broadwood had shaved and reused the spoilt cylinders (Nos. 5-7) or at least put them aside for reuse, we have a total of 10 cylinders in the original packaging. Although it was certainly possible that a stockist might only have had one box of ten or a dozen blanks of one particular make, thus requiring having to buy two different makes if more than a dozen blanks were needed, this is unlikely when one considers that when Broadwood started the London series she had no way of knowing that it would eventually stretch to 24 cylinders. The simplest explanation for what happened was probably that Broadwood had only originally bought the one set, but with the success of the second session necessitating a second batch, she had either returned to the original shop only to discover that the stock had changed, or had acquired it from a different retailer, hence the change in the make of cylinder blanks, a third possibility, of two makes being bought in order to compare quality is possible but unlikely, again for the same reason that Broadwood would have had little idea of how many blanks she would have needed at the beginning of the project.

On the afternoon of 23rd of May “Dr MacRae brought Mr John MacLennan to spend the afternoon singing Gaelic songs into the phonograph” with six more phonographs made, containing 15 song excerpts, this was to prove to be another successful session. That evening Grainger visited and one can easily imagine the scene as they replayed that afternoon’s recordings and discussed the ‘Oran do Bhoiniparte’, ‘The Massacre of Glencoe’ and ‘The Dowie Dens of Yarrow’. We know from one of Broadwood’s letters to Winifred Parker that both singers in the absence of the other, would always praise his friends singing and beautiful Gaelic, but if Dr. MacRae was a fine singer, then John MacLennan, going by his performances of the two laments on Cylinder 14, ‘The Massacre of Glencoe’ and ‘The Macintoshs’ Lament’ was a great one, with his careful nuanced phrasing and unaffected grace notes, the effect is sombre and memorable, stylistically befitting both the subject matter and the singers role of church precentor. Broadwood’s notes tell us that his rendition of ‘Am Bòbero B’eibhin: Old Clan-Song (March tune) of the MacKenzies of Brahan’ on Cylinder 20 was “full of vengeful spirit” but that unfortunately is all that we have to go on for this piece as neither a transcript nor the cylinder has survived, the same is also true for his one recording in English, ‘The Dowie

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81. The painstaking and detailed lists of Broadwood’s daily, weekly, monthly and yearly expenses, to be found on the endpapers of her diaries testifies to this trait of hers.

82. I think this the more likely option, as Table 5 in Part II, Chapter X shows; it is probable that the three spoilt cylinders made up three-quarters of the recordings in Box 5, subsequently discarded after the 1950 Karpeles/Slocombe Report.

83. So nos.: 1 [not extant], 2, 3/4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.

84 Entry for 23 May 1908. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21. Acknowledgements to Dr. Chris Bearman for sending me this reference.

85. Respectively: Box 22, C37/1549; Box 21, C37/1548; & Box 24 [not extant].


88. LEB-FM/1/2/8.
Dens of Yarrow’ on “Box 24”, though at least here we have a neat transcription of the tune and the version that appeared in the *JFSS*.

Three of MacLennen’s six phonographs haven’t come down to us, a rate of attrition far in excess of the rest of this series. The reason for at least one of these, the already mentioned ‘The Dowie Dens of Yarrow’, which is number 24 in Broadwood’s numbering system, is clear, for this was one of the few songs from this series to be published in the *Journal*, furthermore we also possess a neat transcription that Broadwood made for sending to the printers, bearing in mind the special attention that this phonograph received I think it probable that at some point it became separated from its companion recordings for analysis and subsequently mislaid, though why this didn’t also happen to the also published ‘Lord Ronald my son’ phonograph it is impossible to say, other than possibly that the tune of the latter is simpler, and as Broadwood knew the song well, probably had little need to replay it for making a transcription. Certainly we do know that by 1949 one of the MacLennen recordings had gone missing as the Karpeles and Slocombe *Phonographs* list clearly states for Box 10:

L. E. B.’s 6 records Rv. [sic] MacRae. 5 recor[d]s Mr. John MacLennon (1 cracked)

This of course doesn’t tell us which of the MacLennen recordings was missing (other than that it wasn’t Box 25, as that was the cracked cylinder) but it does identify one recording as already being lost by this time, and as we know that the box began with cylinder 14 and ended with cylinder 25, but only contained 11 cylinders, number 24 would be the obvious candidate for having already been mislaid. Irritatingly, the follow up *Report* makes no mention of the London sessions, but as already noted, Karpeles and Slocombe showed laudable restraint when dealing with Broadwood’s phonographs and it can be assumed that such clear, good quality recordings would have been safe from the cull, consequently we can only assume that the other two missing cylinders, the cracked number 25 and number 20 probably disappeared after the survey at the same time, and to the same place, as the earlier Garramor ones.

The next batch of recordings was on the 27th June, this time with Dr. MacRae who started the session with the dramatic ‘Lament by Miss MacLeod of Raasay for her brother drowned’ a ballad that went back to a tragic event of the later seventeenth century. This time only three phonographs were made, but this there was a good reason for this as MacRae “came early in aft[ernoon] to learn to work the phonograph” the first evidence that we have of his interest in using the phonograph himself. One other point worth mentioning is that it was with the beginning of this session that Broadwood briefly started listing her recordings purely by number

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90. WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder/Karpeles and Slocombe, *Phonographs* [1 page, unpublished].


92. Entry for 27 June 1908. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21. The full entry is “Dr MacRae came early in aft to learn to work the phonograph, & he sang some more songs into it.” Again, acknowledgements to Dr. Chris Bearman for sending me this reference.
only, rather than using the ambiguous term “box”\textsuperscript{93}, but this was to be short lived as she returned to her usual nomenclature with the last recording of that day.

The final phonograph in this series was made on the 18th of July. Grainger and Charles Lidgey had come to dinner and they were later joined by MacRae for a phonograph session. Grainger was of course the phonograph expert and champion, and had visited Broadwood on the same day in May that MacRae had brought John MacLennan round for Broadwood to record, whether Grainger’s earlier visit had coincided with theirs at any point it is difficult to say (the recordings were made in the afternoon, Grainger “called later”\textsuperscript{94}) but it is unlikely that by the 18\textsuperscript{th} of July he wasn’t acquainted with the previous recordings, likewise, Lidgey was one of the first of Broadwood’s circle to hear field recordings when she played him some of Vaughan Williams’ Sussex recordings the previous year\textsuperscript{95}, consequently we can assume that this soirée was specifically to introduce the two composers to MacRae and for the latter to not only sing to them but also to receive further instruction, probably from Grainger, in the use of the recording equipment, what with this and playing the previous recordings it is hardly surprising that only one cylinder, of three excerpts, was made that evening\textsuperscript{96}.

But this was to mark the end of this series of recordings made under controlled conditions, for on 20th July MacRae borrowed Broadwood’s phonograph with the intention of making his own recordings in the Highlands\textsuperscript{97}.

Farquhar MacRae’s recordings in the Highlands and Western Isles

Despite their relevance, the inclusion of Farquhar MacRae’s field recordings in this survey may at first seem a curious addition, after all the criteria for restricting my research to the English and Gaelic recordings, omitting the Welsh ones, was that the subject of my Thesis was the phonograph recordings of the Folk Song Society, and although a guest and performer at a number of their events, MacRae was never a member of this society. But two major factors argue for the inclusion of his recordings. Firstly, and most importantly, the title page for the manuscripts makes the context in which these recordings were made very clear:

Songs collected in Highlands & W. Islands

with Phonograph by Dr. Farquhar MacRae.

for L. E. Broadwood.\textsuperscript{98}

Secondly there is the fact that these recordings were always subsequently seen as being part of Broadwood’s collection and therefore, by default, part of the Folk Song Society’s, this is in

\textsuperscript{93} Ambiguous in that it could be interpreted as meaning a box of cylinders rather than an individual one.

\textsuperscript{94} Entry for 23 May 1908. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21.

\textsuperscript{95} Entries for March 21\textsuperscript{st}-23\textsuperscript{rd} 1907, Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/20, and for March 24\textsuperscript{th} 6782/21.

\textsuperscript{96} C37/1553.

\textsuperscript{97} Entry for 20 July 1908. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21.

\textsuperscript{98} LEB-FM/2/2/1.
comparison to the Welsh recordings, which though residing in the EFDSS collection were made by a different Society and never thought of as being part of the FSS collection.

As the founder of the clan Macrae was called Farquhar it is not surprising that there are many Farquhar Macraes in North West Scotland and the Isles, what is surprising is that there were no less than three, nearly contemporaneous medical doctors with this name, all of whom studied at Aberdeen and practiced during the last decades of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries, this has led to some confusion with biographical details of the men being conflated and, although this is pure supposition, one does wonder if MacRae took to the less common capitalisation of his surname, with a capital “R”, in the hope of differentiating himself from either his younger contemporary, the Farquhar Macrae of Inverness, a tuberculosis specialist who was to die young in 1915, or his slightly older and better known namesake, Farquhar Macrae of Alness, who received a fairly detailed biography in the clan history and genealogy as his brother, the Rev. Alexander Macrae was its author, fortunately it does also briefly mention the Farquhar MacRae that we are concerned with as “a graduate of Aberdeen University, now a Medical Practitioner in London.” as well as giving us some important information about his family.

Farquhar MacRae was born in West Ross-shire, the last but one of seven children, but from the age of five lived on the Isle of Lewis, for the best part of 20 years. Gaelic song must have been a constant presence in his youth, for his father, James MacRae, commonly known as Seumas Ban (James the Fair) was the author of several songs that over twenty years after his death (in 1888) were still well known in Lochalsh and Kintail, whilst his great-grandfather John MacRae (called Ian Mac a Ghobha) fought alongside the poet Ian Mac Mhurachaidh on the loyalist side in the American war of Independence, where he learnt a number of the latter’s songs, finally MacRae’s oldest brother, John, was known as “a Gaelic poet of considerable talent”. Two of the songs on the cylinders are attributed to James MacRae, a final conclusive proof that it was this Farquhar MacRae who made the recordings.

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99. When I was first making enquiries about MacRae in Gaelic circles I was sent a photocopy of a portrait photograph of him from the short biographical article ‘Dr Farquhar Macrae, Alness’, published in The Celtic Monthly, Vol.VII (1899), 76-77, this turned out to be of the older Macrae. As well as in this article and his brother’s history of the clan, this Farquhar is also found listed in the Ross-shire Roll of Honour (With Souter’s Ross-shire Directory) (Dingwall: George Souter, 1915) on p. 141, where we discover that he was not only the local doctor but also Government Inspector, lecturer for the Red Cross Brigade and hon. secretary and treasurer of the Bridgend Soup Kitchen.


101. This preference can be clearly seen in his signature on LEB-FM/1/6/3 and the way he writes it on the cylinder lids, see, for example, C37/1575.


103. Farquhar MacRae to Lucy Broadwood 14/11/1908, see: LEB-FM/1/6/3.

104. “Chaidh mo Dhonnchadh [no] bheinn” (version 2), on C37/1536; “Ochon a Rìgh! Gur e mi tha muladach”, on C37/1538 are both attributed to James MacRae.
John Macrae was to base himself at Timsgarry in Lewis, but Farquhar moved to Aberdeen to study, after which he set up a medical practice in London. It was because of this move that he was to light-heartedly write of himself to Lucy Broadwood as “a sort of wandering vagabond – I may be considered a Cockney as much as anything else, for I am well nigh twenty years in London.” His first mention with regards to the Gaelic Society of London was in the minutes for 24th November 1904 when he was put up to be a member of the society, this was ratified on the 15th December, and by 1906 he was a member of the Society’s council, acting as Society representative on the London and Aberdeenshire Stall at the following year’s Highland Association Bazaar, in Glasgow, on October 31st-November 2nd, it was in this position, as a council committee member, that he was introduced to Lucy Broadwood in 1908.

The Recordings represent an important, but confusing, repository of Gaelic song, important in that they are field recordings made by a Gaelic specialist of his friends and family, some of whom were noted Gaelic poets, furthermore, as the collector was known to the singers it can be assumed that these would have been relatively informal sessions with, one assumes, the singers being at ease with the recording process.

The collection is confusing in that none of the twenty surviving phonographs are dated, furthermore whilst we have detailed MSS in the Broadwood-MacRae papers for sixteen cylinders, only nine of these are in the collection, the other seven being lost, which leaves us with eleven other extant cylinders for which there are no MSS sources other than what is written on the cylinder boxes themselves. Unfortunately the bulk of the inscriptions here are in MacRae’s hand, and whilst this is substantially more legible than many others in the collection the combination of Gaelic text, MacRae’s abbreviations, and – most importantly – the fact that he wrote in pencil makes them very hard to decipher. A further complicating factor to consider is that the notes for the sixteen cylinders that Broadwood listed and transcribed follow a series of internal cataloguing systems Byzantine in their complexity even for her.

To explain, the first two pages of the Broadwood-MacRae papers devoted to MacRae’s collecting work consists of a track by track list of the contents of the cylinders which on first perusal looks like thirty two separate phonographs until one notices that after the series of sigils and emblems on the right hand page that Broadwood uses to identify each box there is a 1, 2, or 3, denoting which track the song is on the cylinder; at some point Broadwood must have realised how unwieldy a system this was so she simply numbered each song down the middle of each page from 1 to 32 but this doesn’t help greatly because rather than being a cylinder by cylinder list, it is actually an alphabetical one, so, for example, if one were to take the cylinder that is represented by a triangle pointing down, its first track is...

105. Biographical details from Macrae, Rev. Alexander, History of the Clan Macrae with Genealogies [Large Paper Edition] (Dingwell, George Souter: 1910), pp. 193-194, John is listed in Appendix J as one of the “Macrae poets whose Gaelic songs were at one time and in some instances still are known among Gaelic-speaking Highlanders”, p. 407, the information on Ian Mac a Ghabha, which was contributed to the author by Farquhar MacRae is found on p. 405.

106. Farquhar MacRae to Lucy Broadwood 14/11/1908, see: LEB-FM/1/6/3

107. Joyce Seymour-Chalk to Andrew King, correspondence 09/08/13. Due to gaps in the Society’s archives the 1906 reference is from a concert programme.

number 12 in the list, its second one is number 2 and its final one is number 32! It is only after
one has gone to the trouble of allocating each track to each sigil represented cylinder that one
can ascertain that we are here dealing with the transcriptions of 32 songs spread over 16
cylinders,109, with the added complication that there is actually an additional 33rd song ‘In
praise of Mrs Cameron’s son & the tailor’s dis-praise of her family’ on one of the (now lost)
cylinders, sung by Mrs Cameron and the Lochalsh Tailor poet Hugh MacCulloch “alias the
crippled Tailor”, which is mentioned in the MSS but not transcribed or given its own number in
the listing – probably due to the fact that it was a semi-improvised “Impromptu”.110

Illustration IX. Page 1 of Broadwood’s list of MacRae’s phonographs [LEB-FM/1/2/1]
Courtesy of VWML/EFDSS & the School of Scottish Studies Archive

One point at least is simple with regards to this part of the FSS collection, and that is that every one
of the MacRae cylinders, both of the nine found transcribed in the MSS and the remaining un-
transcribed eleven, were cut from blanks sold in grey Edison Bell boxes with blue lids, so of
exactly the same make as all of the London Gaelic recordings from “Box 15” (14th May) onwards,
this suggests further that MacRae was making these recordings on Broadwood’s behalf as she had
either provided him with the blanks from her own supply or had recommended this make to him.

109. LEB-FM/2/1/2.110. LEB-FM/2/3/11.
The great lacunae though is dating, we know that MacRae borrowed Broadwood’s phonograph on the 20th July and that on the 4th November Charles Lidgey came to dinner after which “Dr MacRae came & exhibited his folk songs (Gaelic) on my phonograph”\(^{111}\). If one omits a week at the beginning and end of these dates to cover travel we are looking at recordings that could have been made at anytime between the very end of July and the very end of October, so three months, furthermore it is impossible with the data available to say for certain in which order the recordings were made based on location. MacRae recorded at four main locations, the breakdown of the known 27 phonographs is as follows:

- **Pait**, Loch Monar, Ross-shire: 12 [10 extant – 2 missing]
- **Craighdu**, Strathglass, Inverness: 5 \(\frac{1}{2}\) [4 \(\frac{1}{2}\) extant – 1 missing]
- **West Ross-shire**: 1 \(\frac{1}{2}\) [\(\frac{1}{2}\) extant – 1 missing]
- **Crowlista, Uig, Lewis**\(^{113}\): 7 [4 extant – 3 missing]
- **unidentified**: 1 [extant]

The only clue to continuity is found on cylinders C37/1563 and C37/1566 for the former of these begins with a recording made at Pait, but ends with a recording made at Craighdu, likewise C37/1566 also begins at Pait but ends with one of MacRae’s recordings for which he gave the unhelpfully vague location of “West Ross-shire”, but as Loch Monar is central Ross-shire I do not think that these two recordings could have been made at the same location. Looking at the map, the obvious route would be for his starting at Inverness and then travelling West to Lewis or beginning at Lewis and travelling East, but the evidence of the phonographs show otherwise, for whether he went west to West Ross-shire or east to Inverness both options had to be preceded by a visit to Pait.

Consequently, based on the phonographic evidence we know that after visiting family at Pait, MacRae travelled on to both Strathglass and West Ross-shire, but with no evidence of which he went to first: nonetheless, as the latter would be the obvious stopping off point before travelling on to the Outer Hebrides I am inclined to chart MacRae’s travels as starting at Pait, travelling east to Inverness, before crossing back to West Ross-shire prior to his visiting Lewis. After location, the next method for ordering these records would be by singer and then by speed, of course, arranging by phonograph speed is an inexact science, as collectors would often alter a machines recordings speed depending on the anticipated length of a song, but when this factor wasn’t uppermost the tendency, for the simple pragmatic reason of continuity and ease of playback would be to keep the same speed for all recordings made in the same day. Obviously we have no cylinder speed information for those recordings that haven’t survived but in so far as the recordings can be sorted by Location > Singer > Speed we have the following results –

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112. Broadwood consistently spells this “Patt”, but reference to Bartholomew’s *The Survey Atlas of Scotland* ([Edinburgh]: The Edinburgh Geographical Institute, 1912) shows a “Pait” to the West of Loch Monar. That there was also a ‘Pait Lodge’ is attested by Ian MacKay’s ‘The Last Family at Maol Bhuidhe’, *Mountain Bothies Association*, at:

113. Mr. Neil McKay’s two recordings on C37/1564 are only listed as “Lewis”.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Total Phonos.</th>
<th>RPM Speed</th>
<th>Number of Phonos. At this speed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pait, Loch Monar, Inverness-shire</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>8 3/4</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>144</td>
<td>4 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs Cameron &amp; Hugh MacCulloch</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Mary MacRae</td>
<td>2 3/4</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>2 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass, Inverness-shire</td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td>4 3/4</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unident [m]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Ross-shire</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowlista, Lewis</td>
<td>Mr. John McKay</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. John Macdonald</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>144</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Neil McKay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ann McKay</td>
<td>3 1/2</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary McKay</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>unident [m]</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unident [m]</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking at the above a few generalisations can be made, that the recordings at Pait Lodge were probably made in two sessions, likewise those of MacRae’s at Craigdhu, whilst the Lewis recordings were probably made over three sessions. What can’t be ascertained from the MSS or inscriptions on the cylinder boxes is the relationship of most of the singers to the collector, for example, there is no Mary MacRae listed as either a sibling, niece or aunt in the Rev. Alexander’s History of the Clan Macrae with Genealogies, so if she was a relative she must have been a cousin at the closest.

What is most problematic is the identity of “J. MacRae”. We know that Farquhar’s oldest brother, John, was a respected poet and singer, and two of the songs sung by “J. MacRae” are from the repertoire of their father James who had had died in 1888: such song provenance strongly suggests John as the candidate for being the singer on these recordings, but a number of factors argues against this neat solution.

Most importantly there is the fact that Broadwood consistently calls the singer “James MacRae” in her MSS and as we know that Farquhar MacRae checked the spelling of her transcripts for errors, it is unlikely that he wouldn’t have noticed this fundamental error in attribution. If this is the case, then the “James MacRae” recorded at Pait must have been another cousin or distant relative, but still sufficiently close to be acquainted with the family songs; certainly the location supports this argument, as we know that John MacRae was based at Timsgarry in Lewis, but against this are a number of counter arguments.

Firstly, there is the fact that the only references in MacRae’s hand to the singer’s name, on two of the box tops, are to a “J. MacRae”, so could it be that when Broadwood, who was already acquainted with two pieces on the London recordings from the father’s repertoire, saw the credit whilst transcribing the Pait recordings, that she conflated the two singers, assuming that “J” meant “James”?” Secondly, there is the possibility that when Farquhar MacRae corrected her spelling he did so in the rough notes rather than in the final neat document, where there may not have been any incorrect attribution for him to notice, finally it is not inconceivable that there was a family meeting at Pait Lodge that had necessitated John MacRae travelling from Lewis.

On balance, the fact that the singer is acquainted with two of James MacRae’s songs inclines me to favour him being Farquhar’s brother, but neither option, with the present evidences available, is totally satisfactory, hence I have listed these songs as being by “J. MacRae” whilst still noting whenever Broadwood attributes a piece to “James” MacRae”.


116. “(spelling checked by Dr MacRae)”, LEB-FM/2/2/1.

117. C37/1575 and C37/1576.

118. C37/1536 and C37/2539.
Two further points need to be made about these recordings, both based on the fact that we have detailed notes and listings for sixteen of the phonographs in the Broadwood-MacRae papers, but nothing, not even a title list, for eleven of them.

Firstly, we know that there were cylinders amongst the documented recordings that haven’t survived, but we do not possess an overall list of MacRae’s recordings, so there is no way of knowing the full extent of his collection; based on the MSS and surviving recordings he made at least 27 phonographs: the 16 cylinders listed and transcribed (9 extant) plus the eleven extant but undocumented ones, but on top of this total the Karpeles-Slocombe Phonographs list tells us that there were actually 34 recordings in total: 12 in box 3 (9 extant), 11 in box 6 (11 extant), and 11 in box 11 (of which none are extant)\textsuperscript{19}. Furthermore, we know from the MSS that MacRae kept three of the transcribed cylinders\textsuperscript{120}, which poses the question of how many other recordings did he keep for which we have no MS sources? Consequently, the full total of Farquhar MacRae’s recording work in the Highlands and Isles must remain an open ended one.

Secondly, as the papers devoted to this series seem to be complete, there aren’t, for example, any titles in the main contents list for which we have no associative transcriptions, this absence consequently can’t be due to some of the papers having become lost, nor is it likely that the eleven without MSS were made at a later date and were consequently transcribed and listed separately from the earlier ones, with said transcriptions having been mislaid, as, though undated, the cylinder box inscriptions, their condition and make of packaging all suggest the same period and provenance. One solution would be that MacRae felt them to be inferior recordings, and thus not worth transcribing, but if that is the case, why should Broadwood have ended up with them at all? Especially as in the three cases amongst the documented recordings where she didn’t retain the phonographs she noted as much in the MSS: for example, writing “Dr MacRae has kept this cylinder” next to the already mentioned “Impromptu” [Box 11 – listed but not transcribed], and the rather more ambiguous note “Dr. MacRae takes the cylinder” for Box 8 and “Dr. MacRae has taken that cylinder” for Box 4\textsuperscript{121}. Ambiguous as the wording “taken” could mean “recorded by”, but as Broadwood’s default phrase for this is to simply write “Dr MacRae’s Recording”\textsuperscript{122}, and in each of these three cases the recordings aren’t in the collection, it can be assumed that she did indeed mean that he had kept those cylinders.

Therefore, if it is assumed that the undocumented cylinders were from the same series as the documented ones the most likely solution to this problem lies in the piece-meal way in which the series was transcribed.

As already noted, Broadwood was without phonograph from the 20\textsuperscript{th} July to 4\textsuperscript{th} November, when MacRae returned the machine and played some of his recordings to her and Charles Lidgey, but it wasn’t until early the following year that she began transcribing them, beginning

\textsuperscript{119.} Karpeles and Slocombe, \textit{Phonographs} [1p, unpublished] in the WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder.

\textsuperscript{120.} J. MacRae, ‘Deoch slaintnta a Chamsronaich Bhoidhich’, LEB-FM/2/3/8; J. MacRae [& 3 others], ‘Gill’ Easbanchan’, etc, LEB-FM/2/3/11 & LEB-FM/2/3/5; Mrs MacRae, ‘Che sguir mis am bliadh’n an’ òl’, LEB-FM/2/3/4.


\textsuperscript{122.} See: LEB-FM/2/3/1, amongst others.
on January 22nd and continuing until February 24th. It can be assumed that the bulk of the transcriptions in the MSS would be from this time, but it is unlikely that MacRae was able to assist with this as there is no mention of him in Broadwood’s diaries and his involvement in the Gaelic Society of London was taking up an increasing amount of his time. Consequently references to the Gaelic recordings become increasingly sporadic with the only other reference in 1910 being to the Grainger’s visiting for supper in July when Broadwood played them “Folk-song phono records etc (Gaelic songs).” Furthermore by this time Broadwood would have been totally preoccupied in supervising and editing the Tolmie collection for the following year’s Journal so there would have been little spare time to work on either her own or MacRae’s recordings. It was only with the launch of this Journal, after the AGM on March 16th 1912 that both collectors were able to work together, but this time in a recital at the Steinway hall, consisting of arranged performances of English pieces collected by Broadwood, Carey, Sharp and Vaughan Williams and unaccompanied performances of Gaelic songs by MacRae and MacLennan, their performances being introduced by Broadwood and consisting of many of the pieces that she had recorded from them in 1908 as well as one piece from Kate MacLean’s repertoire, sung by Mr. MacLennan.

After this there is no further mention of the recordings until Broadwood spent just over a week in October 1912 “Noting phonograph recordings”, as this was the week before Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell visited with her Devon phonograph the cylinders mentioned here must have been from Broadwood’s Gaelic collection, though whether they were the ones from 1907 or 1908 or from MacRae’s series can’t be specified. The following year she played some of the recordings to Annette Hullah, the assistant and biographer of the Polish composer and teacher Theodor Leschetizky, and that July MacRae nominated Broadwood for membership of the Gaelic Society’s Concert committee, but it wasn’t to be until March 1914 that MacRae visited Broadwood “The whole afternoon giving correct titles etc to the Gaelic songs collected in my

123. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/22. My thanks to Dr Chris Bearman for sending me these dates.

124. By the end of that year he had been nominated for the position of President, making his inaugural address the following January, with the society minutes telling us that by April 21st he was chairing meetings in this new capacity, see Macrae, Dr. Farquhar, We Reared the Sunbeam Aloft. Inaugural address, January, 1910 (London: Gaelic Society of London, 1910); Joyce Seymour-Chalk to Andrew King, correspondence 09/08/13.


128. Entries for 24-25 May 1913. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/24. Broadwood had taken tea at Miss Hullah’s on the 24th where they had listened to Turkish & Greek folk songs (probably off commercial recordings by the Gramophone Company) the following day she returned the favour with Hullah visiting for dinner and hearing the Gaelic recordings.

129. Gaelic Society of London minutes for 29 July 1913, quoted in Joyce Seymour-Chalk to Andrew King, correspondence 09/08/13.
phonograph by him."\textsuperscript{130} which must have been when he did the “spelling checks” referred to in these papers\textsuperscript{131}.

But this is the last time MacRae appears in the diaries, by the end of August he was back in Lewis, where as an honoured guest he opened The West Uig and Bernera Crofters’ Show\textsuperscript{132}, but this must have been amongst his last official duties as late in 1913 he stood down from his role as President, last appearing at a meeting in January 1914 where he is mentioned as being on a judging (Mod) committee\textsuperscript{133}, after this he appears to have retired from his folksong and Gaelic pursuits\textsuperscript{134}.

\textbf{The Later Years}

The great mystery that surrounds Lucy Broadwood’s recordings is that after such consistent and highly successful work in 1907-1908, she made no more recordings. A number of reasons can be suggested. Firstly, it should be emphasised that the phonograph was for her mainly a scientific means to an end, namely the correct documentation of a song for transcription purposes. Moreover, she had little awareness of what we would think of as the ethnographic value of the source recoding \textit{in itself}, for her it was predominantly a tool for aiding the correct transcription of a song, though it should be emphasised that, unlike Vaughan Williams, this did extend to the correct noting of its text as well. However, it should be emphasised that with Gaelic songs, many of which are not only site but also family specific, there can be little reliance on Broadside literature, so that short-hand option for citing texts isn’t a possibility.

Secondly, such collecting work was merely one of her many activities, her editorial work for the \textit{Journal of the Folk-Song Society} being for her the most important. Furthermore whilst her major concern was the preservation of song, this did not necessarily translate into any general proselytising purpose, especially if such work simplified or standardised the material collected\textsuperscript{135}, and it was for this reason that she was opposed to any merger between the \textit{Folk-Song Society} and the recently founded \textit{English Folk Dance Society}, feeling that the more evangelistic nature and membership of the latter would detract from the academic reputation of the former.

As with many of the collectors from her generation, she felt that the pre-1914 work had unearthed virtually everything of consequence and that there was little need for further field work.

\begin{itemize}
\item 130. Entry for 23 March 1914. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/24.
\item 131. LEB-FM/2/1/1.
\item 132. ‘More Prizes at the Crofters’ Show’, \textit{Highland News}, 30 August 1913, at \textit{Comann Eachdraidh Uig, Uig Historical Society, Isle of Lewis}: http://www.ceuig.co.uk/more-prizes-at-the-crofters-show/ [accessed 015/03/15].
\item 133. Gaelic Society of London minutes for 15 January 1914, quoted in Joyce Seymour-Chalk to Andrew King, correspondence 09/08/13.
\item 134. Anecdotal evidences that I was sent about MacRae’s later career all centre around his having opened a practice in Alness and later encouraging his niece in the medical profession, unfortunately I believe this to all be relevant to the other Ross-shire Marcrae.
\end{itemize}
study, especially as the generation of singers from before the 1870 Education Act was dying out, for though much more receptive to the idea of songs from printed matter than Sharp, she shared his belief in the superiority of the orally learnt song over that picked up from a published source. Furthermore, Broadwood herself increasingly turned to the more esoteric aspects of folk song research. It would not be doing her a disservice to say that she had always been by inclination, first and foremost, a folklorist, not uninfluenced by the attitudes to comparative anthropology typified by the work of her contemporary, Sir James George Frazer, and consequently, with less opportunities for collecting new material much of her later years was to be devoted to collating information on pan-European Balladry from written sources.

Quite apart from these folk-song related factors there should also be considered those seismic effects on society and culture that the Great War brought about, and which should be borne in mind when evaluating Broadwood’s later career. Quite apart from the basic hardships brought about by rationing and air-raids, there was for Broadwood the fundamental problem that her income was totally dependent on that of the family firm, the finances of which were now seriously in arrears. Business wasn’t to subsequently improve until the mid 1920’s, and so the end of the war brought no respite to her financial problems and necessitated leaving her flat at Carlisle Mansions, her home of the previous twenty years. Given all these factors it is impressive that she was still able to do some folk song work during this period: her editing of A. Martin Freeman’s Gaelic songs from Ballyvourney (see Chapter VIII), articles and notes on Street Cries for the JFSS No. 22 and a paper on Gaelic song for the Pioneer Club, a progressive Women’s organisation.

But the impact of those years on the FSS in general and Broadwood in particular should not be underestimated, and it was fortunate for the future of the JFSS that there was such a back-log of earlier collections still awaiting publication, with Martin Freeman’s collection making up Journals 23-25, John Clague’s Isle of Man collection being numbers 28-30 and a selection of songs from Dorset and Somerset collected by the Hammond’s being the subject of number 27. Only the rather slight (30 pp) Journal 26 contained songs collected in the last few of years in the form of Moeran’s ‘Songs from Norfolk’ and even those were from 1921.

In 1927, when Broadwood finally relinquished her editorial responsibilities for the Journal Vaughan Williams wrote:

“Rumour has it that there is also a collection of beautiful Gaelic airs known at present only to a privileged few. Is it too much to hope that in the comparative leisure which will now be hers that she will find time to issue these also to the world?”

But this wasn’t to be the case, for the deaths of Sharp in 1924 and Kidson in 1926 had left Broadwood as the obvious choice for President upon Lord Tennyson’s death in 1928, although

136. Especially with regards to her unfinished, unpublished magnum opus, a comparative study of ‘The Dilly Song’ also known as ‘The twelve Apostles’, or ‘I’ll sing you one-O’ [Roud 133]. Broadwood Mss. Collection, VWML, LEB/3, p. 71 onwards.


138. Ibid, pp. 138-139.

unfortunately she was only to enjoy this position for some eight months as she was to die in the August of the following year.

So it can be assumed that the notes that she left on her Gaelic material were posthumously put together by Howes, Gilchrist and Freeman, using the transcriptions that Frances Tolmie (who predeceased Broadwood in 1926) had made for her over a decade before. In this we are fortunate as not all of the notes or transcripts that are found in the four articles have come down to us, either in her MSS at the VWML or in the Broadwood-MacRae papers. But whilst she would have been delighted to see this materiel in print, it is unlikely that she would have cared for its published context, for unlike Broadwood, her successor, Vaughan Williams, was in favour of the amalgamation of the Folk-Song Society with the very differently constituted English Folk-Dance Society and although there were other dissenting voices, Broadwood’s was the only real and major barrier to this union, consequently her death permitted the amalgamation of these groups. There is thus a certain irony in the fact that the first instalment of her Gaelic collection was to appear in the very last edition of the *JFSS*, whilst the remaining three were to appear in the journal of its successor\(^{140}\), the journal of a combined society of which she wouldn’t have approved.

Chapter III

Cecil Sharp

Sharp and Vaughan Williams are two of the most important figures in the early 20th Century folk revival, Gardiner was until recently, a much more shadowy figure, and yet for the following two chapters on the remaining English cylinders in the EFDSS collection I have had to employ a different methodology in considering the recordings and their collectors than I have done in the previous two. For whereas with Broadwood and Leather we are faced with a wealth of primary written evidences regarding their recordings, with the historically much better known figures of Sharp and Vaughan Williams and the lesser known one of Gardiner we are dealing with collectors who in comparison left little concerning the phonograph.

With Broadwood we have not only her diaries but also her surviving cylinders to work with, with Leather, in the absence of most of her recordings, we are perforce reliant upon her correspondence, publications and scrapbooks.

In dealing with the three remaining collectors who make up the bulk of the remainder of the EFDSS collection we are obliged to go in the opposite direction than we did when considering Leather’s since with Leather we had the manuscripts but very few recordings, but here we have a few recordings, with little supporting textual evidence. Consequently the process of identification is reversed, the first step being to identify the songs on the recordings, then seeing who collected those songs, matching the recordings to the transcriptions (where extant) and thus discovering who made the recordings. Inevitably the picture that is built up is fragmentary, but – as will become clearer in this and the next chapter – we are dealing with collectors for whom the phonograph was but a minor adjunct to their collecting work.

Sharp’s Methodology

Sharp’s methodology of collecting and disseminating folk-song can be clearly seen from the very first song he collected: ‘The Seeds of Love’, from the singing of John England, collected whilst visiting his friend the Revd. Charles Marson in Hambridge, Somerset. In many ways what Sharp immediately did, and what people thought of this, can be seen as a microcosm of his later folk-song work, for rather than saving it for a learned article in a journal, or comparing it to other known variants of the same song, his immediate reaction was to harmonise it, giving it a performance that very same evening at a choir supper, himself on piano, his lecturing assistant Mattie Kay as soloist. One of the audience, oblivious of the true pertinence of their observation, complimented Sharp and Kay saying that “it was the first time that the song had been put into evening dress”, Sharp’s biographer continued the story “John [England] was proud, but doubtful

1. Part of the numerous ‘Garner’s Gay’/ ‘Sprig of Thyme’ family of songs [Roud 3].

2. Mattie Kay, later Mrs. Algernon Lindo, was an untrained singer from Lancashire who Sharp first heard in 1899, so impressed was he by the quality of her voice that he arranged for her to stay with his family in London and attend Medora Henson’s Conservatoire. Though she was to subsequently sing at his lectures for over ten years from 1903 onwards, it is interesting to note that this altruism of his predated his interest in Folk-Song, see: Fox Strangways, Cecil Sharp, p. 26.
about the ‘evening dress’; there had been no piano to his song.” It was this very putting of the songs into “evening dress”, and the matter of which songs would be so attired, that many years later would lead to the revisionist attacks on Sharp’s work, but again one must go back to the two formative influences of his background, teaching and music, to see why his reaction to a source singer took the form that it did. He had already published traditional songs from secondary sources, now he had heard one from a primary source; why should he not (as he saw it) ensure its survival by arranging it in a form that could then be easily duplicated and used in education, or by the numerous choral societies then extant, all eager for new repertoire?

Furthermore, despite his own occasional doubts over his ability to arrange a tune4 Sharp’s practical musical training made him eminently equipped for the tasks of transcriber and arranger, which is something that was recognised not only in retrospect, as when Bronson noted that “There has never been a collector with such quickness and tact in seizing and accurately reporting essential characteristics from individual singing. His copy strikes a mean between the typical and the idiosyncratic that is almost ideal”5

That his own discovery of vernacular culture was later to be mythologized into being the discovery of vernacular culture is not an accusation that should be laid at his door, but those very qualities which made him an efficient educationalist and propagandist for his cause were to lose him friends and lead to schisms within folk-song and dance collecting circles; certainly, he wasn’t averse to minimising his debts to his forebears, a point bitterly noted in private by Lucy Broadwood late in her life when writing to her sister Bertha Broadwood in 1924 –

“Mr Cecil Sharp unfortunately took up old songs & old dance-collections as a profession, & not being a gentleman, he puffed and boomed and shoved and ousted, and used the Press to advertise himself; so that, although we pioneers were the people from whom he originally learnt all he knew of the subjects, he came to believe himself to be King of the whole movement, & was by the general ignorant public taken at his own valuation.”6

Though the tone and nature of this criticism tells us as much about Broadwood as it does Sharp, there is more than a degree of truth in her observations, as can be seen by the allies he discarded on his self-appointed path when he felt that they either weren’t pulling their weight (Charles Marson) or had an interpretation of folk culture that he considered erroneous (Mary Neal)7.


4. Vaughan Williams’ wrote “it is true that Sharp had little of the conventional technique of piano-forte accompaniment […] but he developed a technique of his own whose complete success was only hindered by his fear of the harmony professor”. Manning, David, ed., Vaughan Williams on Music, (Oxford: OUP, 2008), p. 233.


6. Quoted in full by de Val, Dorothy, In search of song: The life and times of Lucy Broadwood (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p.159 [from: Surrey History Centre: LEB 2297/3/2, no. 3, I am indebted to Irene Shettle for first acquainting me with this document].

nonetheless, whilst the inscription on the foundation stone to Cecil Sharp House, laid in 1929, five years and a day after his death –

This building Is Erected In Memory Of Cecil Sharp Who Restored To the English People The Songs And Dances Of Their Country.

Midsummer Day 1929

– can now be viewed as little more than selective mythologizing, it can be argued that were it not for Sharp’s drive, dedication and practical application to the problems attendant on constructing, organising and maintaining a nationwide educational and cultural movement it is unlikely that there would have been such success attendant on the works of both the Folk-Song and the Dance societies in the second and third decades of the twentieth century or, after his death, the influence, networks and finances being available for such an undertaking as the building of Cecil Sharp House in the first place, or the final merging of the two societies in 1932.

On the question of recording with the phonograph current in the first decade of the twentieth century it would be inconceivable that Sharp didn’t have an opinion on its use, and that opinion was – with caveats – positive, however, for reasons that will become apparent, mechanical reproduction wasn’t an issue of the highest importance to him. His most important comment on the new technology can be found in his major doctrinal statement *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* where, in the chapter on “English Folk-Scales”, in discussing the problems of transcribing subtleties of intonation and how those subtleties don’t translate to modern keyed instruments he wrote –

“This question of intonation is a very interesting one, and a very important one, too, and one which will, I hope, engage the serious attention of the collector. Subtleties of intonation can best be noted and studied on the phonograph. The attention of the collector is ordinarily occupied with other matters, many of which are at the moment of greater importance, and it is, therefore, very difficult to record with scientific accuracy delicate shades of pitch variation. Now, however, that English collectors are using the phonograph, material for the study of this particular branch of the subject is being rapidly accumulated.”

As can be seen here, Sharp’s argument in favour of the technology was specifically based on its utilisation for ascertaining subtleties of intonation, and – by association – the modal qualities (as he, Vaughan Williams and others, for example E. F. Jacques, who gave a paper on them in the first issue of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, thought of them) that they believed dictated

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8. The building was first occupied in March 1930 and officially opened on Whit-Saturday, June 7th 1930. See: Godrich, Brenda, *The Building of Cecil Sharp House* (Chipping Norton: The English Folk Song & Dance Society, 2009), pp. 9 & 25.


the nature of many of the earlier ballads and songs, this is not to say that he didn’t have reservations, but they were considered ones such as when writing to Grainger he said -

“In my own somewhat limited experience I have found singers, although not at all unwilling to sing into the phonograph, yet quite incapable of singing into it in their usual un-selfconscious manner.”

and -

“Again, many of the best songs I have noted have been recovered from singers far too frail in body and weak in voice to sing into a phonograph. It is often hard enough to persuade such as these to sing at all, and a mention or sight of the phonograph would settle the matter!”

Nonetheless, despite these and other caveats he was certainly willing to make his own recordings, but he was, as Bearman pointed out in his article ‘Percy Grainger, the Phonograph and the Folk Song Society’ constrained not only by the logistics of transporting the equipment on bicycle down the country lanes of Somerset but also by the methods he employed for getting the best from his singers, multiple visits on their own turf, rather than Grainger’s and Broadwood’s phonograph friendly system of inviting the singers to their house (or whichever house they were currently based at) with the equipment already set up in readiness. Recent research by Dorothy de Val suggests that Sharp’s generally open-minded attitude to the use of the phonograph altered after a few years until by 1908 he was in opposition to its utilisation, thinking “its use both limited and also possibly misleading” but I would suggest that the correspondence she quotes in favour of this interpretation, written to Grainger on May 24th when he was preparing his article on the phonograph for the Journal was more a combination of Sharp’s acting, on behalf of the editorial board, as devil’s advocate over the issue, and simply a further reflection of his seemingly inevitable need to state a position when faced by someone he viewed as a professional rival. Had his position by that time hardened against the phonograph to that extent, it is highly unlikely that he would have made his recordings of Priscilla Cooper, as

11. That the properties of the model scales as interpreted in the early 20th century differed from those of the ancient, or for that matter, Medieval sources, shouldn’t necessarily negate the comparative methods utilised by the collectors in assigning a modal melody to a folk-song. Whilst part of this methodology was certainly concerned with the issue of attributing age to a ballad – put simply, usually the rarer the mode, the more ancient the song - it was also simply a convenient method of description amongst the musically literate. A resume of this methodology is G. B. Chambers (1881-1969) Folksong-Plainsong: A Study in Origins and Musical Relationships (London: The Merlin Press Ltd, 1956). Which despite its post war date of publication should be seen as a product of the early twentieth Century Folk-Song movement: Sharp was one of the two friends that Chambers dedicated the book to the memory of, Vaughan Williams provided its Preface, whilst its musical-critical position was firmly allied to that of the Folk-Song Societies Journal during its Edwardian heyday. That it was the product of many years study was the major cause of its being published long after the period when its theories were generally accepted.


they predated his letter to Grainger by less than five months. Nor, for that matter, would he have made his subsequent recording in 1909 of Henry Day.\(^{15}\)

**The Recordings**

The one piece of published posthumous documentation that refers to Sharp’s phonographs before the collection’s “rediscovery” in the 1970s, S. E. Jackson’s *Folk Music Collected in the British Isles* unfortunately only states: “six phonograph rolls.” giving neither titles nor dates,\(^ {16}\) but it should be remembered that this article was simply devoted to noting what was known as being extant in 1958, it did not include lost or destroyed material and furthermore reflected what must have been only the most cursory of considerations of the cylinder collection, the only other collectors to have (equally brief) references to their phonographs being Broadwood “a few phonograph rolls.” and Grainger, “Wax cylinder recordings.”, the latter with the proviso that the E. F. D. S. S. collection was “MSS only”\(^ {17}\), furthermore it is unlikely that Jackson had access to Karpeles and Slocombe’s unpublished report from 1949-50 on the collection (see chapter X), as whilst that list does indeed list the six cylinders in what was then called “Box 7” as being by Sharp (an error, incidentally, as only four were made by him)\(^ {18}\) it also lists a further four as possibly having been recorded by Sharp or at least noted by him\(^ {19}\), be that as it may, although he probably had different cylinders in mind when he noted that there were six from Sharp’s collection extant, Jackson was very close to the final total, for if one assumes that he had attributed the Herefordshire recording from John Locke that until very recently, even by this author, used to be attributed to Sharp (see Part II, Chapters I & IV) we are presented with a total of eight Sharp cylinders, but of these, two are duplicates, giving a total of six, discounting the Herefordshire recording gives a total of five.

This is a very small total considering that Sharp collected nearly 3,000 songs in Britain, but quite apart from the fact that there is no evidence of any of his recordings being destroyed in the same way that some of the cylinders were in 1950 when they failed the “audibility” test that Karpeles and Slocombe had set the cylinders for their post War report, it is unlikely that

\(^{15}\) One of the few errors in de Val’s otherwise excellent biography is that she bluntly states that Sharp made no phonographs, see p. 100.


\(^{17}\) Ibid, p. 162 & 163 respectively, the Grainger cylinders being at the Library of Congress, Washington.

\(^{18}\) ‘Lady Maisry’ [C37/1637; 44 in the Report], ‘The Indian Lass’ [C37/1589; 46], ‘The Basket of Eggs’ [C37/1581; 45], ‘The Indian Lass’ [C37/1588; 48]; the other two listed as being in “Box 7” being ‘On the Banks of the Nile’ [C37/1592; 45], one of the possible recordings by Gardiner, and ‘The Trees [they do grow high]’ [C37/1583; 49], recorded by Vaughan Williams. See Karpeles and Slocombe, *Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, p. 2 [unpublished] WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder [two versions].

\(^{19}\) The one provisionally attributed to Sharp is ‘The Miller on the Dee’ [C37/1580; 51 in the Report] which was actually recorded by Vaughan Williams, whilst the three that are listed as having been noted by Sharp are ‘The Turtle Dove’ [C37/1584; 3], ‘There is an alehouse’ / ‘Dance tunes played by Locke’ [listed on cylinder as “ale house”] [C37/1590; 8] and ‘Claudy Banks’ [C37/1632; 16] but of these only the middle one was recorded by Sharp, the first was by Vaughan Williams, the last, probably Gardiner with J. F. Guyer.
Karpeles, with her loyalty to Sharp’s memory, would have destroyed any of them, consequently it can be assumed with Sharp that whilst we only have eight cylinders (six recordings) the total that he made couldn’t have been very much more, the final evidence for this being that manuscript and printed sources list only one more song as possibly having been recorded by him, that of Mr. Henry Day of Basingstoke, Hampshire, singing ‘The Dear Irish Boy’, an oddity in that it may have been recorded to cylinder twice. It was originally collected by Gardiner and Charles Gamblin in 1906 (hence its appearing in the Journal devoted to Gardiner’s Hampshire collection) but under its title runs the credit:

“Noted (and corrected from a phonograph record) by C. J. Sharp & R. Vaughan Williams, Jan. & Feb., 1909.”

With at its end:

“NOTE. – The song was sung very freely throughout, like an improvisation. An earlier phonographic record gives still other variants.”

Gardin’s visit was before he had access to the phonograph, and as Sharp is listed before Vaughan Williams it could be assumed that he visited in January and Vaughan Williams in February, but as the other song Vaughan Williams collected from Henry Day – ‘A Sailor Courted a Farmers Daughter’, listed on pp. 294-295 of the same issue, is given as January, it is more likely that Sharp must have visited the month after, but the language of attribution in the JFSS is – as always – imprecise, we know that two phonographs were made, but the credit suggests that only one was used for the transcript and doesn’t specify who made it, consequently one cannot be certain that it was Sharp’s work.

Furthermore, research by the late Chris Bearman has shown that the actual period when Sharp was recording was probably much shorter than has previously been thought, for example, although there is no mention of a phonograph the only manuscript of Jack Barnard of Bridgwater, Somerset singing ‘Lady Maisry’ is found on an undated page which, due to the dates on its preceding and succeeding pages must have been noted on the 6th August 1906, consequently his recording of this song [C37/1637] has been attributed (by this writer amongst others) to this early date, but Bearman, in charting Sharp’s movements has identified each of the places he visited in Somerset and Devon from 23rd December 1907 to 10th January 1908, and what this reveals is that during those nineteen days he went to each place where a singer on one of his phonographs lived. Whilst this doesn’t affect our knowledge of his work with regards to those recordings where a song is extant in his manuscripts or a phonograph reference is noted, such as Priscilla Cooper’s ‘The Basket of Eggs’, it substantially changes our understanding of the dating of those songs which hadn’t previously been attributed to this period of his work, for although the only manuscript reference to ‘Lady Maisry’ in Sharp’s notebooks is on the 6th

20. See Part II, Chapter X.


22. I am deeply indebted to the late Dr. Chris Bearman for sharing his thoughts and findings regarding Sharp’s movements with me, email Chris Bearman to Andrew King, Sat, 31 Mar 2012.

23. Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Words p. 1010 ‘Lady Maisry’ (Jack Barnard, nd); preceded on pp. 1008-9 by ‘Snap-Oo’ (Jack Barnard, Aug. 6th 1906), followed on p.1011 by ‘Rosy Apple (Children’s Game)’, Aug. 6th 1906), and then on p. 1012 by ‘Come now I will sing you’ (Eliza Wilkins, Aug. 7th 1906).
August 1906 Sharp was in Bridgwater, where Barnard lived, on the 4th and 7th of January 1908, likewise, our only manuscripts for William Wooley’s ‘No! John’ are from August 13th 1907\(^2\), but Sharp was at Bincombe, Wooley’s village on the 6th January 1908.

The following list of Sharp’s movements in late 1907 early 1908, prepared by Dr. Chris Bearman, shows how each of his recordings (bar the possible, but unlikely Hampshire one) could have been made during this period, I have noted the relevant singers in square brackets –

**Cecil Sharp in Somerset and Devon, 23rd December 1907 to 10th January 1908 [C. Bearman]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Singer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23/12/07</td>
<td>Chew Stoke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/12/07</td>
<td>East Harptree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/12/07</td>
<td>Chew Stoke [Edgell]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/12/07</td>
<td>Castle Cary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/12/07</td>
<td>Shepton Mallet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01/01/08</td>
<td>Killerton and Colyton (Stafford Common) [Cooper]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/01/08</td>
<td>Upton Pyne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04/01/08</td>
<td>Bridgwater</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/01/08</td>
<td>Stockland, Bincombe [Woolley]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/01/08</td>
<td>Bridgwater [Barnard]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08/01/08</td>
<td>North Petherton, Spaxton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09/01/08</td>
<td>Spaxton, Over Stowey, Enmore, Tewkesbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regards to the seven surviving recordings that can now be traced to this period (so omitting the Herefordshire cylinder [C37/1590] formerly attributed to him) it is not surprising that a cursory inspection might have led to misattribution for as well as none of them having been published as phonograph transcripts none have any but the most minimal of information on them. None have the singer’s name on them whilst only four title the songs: ‘Lady Maisry’ [C37/1637], ‘No John No’ [C37/1558], and the two copies of ‘Indian Lass’ [C37/1588 and C37/1589] gives the title on the box lid. Not only that but there is little uniformity in either packaging or speed in the collection, for example, that of Jack Barnard of Bridgwater, Somerset singing ‘Lady Maisry’ (7th of January 1908) is at the same speed, 144 rpm, as the adjacent recording made of William Wooley of Bincombe, Somerset singing ‘No John No’ (6th January 1907) and the slightly earlier one of Alfred Edgell (or Edgehill) of Chew Magna, Somerset singing ‘All among the new mown hay’ on the 26th December, but has different packaging, being in a faded grey Edison Bell box with a brown lid whereas the other two are in generic, brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ boxes, both of which are mildewed. Between these, on the 1st of January 1908 are two recordings of Priscilla Cooper, a traveller then based at Colyton in Devon but here we are presented with not only different speeds but also different packaging! Her

\(^2\) Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Words pp.1285-6 and Folk Tunes p. 1398.
recording of ‘The Basket of Eggs’ [C37/1581] is at 120 rpm and is packaged in a brown Edison Bell ‘Popular’ box, whereas her conflation of ‘The Indian Lass’ with the song ‘American Stranger’ (Sharp used both titles to describe her version of this song) [C37/1628] is at 135 rpm and packaged in the same type of faded grey Edison Bell box as the Jack Barnard recording, except that this time it is with a blue lid. The remaining two cylinders are the pantographic copies of ‘The Indian Lass’ [C37/1588 and C37/1589] which not surprisingly are at the same speed as their source (135 rpm) but are both packaged in the brown Edison Bell ‘Popular’ box that ‘The Basket of Eggs’ is found in. In considering these four cylinders of Priscilla Copper, it is worth bearing in mind that by 1908 Sharp was probably sufficiently experienced in using the phonograph to know at what speed he had to make the recording to avoid a song having to go over two cylinders, hence the difference in speeds (‘The Basket of Eggs’ lasts 3’16”, whilst ‘The Indian Lass’ lasts 2’40”) whilst with regards to the packaging the anomaly of the different packaging for the source recording of ‘The Indian Lass’ might be explicable if one assumes that at some point in the recordings history it was taken out of its box and returned to the wrong one, my reason for suggesting this is twofold, firstly that the base has been numbered 41, a number that didn’t survive the 1949/50 culling of the collection (it doesn’t appear in the lists\textsuperscript{25}) and secondly that the dark blue lid is probably from a different recording, since the lettering on it reads: mildewed / 24 / Good / Sept 1919, which has no bearing on the recording contained\textsuperscript{26}.

What does all this tell us about Sharp’s utilisation of the phonograph? Firstly the change of speeds. If a group of recordings were made together, it was usual for the recordist to stick with one speed, as not to do so would only complicate matters later when dealing with playback, but if a song was known to be longer than the usual 2 or 4 minute duration of the wax blanks\textsuperscript{27}, the collector was faced with two choices, either to record it over two cylinders or to make the recording speed slower, inevitably leading to deterioration in sound quality, although for

\textsuperscript{25} Again, see Karpeles and Slocombe, \textit{Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society}, p. 2 [unpublished] WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder [two versions].

\textsuperscript{26} It is possible that it is the lid to C37/1636, a recording from the Welsh Folk Song Society collection that has survived without lid (it was subsequently given an unnumbered lid of the brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box type that was found spare in one of the boxes when I made my survey of the cylinders for the British Library Sound Archive in 2004) but, with no track details listed or matching number, cannot be proven other than that the surprisingly good condition of the latter recording (when compared with the other Welsh ones) suggests that this cylinder might be out of sequence with its compatriots and lost its lid to ‘The Indian Lass’ [C37/1628]. The other possibility is that it could also be a mislaid lid from either the Gardiner or Vaughan Williams collections, as both contain recordings with this error repeated on their lids: Henry Day’s ‘On The Banks of the Nile’ [C37/1592], Peter Verrall ‘Rambling Sailor’ [C37/1630] and Daniel Wigg’s ‘Lord Nelson’ [C37/1629] though in the case of the last of these recordings the second “1” in the “1919” is actually a very badly written “0” (in Vaughan Williams’ worst hand) which must have been misread by a later, but pre-1949, cataloguer as either “19/9” i.e. 19th September, or as 1919, and then replicated on the other lids, but either way it is probable that at some point ‘The Indian Lass’ [C37/1628] became separated from its packaging and ended up with the box and lid that it now has. I note these as being pre-the 1949 survey in that the ink inscription “XXX / 1919” [on C37/1628], and pencil inscriptions “Sept 1919[?]” [on C37/1592 and C37/1628] stylistically bear no resemblance to Karpeles and Slocombe’s hands and furthermore because the post-War catalogue replicates these misattributions.

\textsuperscript{27} The Edison produced “Amberol” cylinder, introduced in 1908, had a double playing length of four minutes at the standard speed of 160 rpm. As attachments for cutting and playing these were available for older models it was possible for recordists to use both this and the older format cylinder on the same machines.
unaccompanied voices, this wasn’t to an extent that would prove disastrous to the undertaking. Vaughan Williams tended to record over two cylinders in these circumstances, Sharp favoured altering the speeds – hence the discrepancy in speeds between the two Priscilla Cooper recordings, even though made on the same day – this was probably because as he was making so few recordings it wasn’t a matter of priority for him to keep them all at a uniform speed, since he could easily remember them; furthermore, unlike Leather he was a trained musician so he would have felt confident at playing the cylinder back at the correct speed, but for Sharp the main reason must have been the already mentioned logistical issues involved: while it was problematic enough taking a phonograph machine by bicycle over the Mendips, it would have been even worse to be laden down with boxes of half-a-dozen blanks. Unlike others visits Sharp’s Somerset and Devon trip of late 1907 to early 1908 was one where he stayed with friends and associates who in most cases had either horse or motor transport, furthermore even had personal transport not been available on one of the days all of the journeys noted could have been made via the Great Western Railway’s then extended coverage of the West Country, this issue is further evidence in favour of Bearman’s theory that Sharp made the majority of his recordings during this one trip, when the normal practical problems of transporting the equipment would have been substantially reduced.

But it should be emphasised that although Sharp took advantage of the transportation afforded him on this visit to utilise the phonograph, the trip wasn’t a phonograph one per se, but rather a collecting trip in which the phonograph was utilised as needed, for rather than the half a dozen or so blanks with which other collectors set out on their trips, Sharp must have taken probably no more than a couple with him on each journey; a number of factors prove this, not only the differing speeds found from recording session to recording session (144, 120, 135 and 160 rpm) but also in the differing packaging of each group of recordings: unlike Broadwood and Leather who would record complete sets of four or six blanks in a row, Sharp seemed to only take cylinders with him on return visits to singers for very specific purposes; for example to get an example of a singer’s style to be presented at his lectures (this would explain the pantographic copies of Cooper’s ‘The American Stranger’, her version being a textbook example of traveller style) or when he encountered a very rare or ancient ballad (such as Barnard’s ‘Lady Maisry’); consequently he probably purchased or acquired blanks piece-meal rather than in sets, hence the differing makes and packaging.

Priscilla Cooper

A further factor that complicates evaluating Sharp’s utilisation of the phonograph is that if he made a recording, he rarely noted the tune in his manuscripts, on the assumption that he would rely on the cylinder itself, so for example, when he collected ‘The Basket of Eggs’ for the first time from Priscilla Cooper at Stafford Common (probably Stafford Barton), Devon in September 1907, he noted the tune, but the text of only one verse (probably because the text was close enough to the published broadsides for him to rely on them), but when he subsequently recorded the song from her on January 1st 1908 his manuscript simply gives us the title – “The Basket of Eggs / (Phonograph)”

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28. Above from information provided by Dr. Chris Bearman. Email: Chris Bearman to Andrew King, Sat, 31 Mar 2012. After listing the places where Sharp stayed and the transportation available to him Chris noted “I am almost tempted to believe that Sharp left his bicycle at home on this occasion.”
and an otherwise blank page [see Illustration X, below], because having the recording, he could rely on that for later reference.  


29. For the earlier visit see Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes p.1459; for the later visit see Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes p. 1549. Though I am inclined to see these lacunae as pragmatic omissions, I acknowledge the possibility, posited by Vic Gammon [viva with Dr. Vic Gammon and Professor David Hendy 15/01/16] that these may also reflect Sharp’s self-consciousness over the quality of his own transcriptions, certainly we know from Vaughan Williams that Sharp was uncertain as to the merit of his accompaniments, see Cecil Sharp’s Accompaniments in Manning, David, ed., Vaughan Williams on Music (Oxford: OUP, 2008), pp. 233-234.
Unfortunately, to complicate matters, the cylinder ends at the very beginning of the last verse, which was the only one Sharp noted in full on his first visit, but the earlier manuscript is sufficient to identify this recording with its singer. The same process is repeated with her renditions of ‘The Indian Lass’, though here matters are confused by the fact that her version is actually a conflation of that song with ‘The American Stranger’, itself a series of floating verses, an issue further exacerbated by the fact the Sharp too seemed undecided as to its name for he entitled the tune manuscript of Cooper’s earlier rendition: “American Stranger” (with “Rambling” written above it), the word manuscript “American Stranger” and the later – blank – phonograph page “The Indian Lass / (Phonograph)”\(^{30}\). The confusion is understandable. In actual fact the song is predominantly ‘American Stranger’ [Roud 1081] with a concluding verse from ‘The Indian Lass’ [Roud 2326], but as the latter is the title on the box lids of the two pantographic copies (the original is untitled) it should be followed as representing Sharp’s final choice of title. Despite the recording’s very weak signal, even now it is possible to tell, by Coopers phrasing and style that this is a recording of a gypsy singer, something that written notation can but only hint at. That Sharp must have valued this recording is testified by the fact that it is the one recording in the whole collection to have had contemporaneous copies made of it, cylinders C37/1588 and C37/1589 being pantographic duplications of it, a mechanical system in which a playback stylus would be linked to a cutting one, the latter mirroring the formers groove, thus creating the duplicate. It is unlikely that these were created for commercial purposes, as the concept of the integrity of the source recording was still an alien one: more likely Sharp felt that this was such a good example of a traditional singer that it was worth having copies made to play at his lectures and presentations, the vulnerability of the soft wax of cylinder blanks giving them only limited life expectancy, the creation of copies while the original was still relatively unworn multiplying this duration by the number of pantographic copies made.

**Jack Barnard**

Another cylinder, for which a good selection of associated manuscripts has survived – though not necessarily for the recording itself, is of Sharp’s recording of Jack Barnard’s rendition of ‘Lady Maisry’ [C37/1637], Sharp collected songs from Barnard (also called John Barnett – his real name – in the manuscripts) of Bridgwater, Somerset, on at least eighteen different occasions between April 1906 and January 1916, noting the words and tunes to forty-one songs, the tunes alone to a further sixteen, and the words alone to a further four\(^{31}\), though recent research has shown this total to amount to less than half of his known repertoire\(^{32}\). Sharp’s initial notation of...

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30. Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes p. 1456, for: ‘Rambling / American Stranger’; Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Words pp. 1335-1336 ‘American Stranger”; and Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes p.1548: Whilst for the recording see Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes p.1548, which contains no music or text but where the song is simply noted as – ‘The Indian Lass / (Phonograph)’.

31. Unfortunately, the online Cecil Sharp MSS Index confusingly still lists him as two people, as BARNARD, Jack [BARNETT, John] (1863-1926) at: http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/query.cgi?index_sharp=on&fieldshow=multi&amp;field_0=barnard&amp;start=3&amp;output=Record&amp;access=off [accessed 26/06/11] and as BARNETT, John (BARNETT, Jack) (BARNARD ?) at: http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/query.cgi?index_sharp=on&amp;fieldshow=multi&amp;field_0=barnard&amp;start=5&amp;output=Record&amp;access=off [accessed 26/06/11]. Again, I am indebted to Dr. Chris Bearman who discovered that the 1901 census entry for John Barnett listed him as having the same affliction as Barnard and was able to prove that they were one and the same: Chris Bearman, email to the author 27/06/11.

32. Staelens, Yvette and Bearman, C. J., _Somerset Folk Map_ (Milborne Port; Somerset County
the tune was on April 18th 1906, with two versions of the text as noted in the neat copies of the
song texts mss, one from 1906 complete bar one verse, and then one of three verses, including
the missing verse from the earlier text, probably from 1907, with an additional comment from
Barnard noted at the bottom of the page: “(O all the volks like this ‘ere song, they zay there’s
such good turnings.33)”

On their own, these manuscript sources probably wouldn’t be enough to prove that the cylinder
[C37/1637] is Barnard’s version, since after all only the tune for the first verse with two faintly
written variants is given in the Folk Tunes manuscripts, barely enough to identify the quickly
sung ballad that Barnard virtually chants into the phonograph, but his version was also to be the
main source for the one that Sharp printed in volume III of his Folk Songs from Somerset
[pp.56-57] which, while of course a composite, presents the full text and additional tune variants
that aren’t found in the manuscripts but are audible on the cylinder, this alone would prove the
recording’s provenance, but as well as Bearman’s recent research proving that Bridgwater was
included in Sharp’s 1907-1908 West country visit, further evidence is given in Sharp’s letter to
Grainger of May 23rd 1908 in which he listed his doubts about the phonograph and – without
mentioning Barnard’s name – wrote:

“My have found singers, although not at all unwilling to sing into the phonograph, yet
quite incapable of singing into it in their usual un-selfconscious manner. I remember
spending an hour or more last Christmas holiday with a singer (from whom I have, in the
course of the last few years, taken down a very large number of songs) in the vain
attempt to secure an accurate phonographic record of his singing of ‘Lady Maisry’. He
was a young man, a very first-rate folk-singer, and not by any means a nervous subject.
His first attempt failed dismally; he forgot his words, pitched his song too high, sang
much faster than usual, and altogether fell far below his usual standard of performance.
– I then stopped the phonograph and made him sing through the song in the ordinary
manner. This he at once did in his accustomed way, without hesitancy, or mistake. Then
I put him at the phonograph again, with precisely the same disastrous result as before. I
repeated the experiment yet once more, but with no better fortune. Finally I gave up the
attempt as hopeless. Now, if I had never heard this song except as he sang it into the
phonograph I should have received an utterly false impression of its qualities and of his
abilities as a singer.”34

Despite Sharp’s doubts about Barnard’s performance to cylinder, one further point is worth
noting about him, his age: he was only 45 at the time of his first meetings with Sharp, and being
born around 1861 put him very much at the minimum age that Sharp’s favoured in his
informants, namely singers whose education predated the 1870 education act35, Barnard seems

Council Cultural Service, 2008) [Map].


34. Quoted in Yates, Michael, ‘Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph’, Folk Music

35. “It appears, then, that the last generation of folk-singers must have been born not later than sixty
or seventy years ago – say 1840.” Sharp, Cecil J., English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions (London:
Simpkin; Novello; Taunton: Barnicott & Pearce, 1907). p. [119].
an anomaly compared to the septuagenarians and octogenarians that made up Sharp’s preferred age group for collecting from until one realises that due to disability he had not attended school and was illiterate[^36]: it can be assumed that Sharp must have consequently viewed him as a singer of importance as not only had he learnt the songs orally but he was relatively youthful in comparison with the other singers he rated, furthermore it was probably on the assumption that a younger man would less likely to be put off by the new technology that Sharp decided to make trial recordings with him, and while in this case his hunch proved incorrect, at least the recording has survived.

**William Wooley**

Regarding sources for the other two singers found in Sharp’s collection, William Wooley and Alfred Edghill, Wooley’s ‘No John no’ [C37/1558] is relatively straightforward to identify, mainly due to its splendid condition, or to be more exact, the splendid condition of its first 30 seconds, the recording is actually badly cracked after this point, with the damage slanting in such a way that the needle jumps forward rather than backwards, meaning that the listener hears only roughly half of the remaining minute and a half worth of the song: this is of course unfortunate, but I think can be cited as the reason for the good condition of the beginning, as obviously the damage was inflicted on the phonograph soon after the recording was made; consequently it wasn’t played, and thus what is playable is in a much better state of preservation than is normal for the English recordings. The manuscripts can be found at Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Words pp.1285-1286 and Folk Tunes p.1398, along with Sharp’s edited version in volume IV of his *Folk Songs from Somerset* where “The first two verses are printed in the text exactly as Mr. Wooley sang them, but the rest of the song was coarse and needed considerable revision”[^37], but as with Priscilla Cooper’s recordings, none of the transcriptions do justice to the singer’s interpretation: his gentle, educated voice[^38], with the subtlest hint of humour, presents us with a light-hearted rendition of this song that the printed page cannot convey; one can but only hope that one day a complete audio transcription will be successfully made of this delightful recording.[^39]

[^36]: Staelens, Yvette and Bearman, C. J., *Somerset Folk Map.*


[^38]: I use this term in the sense that there is a degree of what sounds like “received pronunciation” to Wooley’s voice, very different to that of the other, more regionally accented, singers.

[^39]: At the time when the National Sound Archive of the British Library (as then was, now the British Library Sound Archive) made its second set of dubbings of the collection to DAT tape in 2001, I was asked – informally – as to whether I had any advice regarding the collection and dubbing speeds. My suggestion for this recording was that it should be recorded as normal, but that it should also be recorded on an adapted machine so that it could be played backwards, thus – hopefully – getting copies of the grooves missed on the normal copy, the backwards recording could then have been digitally reversed and the missing sections cut and pasted into the digital master. Unfortunately time constraints made this method impracticable, so when the 1CDR (playback) copies were transferred to CD-R in 2003 the editor had to make do with an incomplete copy. Nonetheless, I see no reason why this method shouldn’t be applied at some later date, especially if the British Library Sound Archive acquires a laser reader, thus enabling further copies to be made in this manner without damaging the cylinder.
Alfred Edghill

The final recording, that of Alfred Edghill (also given as Edgehill 40) of Chew Magna, Somerset is slightly more problematic to identity, in that the Tune and Words manuscripts (p.1163) contain only one, and two verses of the song respectively (Tune: p.1163, Words: 1160) whereas the recording itself [C37/1556] is much more extensive, even containing a false start during which a male voice (Sharp?) is faintly heard in the background before the repetition of the second verse, the tune is very similar to that noted, but a number of the words and phrases are subtly different to the manuscripts. For example here is the first verse from the tune transcript at Tunes 1163:

As I strolled out one bright dew morning  
Amongst some new mown hay O  
I there did spy a pretty fair maid  
Amongst the new mown hay O  
Amongst the new mown hay O

Whereas the recording goes –

As I strolled out one bright June morn  
'Twas amongst the new mown hay O  
I there did spy a pretty fair maid  
Amongst the new mown hay O  
Amongst the new mown hay O

This though shouldn’t rule Edghill out as the singer on the recording, as even between Sharp’s tune and words manuscripts there are minor discrepancies, here is the same verse from Words: 1160:

As I strolled out one bright dew morning  
Amongst some new mown hay  
I there did spy a fair pretty maid  
Amongst the new mown hay O  
[Amongst the new mown hay O]

And as Sharp was far more diligent in noting words than some of the other collectors, for example Vaughan Williams, who if he felt the text to be sufficiently close to an extant broadside didn’t even bother to note it, and as both the manuscripts are from the same date, January 11th 1907, it can be assumed that Edghill was a singer who didn’t stick to the identical words or phrases from performance to performance, if he could omit an exclamation “O” and reverse the word ordering “fair pretty” for “pretty fair” during two renditions in one day then how much difference could there be eleven months later? Unfortunately the Tune manuscript for this song from Sharp’s visit on Boxing Day 1907 (Tune p.1527) is another of Sharp’s blank pages, but this itself is evidence that the recording is of Edghill, as we know from the two phonograph

40. Sharp was very undecided as the spelling of Edghill’s name, giving it as Edghill [CS MSS, Folk Tunes p.1163], Edgehill [CS MSS Folk Words p.1160] and Edgell [CS MSS, Folk Tunes p.1527]. Received opinion has decided on the first of these, but there is a possible case for the spelling with the ‘e’, based upon the number of other songs that Sharp collected from him with that spelling, for example Where are you going to? [CS MSS, Folk Tunes p. 1164].
Tune pages for Priscilla Cooper (Tunes 1548 and 1549) he didn’t bother to write up the tunes when a recording was to hand, that he didn’t even bother to write “(Phonograph)” was because he didn’t need to, he knew what the blank page meant.

**Conclusion**

The problems that Sharp noted in his letter to Grainger about his abortive attempts at recording Jack Barnard were only some of the practical issues that he felt were attendant upon the new technology, from experience he knew that:

> “many of the best songs I have noted have been recovered from singers far too frail in body and weak in voice to sing into a phonograph. It is often hard enough to persuade such as these to sing at all, and a mention or sight of the phonograph would settle the matter!”

Furthermore, as a trained musician he was also aware of the sonic limitations of the technology available, for whilst it is true that the Edison phonograph dated back to 1877 and that the human voice was one of the instruments best served by acoustic recordings one should not conflate the quality of contemporary digital recordings with that of the acoustic process in the first two decades of the twentieth century, a process that not only favoured certain tones over others, but also presupposed a trained singer with prior knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of the recording medium, one who could step back before singing the loud notes and closer to the recording horn during quiet or low sections, and all without being flustered, consequently Sharp knew that “Even under the best conditions, e.g. absence of extraneous sounds, best temperature so that the wax may be of the right degree of plasticity etc., I have always found the words are more or less blurred” nonetheless he could see that “the phonograph as a collecting instrument is of very great value” and admitted in the conclusion of his letter to Grainger (May 23rd 1908) that “I have purposely played the part of ‘advocatus diaboli’ in this criticism, and have concentrated myself upon those things in which I differ from you, and have left alone the rest in which I am in agreement with you.”, consequently one should see Sharp’s attitude as one of guarded acceptance towards the new technology, that he subsequently made so few recordings can be explained not only by the caveats he wrote to Grainger but also by the already mentioned logistical problem of using the equipment as well as by the fact that his avowed intention as a

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42. Unlike, for example the lower strings, which invariably required arranging if not to be irretrievably lost in the recording reprocess, see Northrop Moore’s ‘The Earliest Elgar Recordings’ and the 1914-1925 chapters of *Elgar on Record* for the limitations of the acoustic process.

43. Graham Freeman in his “‘It wants all the creases ironing out’: Percy Grainger, the Folk Song Society, and the Ideology of the Archive” *Music & Letters*, 92 No. 3 (2011) , notes the date of the invention of the phonograph (on p. 426 of his article) as evidence of how the technology by 1908 must have been well established, thus showing the caveats of members of the editorial board of the Folk-Song Society over Grainger’s article as further evidence of their backwardness, but he does so without taking into consideration any of the substantial limitations in pre-electrical (i.e. pre mid. 1925 recording), Lucy Broadwood’s support for the society purchasing a phonograph or even Sharp’s positive comments about the medium.


collector was firmly pedagogic, his priority, after noting the songs, being to present to the public
an accurate, but ideally memorable and accessible version in order to popularise it and keep it
alive. Sharp saw folk songs as:

“distinct from ordinary music ; […] not the composition of the individual and, as such,
limited in outlook and appeal, but a communal and racial product, the expression, in
musical idiom, of aims and ideals that are primarily national in character. Once
establish the fact that the folk-song has not been made by the one but evolved by the
many, and its national character and its fitness to serve a national purpose follow as a
natural consequence.”46

That this clarion call for folk song in national education utilised language which would now be
seen as deeply problematic has already been considered in the section on ‘National identity’
(Part I, Chapter III) where I suggest he utilised it, within the terms as they were understood at
the time, in order to better persuade the Board of Education to back his plans for adopting folk-
song within the schools’ curriculum, a process which, if successful, required a printed score as
its final aim, not a documentary field recording. With regards to his educational work, even had
Sharp felt the phonograph to be a suitable method of transmission, it simply wasn’t going to be
practicable to provide every school in the land with wax cylinders, but it was eminently possible
to provide them with song books.

Of course, there is a degree of irony that a collector who, on the opening page of English Folk-
Song: Some Conclusions emphasised the scientific way in which songs were now being
collected by the revived FSS, yet hardly ever used the new technology himself, but he was clear
about it merit –

“Subtleties of intonation can best be noted and studied on the phonograph. The attention
of the collector is ordinarily occupied with other matters, many of which are at the
moment of greater importance, and it is, therefore, very difficult to record with
scientific accuracy delicate shades of pitch variation. Now, however, that English
collectors are using the phonograph, material for the study of this particular branch of
the subject is being rapidly accumulated.”

That he rarely availed himself of the phonograph can be attributed to the fact that for Sharp,
with his initial emphasis on education and later on, on folk dance, there were always to be
“other matters, many of which are at the moment of greater importance”47.

46. Sharp, Cecil J., English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions (London: Simpkin; Novello; Taunton:
Barnicott & Pearce, 1907), x.

47. Ibid, [vii] and p. 72. For Sharp on education see Cox, Gordon, ‘The Legacy of Folk Song: The
89-97 & ‘Towards the national song book: The history of an idea’ British Journal of Music Education, 9,
Chapter IV

Ralph Vaughan Williams

 Vaughan Williams and Folk Song

By the time of his death in 1958 Ralph Vaughan Williams had become the grand old man of British music, a role that he viewed with as much suspicion as he did official sanction and government honours – he only accepted the Order of Merit because he ‘always refused all honours and appointments which involved obligation to anyone in authority – the OM involved no such obligation’, but it was a role he couldn’t avoid, his achievements were so wide ranging and so universally acknowledged; nine symphonies, concertos, and ballets, as well as a select group of shorter orchestral and choral works that are now numbered amongst the most beloved in British music of the first half of the 20th century: *The Lark Ascending*, the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, the *Serenade to Music* and the *Fantasia on Christmas Carols*. As well as his compositional legacy, there is that of his one as a teacher and conductor, the most important positions being that of teaching at the Royal College of Music (1919-1939), and as conductor of the Bach Choir (1921-1928) and of the Leith Hill Festival (1905-1953).

In noting this litany of achievement it is harder to perceive the younger man whose doubts as to his technical skill and “amateurish technique” led him to take lessons with Bruch in 1897 and Ravel (three years his junior) in 1908, and who was to eventually find his own musical language, and free himself of the then all-pervasive influence of Wagnerian chromaticism via the two discoveries that he made between these two study trips; the pre-Victorian hymnody of both the Protestant and Catholic churches which he immersed himself in for his work as musical editor of *The English Hymnal* (1904-1906), and, nearly concurrent with that his own discovery of folk-song in 1903.

The cultural factors that moulded Vaughan Williams as a composer, his position in the “English Musical Renaissance” and the reasons for why he, of all his contemporaries, should have taken

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upon himself the mantle of folk-song collector are considered in Appendix VI and, as already noted in Chapter III, his epiphany discovery of folksong was so close to Sharp’s in both time and content, i.e. the hearing of a traditional song sung “in the field” as it were, that he found in Sharp not only a kindred spirit but also a fellow second generation Folk-Song Society member with whom to work with, alongside Lucy Broadwood, in reinvigorating the Society after Kate Lee’s tragically early death.

As with Sharp and Grainger, Vaughan Williams was already well aware of the concept of traditional song long before he had ever heard a source singer, even – as so many of them did before their collecting experiences – giving lectures on the subject! One from his Oxford University Extension lectures⁴ series the “History of Folksong”, given in Bournemouth in 1902, neatly encapsulates his received attitude to the present state of vernacular song in England, but also points the way to his attitude towards the role of the collector; the first part reflects the collectors usual concerns at that time –

“There is no doubt that folksongs are hardly sung at all by the people nowadays. They are only to be heard from some oldest inhabitant in an out of the way district.” ⁵

As is known, this sense of the dying out of vernacular culture is a commonplace in the collectors’ writings, and whilst with hindsight it can be seen as alarmist, that shouldn’t in any way negate the worth of their work, or, for that matter, the wealth of orally transmitted material that was tangibly saved by their concerns. General levels of education were altering, popular entertainment was as well, so whether one sees the orally preserved songs that these people sang, as Sharp did, as something “distinct from ordinary music”⁶ or, less dogmatically, as Kidson did, as something that “may have appeared on broadsides or in garlands printed from a non-literary class or it may be unprinted”⁷ the reality was that, in that form at least, they seemed to be dying with the generations that sung them and therefore they needed to be preserved.

But the next sentence from Vaughan Williams’ lecture is more wide ranging –

“That precious legacy has slipped out of the hands of those whose it was by right […] but the collector of folk songs gives them back once again to the world. Will they not perhaps make their way back once more to the mouths of the people?” ⁸

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4. The ‘Oxford extension lectures’, a movement founded initially to bring further education to the Victorian working classes by sending lecturers to the towns was begun in 1878 when Arthur Johnson gave a lecture in Birmingham on ‘The History of England in the Seventeenth Century’. By 1894 the system served over 150 towns and cities in England and Wales, over 40 in the North West alone. By 1908 it had forged links with the Workers Education Association. Rewley House, Oxford was purchased as a base for what was now called the ‘Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies’ in 1927, and the movement continues as the University of Oxford, Department for Continuing Education. See website at: [http://www.conted.ox.ac.uk/about/index.php](http://www.conted.ox.ac.uk/about/index.php) [accessed 27/06/11] and University Extension Centres on the Oxford List 1893-4, (1894) [Map].


8. Cubbin, n.35.
The latter half of this quote could easily have come from Sharp and it is easy to see why the two men consequently met at Lucy Broadwood’s home on February 6th 1904 to form with her a triumvirate where they ‘discussed Folk Song Society and made a scheme for reviving its dying embers’\(^9\). By this time Vaughan Williams had encountered vernacular song in the field, his course of lectures had been booked to be given at Gloucester and Brentwood, Essex between January and April 1903. One of the members of the Essex branch of the Oxford University Extension Lecture Committee was Georgiana Heatley, of Ingrave Rectory, who promptly sent him not only a list of the local singers and the songs that they knew but also a fragment of a song collected previously that she had located, and he was later to accept an offer of meeting some of the parishioners over tea at the Rectory on December 3rd of that year, and after being introduced to Charles Potiphar, a labourer, agreed to visit him the next day to hear his songs\(^{10}\). The first one was ‘Bushes and Briars’ and “when Ralph heard it he felt it was something he had known all his life.”\(^{11}\)

So began Vaughan Williams’ folk song collecting, an occupation that was to play a major part in his musical activities during the next ten years during which he collected over 800 songs as well as a handful of dances. In noting this number it should be emphasised that, unlike the Countess in Strauss’s *Capriccio*, Vaughan Williams had no doubt in his mind as to what was more important: words or music? He always concentrated on the tunes\(^{12}\), he was after all a composer and consequently, unlike Sharp could be quite desultory in noting texts, especially if he recognised the song as being from a common broadside, in which case he was happy to simply state as much when a song was reprinted in the *Journal of the Folk Song-Society*, often only giving the tune collected, though it should be added that this wasn’t just from a desire to avoid repetition in the Journal, it often reflected an earlier executive decision on his own part when collecting; if he recognised the songs text to be largely similar to a previously known version then he had no qualms about omitting the text altogether. Admittedly, he would occasionally take things a step further and allow a literary value judgement to creep into his evaluation of a text, such as the *Journals* printing of ‘Lord Nelson’ from Daniel Wigg which bluntly follows the first verse with the note: “The rest of the words are not worth printing”\(^{13}\), or the bowdlerisation of ‘There is a fountain of Christ’s blood’ in *Twelve Traditional Carols from Herefordshire* (1920) because the text “is simply full of the rather unpleasant imagery which is characteristic of much of the Eighteenth Century Evangelistic verse”\(^{14}\), occasionally the desire

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9. 6th February 1904, Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/18.

10. Cubbin, pp. 7-8, 10-11.


not to offend goes further, such as the printing of Mr. Hilton’s ‘The Mole Catcher’ sans text because “The words are unsuitable for this Journal.- R. V. W.” but these are fairly uncommon.

This is of course regrettable: by 1908 Grainger had already shown via his detailed phonograph transcriptions the inseparable nature of text and music in charting a singers style, how the fitting of an irregular text might alter a melody, or vice versa, or how a singer’s mannerisms or grace notes would dictate their scansion, thus also altering the tunes form, but Vaughan Williams had started collecting two years before Grainger and – though no doubt later advised by both Broadwood and Sharp – had had to initially devise his own methodology for collecting folk song bearing in mind the sometimes less than optimum conditions for taking down songs in the field it easy to see why a trained composer, if dealing with an elderly or enfeebled informant, would concentrate on securing the melody rather than worrying about niceties of text, especially if he knew that the majority of the text could be found in Chappell or Child. Furthermore, although he was to put the songs that he collected to different usages than did Sharp, he shared the other collectors suspicion of younger source singers and of the musical productions of the popular press, this was something he believed effected the purity of text, but less so the music. As late as 1952, in language strongly reminiscent of Sharp, he was to again take up this issue, in an open letter to the E.F.D.S.S Executive Committee -

“At one time, before 1870, we might have found, along with a certain amount of dross, a great deal of gold among our village singers. But after that date, when every one learned to read and write, the cheap and nasty press took full advantage and flooded the market with degraded stuff, which the people, for the very reason of their unsophistication, took hold of avidly because it was new and therefore must be better than what their fathers had taught them – Well, we all know the result – the beautiful art of the people nearly died.”

As such, with his deep suspicion of the value of textual integrity, as opposed to the value of what he considered predominantly aurally transmitted tunes Vaughan Williams’ beliefs can be seen as very much a reaction to the earlier ballad collectors for whom the text was paramount, and presents us with one of the biggest differences between his legacy and that of the earlier ballad scholars.

Furthermore, Vaughan Williams’ priorities were different from that of his compatriots; certainly he wanted to preserve traditional song and give it back to the general populace, but a major part of his methodology for doing this was via his own compositions and the forging of what he saw as a new national music, something for him indivisible from national character - “The art of music above all the other arts is the expression of the soul of a nation,” and which he based upon vernacular song and his knowledge of the great figures of Tudor Church music, composers then rarely performed liturgically but who, via the advocacy of E.H. Fellowes at St George’s Chapel, Windsor and Richard Runciman Terry at Westminster Cathedral were in the process of


being revived in both Anglican and Catholic worship but were otherwise little known to the concert going general public. Consequently his arrangements of folk song, for various combinations, unlike Sharp, weren’t composed for educational purposes but for the concert hall and the numerous groups of amateur and semi-professional choral societies that still were so common in the first decade of the twentieth century. Furthermore folk song was to continue, long after his collecting days had finished in 1913, as a central influence throughout his career, A Pastoral Symphony (1921), the English Folk Song Suite (1923), the opera Sir John in Love (1924-28), Job, A Masque for Dancing (1930), Five Variants of Dives and Lazarus (1939), and the film score 49th Parallel (1940-41), to name but the most famous, all either quote or contain sections in emulation of folk song, at the time of his death he was working not only on the Nativity Play The First Nowell but also the opera Thomas the Rhymer the tunes of both of which were all taken from traditional sources.

As pointed out in Part I, Chapter III, Vaughan Williams’ attitude was closer to Kidson’s dictum that it is not the business of the folk-song collector “to make a hard and fast record of one rendering of a folk-tune, with all its accidental inaccuracies, but to obtain what the singer obviously means” but he took this idea further, very nearly towards what I would describe as an ur-tune concept, except not in the sense of necessarily finding the oldest tune, but rather in the sense of what he considered, by his own aesthetic criteria, the most powerful or beautiful one, or sometimes simply what he considered should be the correct tune when a singer had difficulty singing it, such as when he noted two versions of ‘Monday Morning’ in April 1908, from Christopher Jay at Acle, Norfolk: the first three lines are devoted to a transcript of the song with the note “(this is as he sung it)” whilst the following two lines are devoted to what Vaughan Williams considered the “Probable tune version”.

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19. This was another interest that Vaughan Williams had with Broadwood, whose ecumenical attitude to worship was invariable conditioned by which Renaissance masses were being performed where, ditto her attitude to choral societies, see Diaries of Lucy Broadwood: 5th January and 11th February 1906, 6782/20 [Surrey History Centre]. I am indebted to Dr John Bentley for reminding me of Fellowes and Terry’s groundbreaking work.

20. Vaughan Williams was to only collect one more song in the field after 1913, ‘Raggle taggle gipsies’ [Roud 1, Child 200] from Juanita Berlin, at Lyndhurst, Hampshire, see Kennedy, Michael. The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams (London: Oxford University Press, 1964) p. 680. Kennedy also lists Vaughan Williams as having collected ‘Cold blows the wind’ [Roud 51, Child 78] from Arthur Jones at Monkland, Herefordshire, in 1922 but the surviving MSS clearly show this to have been collected by Leather and sent to him, see: VWML/EML/1/0/b/3 and accompanying letter VWML/EML/1/0/b/1, the three other songs collected from him on that occasion: ‘The Blacksmith’ [Roud 816], ‘The Irish Stranger’ [Roud 1629] and ‘The Low Low-lands of Holland’ (Roud 484) are all found, again in Leather’s hand, at: VWML/MPS 50(31)/12/96-110.


22. RVW MSS Collection (BL 54188) MS bk ii, p. 37.
A good example of this way of working, often with many years between collection and composition, is found with the two verses of Mr. J. Whitby’s ‘Come all ye faithful Christians’ [Roud 815], collected in 1905, that are found over two versions of “Maria Martin” [Roud 215] from 1904, one from Mr. and Mrs. Verrall and one from Mr. Booker, all pasted onto the third page of the untitled “Folder VII” manuscript; this folder is a work of uncertain provenance, but it probably acted as a scrap-book of “neat” versions of tunes, i.e. corrected and edited versions based on rough notes, that Vaughan Williams and Broadwood passed to each other for commenting on and checking variants for possible inclusion in the Journal (honours for editorial comment being equally shared between the two collectors). Both tunes are of course from the ‘Dives and Lazarus’ [Roud 477, Child 56] family of tunes and it was variants of these that over thirty years later he was to bring together for a commission for the 1939 New York World’s Fair as his Five Variants of Dives and Lazarus. Inevitably the tunes are heavily arranged, but each is recognisable from those early, neat-copy versions that he had noted so many years before. [see Illustration XII, next page]


24. Mrs Verrall’s ‘Maria Martin being exactly the same as the 3rd variant, but in the major mode not the dorian minor, my thanks to Dr. John Bentley for pointing this out to me.
Illustration XII. ‘Come all ye faithful Christians’ and ‘Maria Martin’
[“Folder VII”: RVW MSS Collection (VWML): Scrapbook 2 (Tunes) p.3.]
Courtesy of VWML/EFDSS
Consequently, although it is obvious that Vaughan Williams viewed his collecting work with the highest seriousness, it can be seen that for him the collecting of a tune was very much just the first stage, the means to an end, in a process of arrangement, popularisation and propagation of folk tunes within art music. Admittedly, his attitude to text could be cavalier, and he certainly did not have any sympathy with (what would later be seen as) the ethno-musicological attitude to tunes that Grainger trail-blazed, but to condemn him for not working in this way is essentially to condemn him for not doing something he had never intended to do in the first place, his aims and objectives were different, and we should instead be grateful for the legacy of collection and compositions that he has left us.

The Recordings

Given all these above factors, it is surprising that Vaughan Williams should enter into our history of the phonograph at all, especially as anecdotal evidence from his widow stressed his incompetence with mechanical equipment25 something that is certainly borne out by the technical short failings found in some of his surviving phonographs26, but as a skilled musician and involved with the editorial committee, it was inevitable that he should be called upon to transcribe songs from cylinders made by other collectors. Unfortunately (as has already been discussed in the chapter on Ella Leather) the effect that this has had on subsequent analysis of his work is that the rather unspecific credits employed in the Journal of the Folk-Song Society regarding phonographs has led to “transcribed from” often been conflated or confused with “collected by”27, consequently, on paper Vaughan Williams appears the most prolific of the English collectors with a phonograph after Grainger and Broadwood, when in fact many of the credits are purely for providing transcriptions and not for having collected the songs. As well as Leather’s work, this problem (as we will see at the end of this chapter) has also bedevilled the attribution of George Gardiner’s recordings, but the ambiguous credits employed in the Journal were simply the house style, and Vaughan Williams should no more be blamed for them than should the editorial board, the concept of the integrity of the recording as the primary source for consideration was hardly current then, given that what was perceived as important was the transcript that would propagate the song and consequently to the transcriber went the credits.

Another problem facing those who wish to track down Vaughan Williams’ recordings is that because the phonograph was for him nothing more than the means to a transcribed end, the documentation of the recordings – as recordings – was of little importance to him; consequently there is rarely anything in the manuscripts to suggest that a transcription is from a cylinder rather than from the singer directly, Sharp at least noted “Phonograph” on his manuscript pages, even if he then was to leave them blank28, but with Vaughan Williams we don’t always have that, thus attribution can only come from either those songs that were listed in the Journal as having been recorded by him, other published material that credits him as collector, or those

25. Conversations with Malcolm Taylor regarding his discussions with Ursula Vaughan Williams about Ralph’s practical shortcomings.

26. The most obvious of these is the variable speed that afflicts the first cylinder of ‘Banks of Green Willow’ [C37/1631], and the muffled quality of ‘The Miller on the Dee’ [C37/1580], probably occasioned by the singer being too far from the recording horn.

27. See, to give but a couple of examples: ‘Yonder Sits a Fair Young Damsel’ [Roud 542], JFSS, 13 (1909), pp. 267-268 [collected by Gardiner] and ‘Christ Made a Trance’ [Roud 2112], JFSS, 14 (1910), pp. 12-15 [collected by Leather].

surviving recordings, usually graced by a brief stickered note written in his most illegible hand, that in the EFDSS collection and which can then be matched to transcriptions from his own manuscripts.

**Questionable attributions**

Looking at these sources gives an initial list of thirty four recordings, but two of these are very problematic, and three can be shown as being purely transcriptions for another collector. These are all listed in Michael Kennedy’s *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Oxford University Press, 1964), so before looking at the genuine recordings it might be desirable to consider the problematic ones first.

The problematic recordings, ‘The Gown of Green’, and the ‘Basket of Eggs’ from Mr and Mrs Verrall certainly do stem from a time (if not the first time) when Vaughan Williams was making phonograph recordings, May 1907, but we possess no manuscript evidence to prove that these songs were recorded along with the four recordings (two extant) that have come down to us from the Verralls. Again, Kennedy was probably influenced in attributing them to the phonograph because at least one other song collected from them on the same date, the ‘Rambling sailor’ does exist as a recording, and because these two songs, which sandwich the recorded one in the manuscript are both noted without texts, but there are two points against this theory. Firstly that as the manuscript of ‘Rambling sailor’ clearly states “(Phonograph)” on it, it would be unlikely that Vaughan Williams wouldn’t have done the same to the other transcripts in the same notebook had they also been recorded. Secondly, that Vaughan Williams had collected from the Verralls no less than four times before, in May, October and December 1904, when they still lived at Monk’s Gate, and in November 1905 when they had moved to Horsham, and both ‘The Gown of Green’, and the ‘Basket of Eggs’ had been collected on previous occasions, it is therefore highly unlikely that he, who had little interest in texts and furthermore less need to double-check his notation than any of the collectors, would have expended expensive cylinder blanks on songs that he had already noted. Consequently it can be assumed that these music only manuscripts aren’t necessarily evidence of cylinders, only of the collector using his return visit to briefly double check the tunes that he had previously taken down. Vaughan Williams was to make at least three more recordings of the Verralls’, probably in 1908, but of these ‘Rolling in the dew’ hadn’t previously been collected from them, whilst ‘Salisbury Plain’ and ‘Covent Garden’ hadn’t been noted from them since 1904 so before he had access to a phonograph.

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29. Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54191) Vol.3, MS bk 10, pp. 422, 423 and 425 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212). Bk. 10 is titled “Essex Songs & Sussex”.

30. Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54191) Vol.3, MS bk 10, p. 423 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212) [music only].

31. It was of course of an arrangement of Mrs Verrall’s tune to ‘Our Captain Calls’ [Roud 602] that Vaughan Williams set ‘He who would valiant be’ (Percy Dearmer’s rewriting of Bunyan’s ‘Who would true valour see’) as Hymn 402 in *The English Hymnal*, entitling it *Monks Gate* [hymn 372 in the *New English Hymnal*].

32. Both the ‘Basket of Eggs’ and ‘The Gown of Green’ had been collected on 8 Nov 1905, see: Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54190) Vol.2, MS bk 7, pp. 291 & 297 respectively (Copy in VWML microfilm 212).

33. ‘Salisbury Plain’: *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 2 (1906) pp. 196-198 (version a) and Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54190) Vol.2, MS bk 7, p. 260 (Copy in VWML
The three recordings that don’t fall by rights into Vaughan Williams’ collection are Herefordshire recordings that are actually from Leather’s collection. As has already been shown, Ella Leather sent at least 60 cylinders to Vaughan Williams for transcription between December 1906 and August 1913 and whilst many exist as no more than titles in the two volumes of his Scrapbook, three of them, plus an associated recording that Kennedy doesn’t assume as having been recorded to phonograph have been conflated with his own collection because of their appearance in his Folk Song Manuscript collection (rather than in the Scrapbooks), namely ‘There is a fountain’ sung by Mr. W. Hancocks and the same song, attributed in the manuscript to a “Gipsy” but shown in printed sources to be from Mrs. Esther Smith, and on the following page in the notebook ‘It’s of a poor young girl’, also attributed to an anonymous gipsy. Although this collector attribution is understandable, with regards to the two versions of ‘There is a fountain’ their appearances in both the Folk-Lore of Herefordshire and Leather’s article in the JFSS prove them to have been part of her collection, Vaughan Williams’ involvement being that of the transcriber with the usual credit of: “Noted by R. Vaughan Williams, from a Phonograph Record.” ‘It’s of a young poor girl’ initially seems a stronger candidate for inclusion in Vaughan Williams own phonograph collection – possibly having been recorded on a day when Leather’s social engagements precluded her involvement, as on a first glance this song doesn’t seem to exist in her collection, but this is disproven by a passing reference in her letter to Vaughan Williams of 3rd of November 1908 which went with a batch (probably her second one) of six cylinders, where she mentions “There are 4 more taken, including repetitions of True Lover’s downfall, & Divus & Lazarus (Eardisley)” later noting:

“This is what I have now new.

“It’s of a young fair maid constant in love”, & Johnny Dale, from Mrs. Whatton.

“As I was a walking up fair London St.” John Hancocks, Monnington.”

‘True Lover’s downfall’, ‘Divus & Lazarus’ and ‘As I was a walking up fair London St.’ (now renamed the ‘Rich merchants daughter’) were all sent to Vaughan Williams the following week, as they are included in Leather’s sent cylinder list for the 9th of November, but there is no sign of the other two songs in the collections, until one realises that ‘Its of a poor young girl’ in Vaughan Williams notebooks, attributed to a “Gipsy”, is obviously ‘It’s of a young fair maid constant in love’ under a variant title, to clinch this matter, not only is the page shared with a tune-transcription of ‘Johnny Dale’ but the previous page in the manuscript is also of phonograph transcriptions, the two versions of ‘There is a fountain’. As I will explain later in my section on ‘Notebook 7’ these transcriptions are from the last section of the notebook where Vaughan Williams had given up any pretence of chronological order and where he placed his

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34. RVW MSS Collection (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p. 309. [FE: RVW2/1/172-3].

35. RVW MSS Collection (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p. 310. [FE: RVW2/1/174-5].


37. EML to RVW, 03/11/08: in RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [84[a]].

38. EML to RVW, 09/11/08: in RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84 ul].

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cylinder transcriptions, so there is nothing anomalous about the fact that these 1908 recordings follow a whole chronological series from the following year, in fact what this suggests, along with the fact that none of these recordings are included in any of Leather’s lists of sent cylinders is the possibility that these four pieces were never actually posted and that Vaughan Williams made the transcriptions from them during his Herefordshire visit in late July 1909 in readiness for Leather’s article in the following years Journal. Consequently we know that the two semi-anonymous transcriptions are actually of Leather’s recordings of two songs from Mrs. Whatton. That they were never included in the pages of the Journal might be partly due to Vaughan Williams’ note at the bottom of his transcription: “Note both made up of various imperfect verses”, in fact the only point of interest for the composer was the similarity of the tune of ‘Its of a poor young girl’ to that of the ‘Hunt the squirrel’ leading him to jot down the latter’s lyrics over the score to see how the two married up [see Illustrations XIII and XIV below and next page and recording C37/1585, ‘There is a fountain of Christ’s blood’].

Illustration XIII. Two phonograph transcriptions of ‘There is a fountain’
[RVW MSS Collection (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p. 309]
Courtesy of the British Library & VWML/EFDSS

39. EML to RVW, 03/11/08: RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [84[a]] and RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 [84 ur]; EML to RVW, 09/11/08: RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84 ul]; EML to RVW, 11/02/09: RVW/Scrapbook/2/124 [87]; and [undated list from 1909] RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95].

40. RVW MSS Collection (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p. 310.
A further piece of information that can be gleaned from the letters and notebook is that these four pieces must have been recorded over two cylinders. Leather talks of four cylinders to come in her letter of 3rd November 1908 and the other titles: ‘Rich merchants daughter’41, ‘True Lover’s downfall’, and ‘Divus & Lazarus’, all sent on the 9th, covered three cylinders. So the two songs from Mrs. Whatton must have been on one. Furthermore the “(1)” and “(2)”, numbering of the two versions of ‘There is a fountain’ on the previous page of Notebook 7 mirrors that of ‘Its of a poor young girl’ and ‘Johnny Dale’. As we know that both pages are phonograph transcriptions, and that the latter two pieces were recorded to one cylinder, and as the same numbering system was used on the previous page – rather than the “(1)” and “(1)” which would have been the case had they been on separate cylinders – it can be assumed that both versions of the carol were on the same phonograph42.

Michael Kennedy was indeed right in assuming that the transcription of ‘It’s of a poor young girl’ was from a cylinder; he was only in error in assuming that it was made by Vaughan Williams, but as the only reference to the recording was one made en passant by Leather in a letter from the previous year this is understandable. Attribution might also have been the case for the final two phonograph recordings that Leather made of Charlotte Stephens in 1913, especially as one of them ‘God our father’ isn’t to be found within her collection, but thankfully Vaughan Williams clearly titled them in his notebooks as “Phonograph Records of songs sung

41. There is no apostrophe in the title as given in the MS.

42. EML to RVW, 03/11/08: RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [84[a]] and RVW MSS Collection (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p. 309-10.
to Mrs. Leather by Charlotte Stephens aug: 1913⁴³, with these songs accounted for, we can turn to the known recordings from Vaughan Williams’ own collection.

**The extant recordings**

Those six recordings aside we are left with twenty nine known recordings, of which thirteen have survived – recorded over twelve cylinders, plus a further possible recording for which we have no evidence other than a detailed transcription⁴⁴, but to that should also be added (for reasons given below) the real possibility of there having been an earlier trial batch of recordings that haven’t even survived as listings. Those that are noted break down into the following groups –

- Eight (five extant) from a batch probably made in May 1907 in Sussex.
- Two, from the same year, of Henry Burstow, neither of which have survived.
- Four from Sussex in 1908 (one extant, but only on a 78 dubbing⁴⁵)
- Two from Norfolk from the same year that we only know of from a later list and a stray cylinder box lid⁴⁶.
- Six recordings (five extant) made in Hampshire in 1909, possibly in consultation with or following up earlier work by George Gardiner, one possibly with Sharp. Plus the further possible recording for which we have no evidence other than the transcription details.
- Two – both lost – made in 1910 with George Butterworth, 1 in Norfolk, 1 in Suffolk.
- Whilst five are from Herefordshire (two extant, on one cylinder) recorded between 1909 and 1911.

Though the earliest surviving Vaughan Williams phonograph recordings are from a batch that can probably be dated to May 1907, evidences in Lucy Broadwood’s diaries suggest that these weren’t his first series of recordings; furthermore one of the 1907 recordings does pose a question as to whether he was making recordings in the previous year.

To take this second point first, the recording in question is cylinder C37/1582, the lid of which states (omitting non-contemporaneous inscriptions⁴⁷):

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⁴³. ‘The Bitter Withy’ and ‘God our Father’, both in: RVW MSS Coll. (BL 54187) bk 5 – “Herefordshire Folk Sg” pp. 76v &76r. The former is also found in EML/1/23.

⁴⁴. Henry Day ‘A Sailor Courted a Farmers Daughter’, *JFSS* No. 13 pp 294-295. The transcription has four sets of variants and the lyrics for the last verse are missing all bar the last line, the former point doesn’t prove the use of a phonograph, but the latter, which suggests an unclear recording, does suggest one, especially as Day was also recorded singing ‘The Dear Irish Boy’, *JFSS* No. 13 pp.311-313, though it is very uncertain who made the “earlier phonographic record” that the Journal talks of.

⁴⁵. RWML 78 rpm record TPX 29.1 / March 35. [3 copies, Archive Nos. 67, 67 A, & 67 B].

⁴⁶. Lid to cylinder C37/1580, by the time the cylinders had got to the British Library this lid was on cylinder C37/1581. Actually neither cylinder reflects the lids track listing but the Karpeles/Slocombe numbering system shows the lid to have been attached to C37/1580 by 1949-50 so I returned it to that recording when I did my survey for the BL in 2004.

⁴⁷. e.g. the later numbering system Karpeles and Slocombe wrote on the containers in 1949-50. See
I / Lowlands Low / Part II / Atwater / Turtle Dove / 1 Verse / Penfold

With the names and titles repeated on the boxes generic cylinder label. [see Illustration XV]

Illustration XV. Label inscription on cylinder box C37/1582
Courtesy of the British Library & VWML/EFDSS

The second recording is indeed David Penfold at the Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex singing the first verse of ‘The Turtle Dove’ and the first recording is indeed ‘Lowlands Low’ (also known as ‘The Golden Vanity’, but the only evidences that we have that Vaughan Williams collected from a Mr. Atwater, are five songs (tunes only) noted from a Mr. Attwater (double ‘tt’) at Kingsfold, Sussex on the 27th September 1906\(^\text{48}\), but none of these are of ‘Lowlands Low’, to complicate matters though: this was a song collected on the same occasion from a Mr. A. Muggeridge\(^\text{49}\).

What conclusions can be drawn from this? Firstly there is no reason why separate tracks on a cylinder couldn’t be recorded on different occasions: though a tricky procedure, with the obvious proviso that the nature of the technology dictated that the first playing track would have inevitably been recorded before the second one\(^\text{50}\), secondly that if Atwater and Attwater are the

Part II, Chapter X.

48 The songs are: ‘A Sailor’s Life’, ‘Clear away the morning dew (Baffled Knight)’, ‘Green Mossy banks’, ‘Seasons of the year’ and ‘Seventeen come Sunday’, see: Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54191) Vol.3, MS bk 12, pp. 504-8 [as Attwater], 27 Sept 1906 [music only] (Copy in VWML microfilm 212).


50. This isn’t as obvious as it sounds, it is conceivable that a blank was recorded with more than one track only to then have the first track erased and recorded over at a later date, but this would require a very steady hand to prevent the new recording cutting into the preserved second track, and on balance I think it unlikely that Vaughan Williams would ever have risked such a procedure, likewise, although it is not impossible to record the latter section of a cylinder first, one is forced to ask why any collector would wish to do this as it simply makes an already complicated procedure all the more difficult.
same then it is possible, but very unlikely, that the first track was recorded in September 1906, but this does presuppose that either the manuscript or the phonograph box credits are incorrect, i.e. that Vaughan Williams misattributed the song to Atwater on the cylinder, or to Muggeridge on the manuscript. Neither option is impossible but what may be more probable is that Mr. Atwater (assuming he was the same singer as on the previous occasion) travelled the two miles from Kingsfold to Rusper to make a recording eight months later. That he should then have sung a song previously noted from a neighbour shouldn’t be a bar to this theory, since rural singers often have songs in common, and as Muggeridge’s version of ‘Lowlands Low’ precedes Atwater’s songs in the manuscripts it can be hypothesised that Vaughan Williams didn’t take down the song from Atwater on the earlier occasion, not only because he already had it from Muggeridge but also because, due to the concept of song ownership in rural communities, it would have been bad form for Atwater to have then followed up his neighbour’s rendition with his own version, something that wouldn’t have been an issue at the later session. This though is all conjecture. What can be said about this recording is that its title on the cylinder lid “Lowlands Low / Part II” presupposes that there must have been a Part I recorded, even though we have no other information on this lost cylinder other than the inferences that we can make from the surviving recording.

**Earlier lost recordings?**

The much more tangible evidence for there having been a now lost series of recordings made before the Penfold ones is found not in Vaughan Williams’ papers, but in Lucy Broadwood’s diaries, when on 21st March we are told that Vaughan Williams came to lunch bringing a phonograph and some unspecified recordings prior to a visit from Sharp “to discuss FSS Journal” after which Broadwood spent the next three days playing or showing the recordings to her guests. On the 22nd she “Let Mr Lidgey hear phonograph F[olk].S[ong].’s.” the following day “[Campbell] McInnes came […] let him & maids hear phonograph F[olk].S[ongs].” and finally, and most importantly on the 23rd she notes: “M’. W. Toynbee & M’. Graham Peel called. Showed latter phonograph w[ith]. records of Sussex Singers”, this was the same day when she used the machine to record two of her guests in the evening, a Mr. R. Jelton and a Mr. E. C. Strode. Broadwood had already had phonograph demonstrations from Grainger the previous October and December, the latter after the societies AGM, but it can be assumed that any recordings that she made before late June 1907 were trial experiments, since on the 27th of that month her friend the composer Graham Peel came round to her house to show her how to work the machine he was lending her in readiness for her trip to Arisaig the following month, the very trip where she made her first proper attempts at field recordings, those of Kate Mclean.


52. Lucy Broadwood Diaries 6782/20, for 21st to 23rd March 1907 and 6782/21 for the 24th. I am indebted to Dr. Chris Bearman for alerting me to these two references for the 21st and 22nd of March. Broadwood tends to spell McInnes “Mc Innes”, I have corrected this in my transcripts.


54. Entries for 14th October and 6th December 1906: Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/20. Again I am indebted to Dr. Chris Bearman for alerting me to these two references.
on the 11th July\textsuperscript{55}. Bearing these entries in mind, and that Broadwood makes no reference to making phonograph recordings in Sussex herself – something she certainly would have done, however briefly, in her diary had she done so – plus the fact that the references to them only come after Vaughan Williams’ visit on the 21st March it can only be assumed that these were the first fruits of his own experiments with the new medium as this visit to Broadwood predates the surviving recordings by some six weeks, but how much earlier, without any other supporting evidences or documentation it is impossible to say, likewise of who they would have been of or how many were made, though I would suggest half a dozen, based on the usual batches of cylinder blanks, as the probable maximum number.

**The surviving 1907 Sussex recordings**

These issues of the missing Sussex recordings and the possible provenance of ‘Lowlands Low’ aside, what does the surviving first batch of Vaughan Williams’ recordings tell us? Firstly, they are a remarkably unified group of recordings, and this is hardly surprising as they are all (Mr. Verrall and Mr. Atwater aside) of David Penfold, made at the Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex. The titles are as follows:

**Verrall: Rambling sailor [C37/1630]**

**Penfold: The Miller on the Dee [C37/1580]**

**Atwater: Lowlands Low [II], Penfold: Turtle Dove [I] [C37/1582]**

**Penfold: The Trees [C37/1583]**

**Penfold: Turtle Dove [II] [C37/1584]**

But the dating of the recordings is more problematic. The relevant manuscripts give us the 2nd-5th of May 1907\textsuperscript{56} as the possible dates, meaning that Vaughan Williams either made them on the same day that he visited the Verrall’s (the 2nd) or that, after seeing the Verralls’ he made an exploratory visit to Rusper, returning to make the other recordings over the next few days. A number of factors suggest the latter option: firstly although the ‘Rambling sailor’ was definitely taken down on May 2nd (the manuscript proves this) the same day as Vaughan Williams first met Mr. Penfold, the Peter Verrall recording contains so many differences from the other surviving 1907 recordings in both speed and packaging that it must have been recorded separately, for it not only plays at 160 rpm, a good 40 rpm faster than most of the 1907 recordings but it also comes in a faded grey Edison Bell box with a blue lid, whereas the others are all packaged in plain cardboard boxes with blue tops and bottoms; consequently it should be

\textsuperscript{55} Entries for 27th June and 11th July 1907. Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21.

\textsuperscript{56} C37/1580: The Miller on the Dee, see : ‘The Miller of Dee’, Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54191) Vol.3, MS bk 10, p. 433 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212) [music only] 1907 (2 & 4 May); C37/1582: Atwater: Lowlands Low [II], Penfold: Turtle Dove [I]; Re: Penfold see ‘Little Turtle (Turtle Dove)’, Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 13, p. 486 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212) [music only] 1907 (2 & 5 May) & ‘The Turtle Dove’, Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54191) Vol.3, MS bk 10, p. 435 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212) 1907 (2 & 4 May) [text/music]. Also, Journal of the Folk-Song Society 4 (1913) pp. 286-290 (version b) [but this version, from 1908 is subtly different melodically from the phonograph]; C37/1583: ‘The Trees, see: ‘The Trees they do grow high’, Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54191) Vol.3, MS bk 10, p. 439 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212) 1907 (3 May) [text/music], Lucy Broadwood Collection LEB/5/383 [text, 2 verses/music], C37/1584: Turtle dove [II], as C37/1582 above.
viewed as either being from another batch, the rest of which haven’t survived or, as I am inclined to believe, as a prototype. By 1907 Vaughan Williams knew the Verrals well, and would be able to gauge how well they would adjust to being recorded, therefore they would have been the perfect subjects for testing this new technology. Related to this is the second fact that David Penfold on May 2nd was an unknown quantity and consequently it was highly unlikely that Vaughan William’s would have made so many recordings of him had he not already ascertained on his first visit that he was a fine singer. Finally a further point to be born in mind is that at least one of the songs ‘The Trees they do grow high’ wasn’t collected on the 2nd at all, but only on the 3rd (unfortunately, the transcript of the 1st and 6th verses “corrected from a phonograph record” that Vaughan Williams gave to Broadwood is of no help, as it was obviously done some few years later by which time he was unsure even as to the year of the recording, making an incorrect stab at “1908(?)”.

Therefore we have a chronology in which Vaughan Williams tested the new equipment on the Verrals on the 2nd, ascertaining the best speeds and durations for the songs, then visited David Penfold and the others at the Plough later that day as a reconnaissance, returning on the subsequent three days with the phonograph to record the best singers and songs.

Assuming that Peter Verral’s recording is seen as separate from the other Sussex ones, other physical factors unify this set of Rusper recordings, firstly as well as the already mentioned plain cardboard boxes with blue tops and bottom, each one of the Penfold recordings has the same generic paste on labels to which Vaughn Williams had written the songs titles and the singers names, and as an aside it should be mentioned that this is the same packaging as two of the Leather Herefordshire recordings from the following year, C37/1585 and C37/1586, which suggests the Folk-Song Society probably had an initial pool of cylinder blanks from which the collectors’ drew when borrowing the recording equipment. Secondly with the exception of ‘The Miller on the Dee’ which was recorded at 140 rpm they are all recorded at the same, rather slow speed of 120 rpm. As already stated, Vaughan Williams had no ethno-musicological sense of the importance of the field recording, and it would be ahistorical to condemn him for this, but he valued a good singer and (regardless of his attitude to text) obviously preferred his recordings to be complete, a fast speed improved the sound quality but necessitated recording over more than one blank if the song was anything more than a couple of minutes in duration, hence his utilisation of slower speeds than were generally favoured. As a trained musician the commensurate lack of fidelity this brought about would have been of less concern to Vaughan Williams than many of the other collectors and this would have been more than compensated for in his mind by the increased duration. That said, two of the recordings are split over two cylinders, the already mentioned ‘Lowlands Low’ [C37/1582], the first part of which is now lost, and ‘Turtle Dove’ [C37/1582 and C37/1583], where Vaughan Williams clearly writes on the lid of the first cylinder “1 verse”, so here we a situation where he knew that he had a minute or so remaining and decided it was worth putting a long song over two blanks rather than waste a minute of the cylinder or shorten the song unnecessary. With regards to ‘The Miller on the Dee’ [C37/1580] this is a song noted in the manuscripts for both May 2nd and May 4th so it can be assumed that Vaughan Williams knew its probable duration and realising that it would neatly fit on one blank decided that he could probably risk a slightly faster recording speed.

57. Lucy Broadwood Collection LEB/5/383: ‘I have noted the following variants / Noted by R. Vaughan Williams (and corrected from a phonograph record / Mixolydian influence) / Sung by Wm Penfold Plough Inn Rusper (Sussex) 1908 (?)’.

58. The song [Roud 422] isn’t always long, but it can contain numerous ‘floating’ verses.
Unfortunately, as well as the projected Part I of Mr. Atwater’s ‘Lowlands Low’ two other recording from these sessions haven’t survived, that of ‘Henry Martin’ from Mr Miles, and a further David Penfold recording of ‘Salisbury Plain’. With regards to the former this recording is listed in Kennedy but seems to have been overlooked by other writers, as when Vaughan Williams included the tune in Butterworth’s Journal article Songs Collected from Sussex he not only neglected to mention that it was recorded to cylinder but, six years after the event, couldn’t even remember the year he had noted the tune, taking a stab at “1908 (?)”.

Fortunately the manuscript, though undated, is adjacent to the other Rusper transcripts and gives two versions of the song, the version taken down by ear and then, below that a second transcript clearly entitled “Phonograph version”.

More problematic, is the David Penfold recordings that we only know of from the Karpeles and Slocombe Phonographs list where cylinder “c” in “Box 8.” is listed (with a spelling mistake) as: “Salisbury Plain. Penfold (Rasper)”. Whilst it would certainly be possible that David Penfold was recorded singing this song we are faced with the problem here that we have absolutely no evidence other than this mention that he did so, with other factors making this entry suspect. Firstly the overall very good condition of the surviving Penfold recordings makes it unlikely that one of them would have been so poor that it didn’t survive the 1950 culling, and secondly as we know that Mrs. Verrall (see the section on the 1908 Sussex recordings below) was also recorded singing this song, it is possible that her recording went over two cylinders, one of which was later misattributed to Penfold, either sometime before the post Second World War survey of the recordings, or during it. This though assumes a fairly substantial error on the part of the previous cataloguers, so until the point when further evidence appears one way or the other, I have tentatively added this entry to Penfold’s list of known recordings.

59. Kennedy, p. 667.

60. It could of course be that the tune included in the article was only based on one of Vaughan Williams’ usual transcriptions, without recourse to the cylinder.


62. Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54191) Vol.3, MS bk 10, p. 431 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212)

Henry Burstow

The other two recordings that we know Vaughan Williams made in 1907 are the two that of all the lost recordings are probably the most keenly missed, as they were of the great Horsham singer and bell-ringer Henry Burstow (1826-1916), a literate, motivated man with a phenomenal memory who knew over 400 songs by heart, over eighty from his father, and was himself active in learning songs from other singers. Burstow had first come to the notice of the collectors when he contacted Lucy Broadwood around the end of 1892, and by the following year she had noted over fifty songs from him, restricting her collecting to those songs she believed to be ancient. Burstow of course possessed a much more catholic taste than the collectors, his published list showing not only a smattering of the “national” songs that Sharp (but not Kidson) wished to omit from the folk canon but also parlour ballads and other recently composed popular songs. Broadwood put his prodigious memory down to his other great love, bell ringing -

“Sussex church-bells and their ringers have been famous for centuries; village men will write out, and bestow upon one as a special favour, alarming lists of all the possible changes to be rung on six, ten, or twelve bells. They think musically in the numbers of their chimes. Mr. Burstow has often said, “Many of my tunes I could write for you in numbers.” And he actually has rapidly dictated airs to me in this way. The ears of these country singers not being disturbed by harmonies, they are remarkably quick in assimilating pure melody.”

And she was soon to point the novice collector Vaughan Williams in his direction, collecting eight songs from him in December 1903 and following this up each succeeding December for the next two years, collecting a further sixteen in 1904 and a further 8 in 1905. We know of his phonograph work from two sources firstly Broadwood’s English Traditional Songs and Carols from 1908, and Burstow’s own, ghost written Reminiscences of Horsham, published in 1911.

The former collection contains 49 songs no less than twelve of which are from the selection that Broadwood collected from Burstow in 1893. The third song in the collection ‘Through Moorfields’ is interesting for printing fourteen variant sections in the score, Broadwood explains in the Appendix:

64. Burstow’s song list was appended to his Reminiscences of Horsham […] recorded and edited by William Albery (Horsham, Free Christian Church Book Society, 1911; repr. with a foreword by A. E. Green and Tony Wales, Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions, 1975) pp. 114-119.


67. Twenty-two of which appeared in her: ‘[Songs from the Collection of Lucy E. Broadwood]’ Journal of the Folk-Song Society, 1, No. 4 (1902), pp. 142-177, 208, & 210-211.


“The tune here given was noted by Mr. Buttifant, late organist of Horsham Parish Church, in 1893, and is faithfully accurate to the version then sung by Mr. Burstow, as heard by the editor. The variants printed show the alterations made by the same singer, and recorded by phonograph in 1907, after an interval of fourteen years.”

And elaborates in the notes to the next song, ‘Bristol Town’:

“In 1907, at the age of 82, Mr. Burstow sang the song into the phonograph, with interesting variants which had established themselves during the interval of fourteen years. The words […] had also undergone slight changes, some of which have been used here as improvements. The whole song is of such interest that it is here given at full length, from the phonograph-record taken by Dr. R. Vaughan Williams, which he has kindly allowed me to transcribe.”

Which is then followed by a complete transcription of the song, marked “From Phonograph Record, 1907”. The last reference is from the singer himself (or at least as ghost written by his friend William Albery), when on recalling this visit he reminisced:

“[Broadwood] suggested to Dr. Vaughan Williams, a country neighbour, that he should come and see me. I sang to him such songs as he asked for, all of which he took down; some of them he recorded by his phonograph. This was the first time I had seen or heard one of these marvellous machines, and I was amazed beyond expression to hear my own songs thus repeated in my own voice. Many of these songs have been printed in the journal of the Folk Song Society, Part 4 of Vol. I., containing the largest number under one cover. I am glad to know that in these ways have been preserved the words and tunes of nearly all those songs of mine that come within the objects of the Society.”

These quotes are interesting for a number of reasons, firstly in that in this one case we have another collector (Broadwood) making a transcription of a Vaughan Williams collected recording, rather than the usual, other way round, and that furthermore, without these printed references we would have no knowledge that Vaughan Williams had made these recordings, since neither song appears in his manuscripts for 1907, ‘Bristol Town’ only being noted for 1903 and ‘Through Moorfields’ being usually attributed to 1904, though this can be proved to be an error. The book that it appears in (RVW MSS Collection, British Library 54189, Vol.1, MS bk 10) is one of his roughest “work in progress” notebooks, the initial fourteen songs of which consist of very rough field-work pencil notes, some untitled, all bar one uncredited, but by cross referencing the few identifiable songs, such as ‘Tom Block’ it is possible to deduce that these notes stem from the end of 1904, this though doesn’t mean that all of the pages in the book are from then, after the 19 pages of rough notes that make up these songs (pages 378-396).

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70. Broadwood, Lucy E., ed., *English Traditional Songs and Carols, with Annotations and Pianoforte Accompaniments* (London: Boosey, 1908), pp. 6-9, & [113].


72. Burstow, *Reminiscences of Horsham*, 110. Kennedy misquotes this on p. 647 of his biography as: “such songs as he asked for, all of which he recorded by his phonograph” which gives a very different meaning.

73. From Mr. and Mrs. Truell, at Gravesend Kent, the uncredited rough versions being at: RVW MSS Coll. (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 10, p. 395-396, the credited, neat version (music only) being at RVW MSS Collection (BL 54191) Vol.3, MS bk 3, p. 98.
there are then four blank pages after which we are given three pages written neatly in ink (pages 401-403) followed by a final page of rough pencil notes from the finale of A Sea Symphony, this work, Vaughan Williams’s first symphony, was written between 1903-1909 and the rough state of the notes suggests an early date for this page, but its presence also proves that the book wasn’t solely reserved for field-work pencil notes. The last of the pen transcriptions (page 403) is titled: “Burstow Moorfields last verse” but this follows two pages of Mrs. Verrall’s “Covent Garden” which have the inscription “Phonograph Reproductions” above it: consequently these three pages couldn’t have been from 1904, but must have been jotted down in the book at a later date simply because there were available blank pages in it. Consequently this leaves us with 1907 or 1908 as being the only possible years for these transcripts as Vaughan Williams made recordings from the Verralls in both years, 1907 would initially seem to be the more likely as he didn’t collect from Burstow in 1908 and the Burstow transcript follows the Verral one in the manuscript but as can be easily seen in this notebook, the later entries do not follow chronological order, and the ordering probably simply reflects the order in which Vaughan Williams set down the two transcripts on the day when he decided to write them up in a neat hand. Either way, this paucity of manuscript information regarding what are two very important recordings clearly shows that Vaughan Williams, like Sharp, wasn’t always at pains to transcribe his own recordings, or that we must be missing substantial sections of his folk song manuscript collection. Finally, in the words of Burstow, albeit via an amanuensis, we have proof positive that the new recording technology wasn’t viewed with the suspicion that some of the collectors felt their informants would see it, and whilst it could be added that Bustow was hardly a typical source singer – or at least a typical singer as imagined by the Folk-Song Society – his evident delight in being recorded should have been seen as further evidence of the value of the phonograph in making documentary recordings: it is therefore all the more of a pity that neither of these recordings have come down to us.

The 1908 recordings

These five recordings, four from Sussex and one from Norfolk are the most intangible of the series as we have only one recording extant, and that not from a cylinder but from a 78 dubbing made in the 1930’s, the existence of the others is even more problematic, in that we only know of two of them via their appearance in the unpublished Karpeles / Slocombe Phonographs list and the Norfolk one from a stray cylinder box lid.

Bearing this in mind it is probably best to consider the surviving recording first, Mrs. Verrall singing ‘Rolling in the dew’, recorded in August 1908. The first clue that the dubbing on the 78

74. ‘Through Moorfields’: Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 10, p. 403 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212), last verse only, dated 31 Dec. 1904 in Roud, but incorrect, see main text, also, not listed in Kennedy for either 1903, 1905 or 1905. ‘Bristol Town’: Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54188) 4to 1 MS bk, p. 16 (Copy in VWML old microfilm 57), 7 Dec. 1903 [music only].

75. VWML Archive [ARC] No. 67. 78rpm, TPX 29.1. (the library has three copies of this pressing, the other two being ARC. 67 A and 67 B).


77. Lid to cylinder C37/1580, by the time the cylinders had got to the British Library this lid was on cylinder C37/1581. Neither cylinder reflects the lids track listing but the Karpeles/Slocombe numbering system shows the lid to have been attached to C37/1580 by 1949-50 so it was returned to that recording.
is Mrs. Verrall is the *Phonographs* list where it is listed as cylinder “b” in “Box 1”, albeit attributed to “Mrs. Venall”! A search through the Vaughan Williams manuscripts reveals that this song wasn’t collected from the Verrals until 1908 and the songs appearance in the *JFSS* lists it as having been sung by both the Verrals78, consequently we have August 1908 as the second time that Vaughan Williams made phonographs of them, unless he held over recording until his later visit in September, but this is unlikely as there is no mention of this song in that visit.

What probably was recorded in September was ‘The London ’prentice’ which only appears in the manuscripts for the 6th of that month79, unfortunately nothing there refers to phonographs and our only evidence that this was recorded is the Karpeles / Slocombe *Phonographs* list where it is noted (again, as “Mrs. Venall”) as being in “Box 8,” cylinder “b”80. With regards to the remaining two songs from Mrs. Verrall that we know were recorded, ‘Covent Garden’ and ‘Salisbury Plain’, the latter, possibly over two cylinders, there is nothing so tangible as a recording or correct manuscript date. The former was first collected on 24th May 1904, and it is this version that appears in the *Journal* with the note by Vaughan Williams that “Mrs. Verrall won the prize offered by the *West Sussex Gazette* in 1905 with this beautiful tune.”81 but it also exists on two pages in the manuscript collection that have been previously dated to December 31st 1904, but these, preceding the already mentioned one of Bustow’s ‘Through Moorfields’ have obviously been misdated, for not only does the first page have the heading “Phonograph Reproductions” but it consists of a transcription of verses 2 to 6 (confusingly numbered 1 to 5), in which Vaughan Williams has not only noted the text of all bar the last verse but has also placed each verse on its own stave, the better to note the divergences in tune from verse to verse as they occur82 [see Illustration 16, next page].

Obviously 1904 is too early a date for such a transcription, so why date this with ‘Rolling in the dew’ rather than the previous year’s ‘Rambling sailor’? Certainly, the appearance of the song in the manuscript before the Henry Burstow transcript argues a 1907 recording, but as has already been shown, the appearance in the notebook is chronologically out of order with its other entries so the order in the manuscript between the two cylinder transcripts doesn’t presuppose chronology; what it does suggest is that at some point long after the pencil note transcriptions that make up the rest of the book had been made, Vaughan Williams returned to its blank pages to jot down some “Phonograph Reproductions” in neat, starting with ‘Covent Garden’ and then turning to the previous year’s ‘Through Moorfields’, but as we have no surviving cylinders or

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79. Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 6, p. 260 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212) 6 Sept. [text/music].


82. Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 10, pp. 401-2 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212) [dated in Roud “1904 (31 Dec)” but obviously much later], this error has been imported (along with numerous other ones) into the VWML *Full English* Project, caution should be employed when citing any of Vaughan Williams’s and Leather’s manuscripts from this database, but for ease of reference the FE number is RVW2/1/217.
packaging for these recordings it is hard to be dogmatic about the dating of these recordings. Had one survived and it could be seen to be packaged in either the same way, or differently to the earlier recording then it would be much easier to make an educated guess as to the recordings provenance, but as it is we only have the fact that the three other songs known to have been noted from the Verrals along with the ‘Rambling sailor’: ‘Orton Town’, ‘The gown of green’, and ‘Basket of eggs’ have all survived in the manuscripts together, which suggests that no other songs were collected from them that day – remember Vaughan Williams also had to travel to Rusper that day to meet the singers at the Plough – so it is more likely that the unattributed songs were recorded on a day when we know phonographs were made but for which the manuscripts are lacking.

Illustration XVI. Page 1 of the phonograph transcription of Mrs. Verrall’s ‘Covent Garden’

[RVW MSS Collection (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 10, pp. 401-402]

Courtesy of the British Library & VWML/EFDSS

The last of the Mrs. Verrall recordings ‘Salisbury Plain’ is another that is only known from the Phonographs list where it is noted as cylinder “e” in “Box 1”, the song had previously been collected from her in 1904, later being printed in the Journal, but after that it gets no more mentions; consequently it requires a certain leap of faith to place it with the other 1908 recordings but, for the same reasons that I have already outlined for ‘Covent Garden’, I think it more likely to have been recorded then than in 1907. More problematic, as noted above in the

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84. Journal of the Folk-Song Society 2 (1906) pp. 196-198 (version a); Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54190) Vol.2, MS bk 7, p. 260 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212), both 08/10/04.
David Penfold section, is knowing whether this recording was actually cut over two cylinders, with the cylinder “c” in “Box 8”, also titled ‘Salisbury Plain’, being its other half but misattributed on the Phonographs list to David Penfold by Karpeles and Slocombe – who themselves may have been following a scribal error on the packaging by an earlier cataloguer. The main evidence for this is that besides this list there is no evidence that Penfold ever sung this song, but this presupposes a fairly excessive error in attribution. Provisionally I have listed it under his name as reflecting the more likely of the two options, but with neither recording having survived it is hard to be dogmatic.

The final two 1908 recordings are the most intangible of our set, as one is only noted in a secondary source, whilst the other has only come down to us as a stray lid affixed to the wrong cylinder. At the time of the Karpeles/Slocombe review, their numbering system shows that this lid was attached to Priscilla Cooper’s ‘The basket of eggs’ [C37/1581] but by the time I was asked to re-catalogue the collection for the National Sound Archive of the British Library in 2004 it resided on the cylinder before that recording in the box, David Penfold’s ‘The Miller on the Dee’ [C37/1580], actually neither cylinder reflects the lids track listing but the Karpeles/Slocombe numbering at least reflected the box that it was attached to prior to 1949 so it was returned it to that recording. The lid simply states:

I / Mole Catcher / II / Morning in May / Acle

But that, the unusual village name especially, is enough to tell us after cross referencing with Vaughan Williams’ manuscripts that on or around April 18th 1908 he made a recording of Christopher Jay at Acle in Norfolk singing the songs ‘Mole catcher’ and ‘Morning in May’ the latter being the song that was listed in one manuscript (tune only) as ‘Monday Morning (Sign of the Bonny Blue Bell)’ but which can be identified with the cylinder lid title by noting that other versions of this song [Roud 579] unlike any of the other songs in Jay’s collected repertoire, invariably contain the words “Morning” and “May” in some form of combination in their first lines. This was also the song which, titled ‘Monday morning’ – as already mentioned on pages 155-156 – was noted in two versions, in the first where Vaughan Williams gave Jay’s version “as he sung it” following it by what he considered the “Probable Tune version”, to complicate matters, the back of the inserted lyric sheet gives a list of songs and singers, including three from the Bridge Inn (at Acle) in which ‘Mole Catcher’ is attributed to Debbage and only ‘Monday morning’ to Jay this may not be an error since (as noted below) Walter Debbage was to be recorded during the same visit. There is certainly no reason why he, as well as Jay, shouldn’t have known this song, but since the previous page and the tune transcript in the Journal both attribute it to Jay it can be assumed that it is his version that Vaughan Williams finally noted.

85. See the 1907 Sussex recordings section.

86. Lid and box were both numbered: 51.

87. ‘Mole catcher’: Journal of the Folk-Song Society 4 (1910) p. 87 [music only]; Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library) MS bk ii, p. 37(1) (Copy in VWML old microfilm 57) [text & music]; and for ‘Morning in May’: Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library) MS bk ii, p. 37(2) (Copy in VWML old microfilm 57) [music only], titled: ‘Monday Morning (Sign of the Bonny Blue Bell)’, both April 18 1908.

88. RVW MSS Collection (BL 54188) p. 40 verso & recto.

89. RVW MSS Collection MS bk ii, p. 37, insert.
The final recording we only know of from the Karpeles/Slocombe *Phonographs* list which lists amongst the “rejected” recordings “Fishes Swim. Ade”\(^90\): a search of Vaughan Williams’ manuscripts reveals that this uncommon song, also known as ‘The wealthy farmer’s son’ [Roud 1061] only appears once in his collection, from Walter Debbage, again at the Bridge Inn, Acle. With such an unusual village name it is easy to see how it was mistaken for “Ade”, but it proves that the Christopher Jay recording wasn’t a one off. Whether Debbage was recorded on the same day as the manuscript transcription is less certain, since this is dated April the 15\(^{th}\), and makes no mention of the phonograph, nor does the transcription in the Journal article ‘Songs from Norfolk’, though this does mention that the words were noted by Ivor Gatty\(^91\), which wouldn’t have been necessary had Vaughn Williams had a recording to rely on. Unhelpfully this only notes the song as having been collected in “April, 1908”\(^92\), but assuming that the printed transcription was of the same session as the manuscript it appears more likely that the Debbage recording was probably made a few days later on the 18\(^{th}\) along with the Christopher Jay recording. It is of course unfortunate that the recordings haven’t survived, but encouraging to realise how much can be learned from just one cylinder box lid and an incorrect non-contemporaneous catalogue entry.

**The 1909 Hampshire recordings**

Overall these are possibly the most difficult of the Vaughan Williams recordings to identify as being his work, partly for the already noted reason of the ambiguously worded credits regarding phonographs that are found in the pages of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, and partly because an already confusing situation is further compounded by two other factors: firstly that there is a lacuna in Vaughan Williams’ folk song manuscripts for that year\(^93\), and secondly that a large percentage of his collecting work in Hampshire covered the same singers and informants as the work of George Gardiner. These issues are connected, as I show in my chapter on Gardiner: the absence of some of the Hampshire manuscripts in Vaughan Williams’ collection is simply because, in readiness for the 1909 Journal devoted to Gardiner’s collection, he was retracing the steps of Gardiner’s previous musical transcribers, and consequently, rather than transcribe the songs from scratch, Vaughan Williams simply took the earlier transcriptions with him, approving or editing them as he saw fit after hearing the songs himself. Whether this was due to doubts that members of the Editorial Board had with regards to the veracity of some of the earlier transcriptions, leading them to ask him to make new versions\(^94\), rather than just reflecting a desire on his part to hear the songs himself, is impossible to say without further evidence, but the fact that he went to see the singers armed with the earlier transcriptions argues strongly that this was the case, though the fact that his additions to the earlier manuscripts amount to little more than noting variants and the incidental changes that one would expect to

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90. Karpeles and Slocombe, *Phonographs* [1 page, unpublished] WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder. 2 versions, one typed, one handwritten version over two pages. Full entry is: Box 8. (10) d. Fishes Swim. Ade. [the “10” refers to the fact that the box contained 10 cylinders].

91. Gatty was at Cambridge with Vaughan Williams, he is now chiefly remembered for his work on Mummers Plays.

92. Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library) MS bk ii, p. 36(1), *JFSS* No.15, p. 86. In the Journal Debbage is noted as “Debbidge”; I have followed the former spelling as this is consistent in the MSS.

93. Kennedy omits the year altogether, p. 675.

94. I am indebted to Dr. Chris Bearman for this idea.
find in renditions of songs made years apart by elderly singer, with no corrections of the main
tunes, suggests that the doubts of the Editorial Board were ill-founded and that Gamblin, Guyer
and Balfour Gardiner had each proved more than capable as transcribers.\footnote{95}

As I hope to show in my section on Gardiner’s work (see below), the evidence from one of his
letters makes it increasingly likely that he also made phonograph recordings, but it should also
be emphasised that the evidence only suggest one series, made in either late 1908 or early 1909,
consequently, attributing all Hampshire recordings from 1909 to Gardiner should not become a
default setting in much the same way that Herefordshire cylinders used to be attributed to
Vaughan Williams. Care should therefore be taken, with attribution – in the absence of firm
manuscript evidence – being based on probability.

Six recordings, four extant, can be posited as Vaughan Williams’ recordings from Hampshire in
1909, but this only gives a total of five songs, since one of them, David Clements’ ‘Banks of
Green Willow’, recorded at Basingstoke in January takes up two cylinders [C37/1632 &
C37/1638]. This recording is a good place to start as its appearance in the 13th \textit{Journal of the}
Folk-Song Society\footnote{96}, the one devoted to Gardiner’s Hampshire collection, reveals but one of
the many ambiguities in attribution that bedevil there recordings, for below the title is the text:

\begin{quote}
“Noted (and corrected from a phonograph record) by R. Vaughan Williams, Jan.,
1909.” [emphasis in original]
\end{quote}

The same inscription is also to be found with another recording made in January of that year, of
George Lovett of Winchester singing ‘Fare ye well, lovely Nancy’ [C37/1557]. Consequently
we know that Vaughan Williams definitely collected in Hampshire in 1909 despite the absence
of any contemporaneous manuscripts other than the revisions that he made to some of the songs
in Gardener’s collection\footnote{98}, as the Journal entry quite clearly states that the song was “Noted”
by him, unfortunately, “corrected from a phonograph record” is more ambiguous, as the note
doesn’t say who made the phonograph, though one would be forgiven for assuming that it was
Vaughan Williams.

Two other entries earlier on in the Journal are a bit more transparent, and can be attributed much
more easily, these are for Mrs. Randall’s ‘Yonder Sits a Fair Young Damsel’, collected at
Ellisfield, near Basingstoke, and Mrs. Goodyear’s ‘Robin Hood and the Three Squires’
collected at Axford, also near Basingstoke, both of which have the inscription: “Noted by R.
Vaughan Williams from a phonographic record.”\footnote{99}, consequently, as the notes for both of these
songs are by Gardiner, they feature in an issue devoted to his songs and that Vaughan Williams
isn’t cited as the collector it can be assumed that these two recordings were made by Gardiner

\footnotetext{95}{See for example the original transcripts, followed by the ones annotated by Vaughan Williams of
‘The Lass of London City’, George Gardiner Collection: GG/1/10/599 and ‘Oh Mother, Go and Make My
Bed’, George Gardiner Collection: GG/1/10/574. I am indebted to Dr. John Bentley for analysing these
transcripts for me.}

\footnotetext{96}{\textit{JFSS} No.13, pp. 292-293.}

\footnotetext{97}{\textit{JFSS} No.13, pp. 298-299.}

\footnotetext{98}{See ‘The Lass of London City’, George Gardiner Collection: GG/1/10/599 and ‘Oh Mother, Go
and Make My Bed’, George Gardiner Collection: GG/1/10/574.}

\footnotetext{99}{\textit{JFSS} No.13 267-268 & 268-269.}
with Vaughan Williams acting purely as transcriber (as he did for Leather’s cylinders) and being credited accordingly. But what of the two songs that he is credited as noting?

Two factors influence attribution on these recordings; firstly, although Gardiner did collect ‘Banks of Green Willow’ from David Clements, this was in collaboration with Charles Gamblin in 1906\(^{100}\), and secondly that the cylinder lid of the second cylinder [C37/1638] has scrawled across it in pencil in Vaughan Williams’ nearly illegible hand: “Green Willow / Best”, the first part [C37/1631] simply having “Green willow” but so faded as to be barely readable. A final point of interest is that the first cylinder suffers very badly from variable speed, the recording having been started before the machine had settled into its planned speed and then fluctuating later on as the mechanism runs down, fortunately the second cylinder (hence its being marked “Best”) is at a constant 160 rpm and it’s from this that the first recording’s intended speed can be gauged\(^{101}\). Whilst the fact that this cylinder was badly recorded doesn’t prove that Vaughan Williams, with his known mechanical ineptitude, made it, this factor, along with his handwriting on the boxes and the fact that we have no evidence that Gardiner collected from Clements in 1909 favours Vaughan Williams as the recordist.

Assuming that these recordings can be safely attributed to Vaughan Williams it is obvious that the problem of the first cylinder’s variable speed was of little concern to him in transcribing the song and it is well worth seeing how closely the transcript reflects what is on the recording and where it diverges from it. [see Illustration XVII, next page]

With regards to the latter we are clearly told that “Verses five and nine have been chosen for printing under the music because these were clearest in the phonographic record.” So the reader should not expect a through transcription as found in Grainger’s Journal article but what they do lose out on is seeing the way in which Clements finds his way, as it were, into the tune, with the first verse sung to a quite different, rather plain melody, which he then modifies as he repeats the first verse – most verses are repeated, something else the transcript doesn’t tell us – finally coming to a variant of the main tune for the second verse, and then getting into his stride and the tune that will be used throughout the rest of the song with the second verses repetition\(^{102}\). What the transcript does show us though is the way in which Clements varies the verse form of the song, not only with lines of irregular lengths but also with verses of but one line apiece (6 and 8), it is a wonderfully irregular performance, but one which the singer’s artistry keeps under a tight rein, the transcription – within the aims and objectives of its publication in the Journal, and with the exception of one error in the penultimate bar\(^{103}\) – does do it justice, but it is fortunate that this great recording has survived.

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100. George Gardiner Collection GG/1/9/535. It also appears in George Butterworth’s Collection at GB/6a/11, but this is a straight noting of the tune from the Journal that Butterworth wrote down to compare with the versions he had collected.

101. British Library Sound archive 1CDR Playback transfer dubbing : 1CDR0015631 was remarkably successful at digitally correcting the worst aspects of the fluctuating speeds but, given more time, the transfer could be improved upon.

102. Grainger, Percy, ‘Collecting with the Phonograph’, Journal of the Folk-Song Society, 3 (1908), pp. 147–62, and his transcriptions on pp. 170-242. It should be pointed out that

103. Dr Vic Gammon observes that the penultimate bar “should start on f to e”, but adds that this may have simply been due to an error in transcribing Vaughan Williams’ notoriously poor handwriting, see Hendy, David and Gammon, Vic, King, A.: Examiners’ Joint Report, 22 Jan 2016 (Falmer: University of Sussex Academic Registry, 2016), p. 11.
Illustration XVII. Phonograph transcription of ‘The Banks of Green Willow’

32.—THE BANKS OF GREEN WILLOW.

Noted (and corrected from a phonograph record), by R. Vaughan Williams, Jan., 1909.

Song by Mr. David Clements [Arr. 80], Basingstoke, Hants.

He tied a napkin round her head, and he tied it round
tightly. And he threw her right over both she and her baby.

O she shall have a coffin and the nalls shall shine yellow and my

love she shall be buried on the banks of green willow.

Variants (a) almost C♯ once, (b) almost F♯ occasionally.

Collecting attribution cannot be so easily proven though for George Lovett’s ‘Fare ye well, lovely Nancy’, in fact on first consideration it would seem obvious to ascribe this recording to Gardiner’s use of the phonograph as the cylinder lid quite clearly bears his surname in its inscription: “59 / mildewed / Gardiner / 39” but this is misleading as the hand that notes “Gardiner” is the same that notes “mildewed” and “39”, and as that number is the one given to the recording in the Karpeles/Slocombe Report\textsuperscript{104} the inscription must date from the time of the later survey, i.e. 1949-1950, with the authors’ attributing the recording to Gardiner due to the songs appearance in the issue of the Journal devoted to his collection\textsuperscript{105} without, that is, taking into consideration the fact that many of the songs included there were of transcriptions made by other collectors. The only part of the inscription that is in a different hand is the “59”, which is also written twice on the box itself and which certainly looks similar to Broadwood’s hand and thus could possibly be a remnant from an earlier catalogue that she made of the recordings, but in the absence of this it is impossible to say for certain the author or purpose of this other numbering system. To complicate matters further, the cylinder is housed in a generic, mildewed,


\textsuperscript{105} Gardiner, George B., ‘[Songs Collected by George B. Gardiner]’ \textit{Journal of the Folk-Song Society}, 3 (1909), pp. 298-299.
brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box which only appears four other times in the collection, twice among Sharp’s recordings: William Wooley’s ‘No John no’ and Alfred Edghill’s ‘All among the new mown hay’\(^{106}\), and twice among Lucy Broadwood’s own ‘Noted or experimental’ recordings: ‘The Trees they do grow high’ and ‘Tarry Trousers / Bushes & Briars’\(^{107}\), the last being the only one housed in a box that is not mildewed. This would initially suggest that the George Lovett recording could be earlier, and thus could conceivably be a recording made by Gardiner when he visited the singer in 1906\(^{108}\), the only time when we know he visited him, but as Gardiner only made one set of phonographs (probably in the first two weeks of January 1909)\(^{109}\) and since the journal entry not only bears an identical transcription credit to the David Clements recording, but is also clearly a transcription of the Lovett recording\(^{110}\), the evidence favours the cylinder having been made by Vaughan Williams, with the caveat that at some point in its early history the recording must have become separated from its packaging and was given a replacement case, probably by Broadwood if the “59” inscriptions are by her, taken from an earlier batch that had lost its own cylinder.

The next 1909 Hampshire recording is one that hasn’t come down to us and has already been discussed in the chapter on Sharp, but to recap, it is of Henry Day of Basingstoke, singing ‘The Dear Irish Boy’, and though initially collected by Gardiner and Gamblin in 1906 was probably recorded to cylinder twice, first by Vaughan Williams in January and then by Sharp about a month later. As already noted the entry for the song in the Journal states:

“Noted (and corrected from a phonograph record) by C. J. Sharp & R. Vaughan Williams, Jan. & Feb., 1909.”

with at its end:

“NOTE. – The song was sung very freely throughout, like an improvisation. An earlier phonographic record gives still other variants.”\(^{111}\)

As we know that Vaughan Williams also collected ‘A Sailor Courted a Farmer’s Daughter’\(^{112}\) from Day in January, the fact that he made the Clements and Lovett recordings in that month too makes it likely that he made the “earlier phonographic record” in January with Sharp doing the second one in February. Also, it should be added that while ‘A Sailor Courted a Farmer’s Daughter’ has no mention of a phonograph, it does have four sets of variants and the lyrics for the last verse are missing all bar the last line. As Vaughan Williams was a professional musician

\(^{106}\) C37/1558 and C37/1556.

\(^{107}\) C37/1555 and C37/1559, the term ‘Noted or experimental’ is the one given in the Karpeles and Slocombe, Report as being the inscription on the original “Box 2” of 10 Broadwood cylinders that existed before they culled the collection, and which contained C37/1559. C37/1555 belonged to “Box 9”.

\(^{108}\) Again, with Gamblin, see: George Gardiner Collection GG/1/7/397.

\(^{109}\) See section on Gardiner, Part II, Chapter V.

\(^{110}\) Proven by the variant opening of all of the verses after the first that is found on the recording also being given in the transcript, see Gardiner, George B., [Songs Collected by George B. Gardiner] Journal of the Folk-Song Society, 3 (1909), pp. 298-299.

\(^{111}\) JFSS 13, 1909, pp. 311-313.

\(^{112}\) Ibid, pp. 294-295.
the former point certainly doesn’t prove the use of a phonograph with this song, but the latter, which suggests an unclear recording, certainly does, but with no other evidence available it would be unadvisable to assume that a recording was made of this song but it is a possibility and consequently has been included in my catalogue.

Where we can be more certain is that when he recorded ‘The Dear Irish Boy’ he probably also recorded Day singing ‘The Banks of the Nile’ on C37/1592, although this song never made it into the pages of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* it is obvious from the manuscript in Gardiner’s collection that, making allowances for the changes that occur over three years in the performance of a song, that this is the same song. On the recording “trumpets” is replaced by “bugles” and “Oh the parting” for “For the parting” amongst others 113, but as John Shaw noted when he first made the link between this manuscript and the recording in 2009, the manuscript is “a tamer, more regular version of the tune as sung on the cylinder recording, but well within the range of differences that collectors have found between performances of a song on different occasions by a singer.” 114 Furthermore, though Guyer’s transcriptions were remarkably accurate, as Vaughan Williams was to discover when he later noted the same songs from the same singers with Guyer’s original transcriptions to hand he, along with virtually all the collector’s other than Grainger, was understandably more concerned with noting the main, recurring tune than noting variations and performance incidentals, hence the simpler tune in the transcript.

It should be emphasised though that we have no manuscript evidence that Vaughan Williams made this recording other than the nearly totally illegible inscription on the cylinder lid:

94 / On the banks / of the nile / 45 / Sept [?] 1909 [‘0’ overwritten with ‘1’] 115

Portions of which may be in his hand, but which – unfortunately – have been written over at a later date in an attempt to make the faded pencil legible, confusing the ‘0’ in 1909 with a ‘1’, and possibly miswriting the illegible month part of the inscription as well. For if ‘Sept’ is correct then that means that the recording was made at the same time as Daniel Wigg’s more clearly inscribed recording [C37/1629], but this is unlikely when we know from the *Journal* that another song from Day was recorded in the first months of the year. Admittedly a return visit in September certainly wouldn’t be out of the question but it is also possible that the month section of the inscription was so illegible that when whoever rewrote it did so they interpreted the inscription as ‘Sept’ due to that date appearing on the Wigg recording – that they also conflated ‘1909’ with ‘1919’ shows how problematic it is to take the inscription as we now have it on trust. Nonetheless, both possibilities suggest Vaughan Williams rather than Gardiner, the earlier date because we know that he had already made one other recording of Day at that time, the later date because of the dated Wigg recording and the fact that Gardiner was no longer collecting by this time.

113. See C37/1592 and Gardiner Manuscript GG/1/9/520.

114. John Shaw email to Malcolm Taylor, 24/06/09. I am indebted to John Shaw for first pointing this out, for permission to quote from his email and to Malcolm Taylor for forwarding me his findings in the first place.

115. See C37/1692. The ‘45’ numbering comes from the post-War survey of 1949-50, see Karpeles and Slocombe, *Report* p. 2 [unpublished] WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder [two versions]. The ‘94’ looks to be contemporaneous with the title inscription, but written in a firmer hand, probably Broadwood’s.
The final Hampshire recording is the one of Daniel Wigg, of Preston Candover, by Alresford, singing ‘Lord Nelson’ [C37/1629], this recording has been briefly discussed above and in the chapter on Sharp as its badly written box lid inscription can be seen as the probable source for the three other recordings in the collection that were previously misattributed to 1919 as the lettering on its box lid reads: “mildewed / Lord Nelson / 27 / Sept 1909”, but with the ‘0’ so badly written in Vaughan Williams’ worst hand as to be mistaken for a ‘1’ [see Illustration XVIII, next page].

Illustration XVIII.
‘Lord Nelson’, inscription on cylinder lid C37/1629
Courtesy of the British Library & VWML/EFDSS

Gardiner’s covering letter when he sent his January 1909 recordings to Vaughan Williams suggests that this may be one of his recordings, as he mentions – in passing – “A fourth puncture befell the car at Alresford”¹¹⁷, but the evidences from the Journal and cylinder packaging suggests otherwise. The most important of these is the ‘Sept’ written on the boxes minimal inscription, for although the song is identical to the transcription found in the issue of the Journal devoted to Gardiner’s collection¹¹⁸ the transcription, entitled ‘Nelson’ clearly states “Noted by R. Vaughan Williams, Jan., 1909.”¹¹⁹ whilst the cylinder lid, unlike the Henry Day recording, clearly states ‘Sept’ in Vaughan Williams’ hand. Consequently attribution can be clearly made for this recording as being one that Vaughan Williams made in September 1909 on an otherwise unknown return visit to Wigg, firstly as there is no reason to doubt the inscription on the cylinder packaging, secondly as the Journal makes no mention of the January

¹¹⁶ The others being Henry Day’s ‘On The Banks of the Nile’ [C37/1592], Peter Verrall ‘Rambling Sailor’ [C37/1630], the former possibly and the latter probably recorded by Vaughan Williams and Pricilla Cooper’s ‘The Indian Lass’ [C37/1628] recorded by Sharp, though – as noted in the chapter on Sharp – the lid for this cylinder probably originally belonged to another recording.

¹¹⁷ RVW Scrapbook 2/120.


¹¹⁹ Emphasis in the original.
transcription being from a recording, and finally because although it has been suggested that Gardiner continued collecting until at least September 1909\textsuperscript{120} it is actually unlikely that he collected anything as late in the year as that. He had permitted himself a brief break from collecting for the preparation and publication of his magnum-opus article in June 1909 but this was a break that sadly was to prove permanent with his last illness and death in January 1910: and though his collection contains a total of one hundred and twenty nine songs from 1909 it is unlikely that his own involvement with the majority of them consisted of much more than comparing them with the previously collected versions of the tunes or of cross referencing them with their already collected texts, for whilst the vast majority of them (one hundred and two) are unspecific about the month in which they were collected, they are mainly written in the hands of his associates, for example, the last series to give a specified month are the twenty-one songs collected in August all of which are in Guyer’s hand only\textsuperscript{121}.

One other thing should be mentioned though about the cylinder inscription, and that is that the ‘27’ unfortunately doesn’t refer to its date, it is in a different, more legible hand written within a circle and is simply the number that Maud Karpeles and Marie Slocombe gave the recording when compiling their Report on the cylinders in 1949-50.\textsuperscript{122}

A final point to consider regarding the Hampshire recordings is that with the exception of George Lovett’s ‘Fare ye well, lovely Nancy’, the other three cylinders have identical packaging - faded grey Edison Bell boxes with blue lids, whilst the speeds range from 160 rpm to 180 rpm, a sufficiently close selection to argue a related provenance, despite Wigg’s (and possibly Day’s) recordings having been made eight months later than the others.\textsuperscript{123}

As noted at the beginning of this section, the Hampshire recordings are among the most problematic to provide provenance for, the absence of separate manuscripts in Vaughan Williams’ collection for 1909 other than his editorial jottings on earlier transcriptions from Gardiner’s collection and the lack of any equivalent manuscripts from Gardiner’s collection, as well as the ambiguously worded credits in the Journal and the incomplete inscriptions on the cylinder boxes themselves, makes it hard to be certain as to who was responsible for making them. Further evidences at a later date may appear that will prove authorship more conclusively, but for the time being, in these five instances at least, the balance can be seen as favouring that of Vaughan Williams. This is far less certain in the five other Hampshire recordings, so they will be considered in the chapter on Gardiner.


\textsuperscript{121} See Gardiner Manuscripts: GG/1/21/1415-1435. GG/1/21/1434 isn’t credited to Guyer, but is unmistakably in his hand.


\textsuperscript{123} The speeds are C37/1631 & 1638 (Clements) 160rpm [first, variable]; C37/1629 (Wigg) 170rpm; C37/1557 (Lovett) 180rpm.
The 1910 Norfolk recordings with George Butterworth

These two recordings chronologically fall after some of the Herefordshire ones, but as the 1909 dating for some of these is problematic, and one of them was certainly made in 1911, these have been put together at the end of this chapter.

Vaughan Williams collected with his fellow composer George Butterworth (1885-1916) on two occasions, in October 1910 in Suffolk and Norfolk and in December 1911 just in Norfolk. By the time of these trips Butterworth was by then an experienced collector, having first noted songs ‘in the field’ as early as September 1906 when he noted half a dozen songs with Francis Jekyll in Herefordshire, five from the same William Colcombe from whom Leather was to collect so many songs. He was to follow this over the next three years with solo collecting trips in Sussex, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Yorkshire, Shropshire and Monmouthshire before reuniting with Jekyll in 1909 to concentrate on Hampshire and Norfolk, followed in 1910 by collecting in Kent and his work with Vaughan Williams at the end of that year. As with Vaughan Williams, Butterworth’s primary interest was in the tunes: of the 306 songs in his collection 174 are without words (though it should be noted that there are the lyrics for a further forty songs sans tunes) 48 of which were published in either the pages of the Journal or, arranged, in his own Folk Songs from Sussex (1913), which also incorporated songs collected by Francis Jekyll, but unlike Vaughan Williams he also collected a considerable number of traditional dances, 134 in total, 29 of which he went on to arrange. He was a founder of the English Folk Dance Society in 1911 and member of the societies demonstration team, collaborating with Sharp on the final part, Part V of the Morris book and its two sets of accompanying tunes, both published in 1913, the same year that he assisted Vaughan Williams on A London Symphony (1912-13) and composed his last major orchestral composition The Banks of Green Willow. With the exception of assisting in the reconstruction of a new full score


125. With one song apiece from Sussex and Kent. See Barlow pp. 158-159.


129. Butterworth had originally encouraged Vaughan Williams to compose a purely orchestral symphony (the preceding A Sea Symphony of 1903-1909 being choral) and Vaughan Williams was to dedicate the new work to Butterworth, see Lloyd, Stephen, ‘Vaughan Williams’s A London Symphony: the original version and early performances and recordings’ in Ralph Vaughan Williams in Perspective, ed. Lewis Foreman, ([Tonbridge]: Albion Music Limited (Albion Press for the Vaughan Williams Society, 1998), pp. 91-117.
of *A London Symphony* after the original was lost in the post, 1914 marked the end of Butterworth’s collecting work and compositions, since less than a month after the declaration of war he was to enlist in the Duke of Cornwall’s Light Infantry, setting him on that path to a commission, the Military Cross and his death during the Somme offensive that was to enshrine him as one of the great “what ifs” of British music.\(^\text{130}\)

With regards to the phonograph there is no manuscript evidence that Butterworth made recordings on his own. We know from her diaries that Lucy Broadwood gave him lessons in how to use the phonograph\(^\text{131}\) so it is surprising that the only two songs where we know he utilised the technology were collected with Vaughan Williams during their October trip in 1910. It has previously been assumed that Butterworth was also a joint collector of the David Clements recording of ‘Banks of Green Willow’\(^\text{132}\), partly because it appears in his manuscript collection, but also because he used the song as the basis for his orchestral composition *The Banks of Green Willow*. However checking the manuscripts reveals that Butterworth noted Clements’ version\(^\text{133}\) directly from the pages of the Journal in order to compare the tune with the two versions that he had collected, that of Mr and Mrs Cranstone’s of Billingshurst, Sussex, in June 1907, and Mr. Cornford of East Chiltington, Sussex in July 1908\(^\text{134}\) whilst the source tune for the orchestral composition is that of the Cranston’s.

The two recordings that can be attributed to Butterworth and Vaughan Williams were both recorded on October 25\(^\text{th}\), firstly of William Hurr, singing ‘Lovely Joan’, at Southwold, Suffolk, and then George Locke, of Rollesby, Norfolk, singing ‘New Garden Fields’. The second of these has the more tangible evidence, for not only does the Journal transcript plainly state that it is “Noted, and corrected from a phonograph record, by R. Vaughan Williams and George Butterworth.” but both composers’ manuscripts note that a recording was made, with Vaughan Williams writing “(also phonograph)” and Butterworth noting the variants between the phonograph recording and the earlier transcript that he made of the singer the previous April with Jekyll, enabling him to note that “most of the F’s lie between sharp & natural - & the same often with the C’s.” [see Illustration XIX, next page] Though less explicitly his comment in the Journal transcript only states that “The intonation of this song was peculiar and difficult to

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\(^{130}\) He was offered a commission in October 1914, was mobilised in August 1915, being sent to a relatively quiet sector of the front at Armentières. Was awarded the Military Cross for the way he commanded his company at Pozières on the 17th-19th July, and was killed on August 5th, see Barlow, pp. 125-133.

\(^{131}\) “17 March. Mr George Kaye Butterworth came at abt 12.30 & stayed till past 4 o’c talking folk song, learning phonograph etc.” Diary of Lucy Broadwood 6782/21, March 17 1908. My thanks to Chris Bearman for sending me his transcription of this entry.

\(^{132}\) This was an assumption that I had also made when I revised the CADENSA entries for the BL in 2004 so I am partly responsible for propagating this attribution, but recent BL publicity has now gone a step further in deciding that Butterworth was solely responsible for the recording, see: Miles, Tom, ‘The Banks of Green Willow’, and Tuppen, Sandra., ‘The virtual life of George Butterworth’, both on the British Library Music Blog; I have found no evidence to suggest that this is the case.

\(^{133}\) GB/6a/11.

\(^{134}\) For the Cranstones see: GB/4/10; GB/6a/9; GB/6b/4; GB/6b/26; and GB/7a/35. For Cornford see: GB/6a/10; GB/6b/27; and GB/7a/36; the other version noted in Butterworth’s collection is the version H. E. D. Hammond collected from J. Welsh in July 1908, see: GB/6b/28.
note.” Adding as an afterthought, of which Vaughn Williams would have been proud “The words were similar to the ordinary broadside version.”

Illustration XIX. Butterworth’s transcriptions of ‘New Garden Fields [GB/7b/13] Courtesy of VWML/EFDSS

135. JFSS 17, 1913, 334, in the article ‘Songs from Various Counties’, pp. 325-347. Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 12, p. 455 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212). GB/7b/13 and GB/7b/13A. The April transcript for this song isn’t noted in Barlow.
‘Lovely Joan’ exists in a number of manuscripts, but only two refer to a phonograph. The manuscripts show that the performance was noted over two days (23rd-25th October), with the transcription in the journal being dated on 24th, so it can be assumed that the recording was made on the same day as the other recording with the previous days being exploratory visits, since the Journal transcript doesn’t mention the use of a phonograph, nor does Butterworth’s tune transcription and it’s only in RVW MSS book 12, p.270 that states “(phonograph also)”\textsuperscript{136}. Whilst for a secondary source the Karpeles / Slocombe Phonograph list once again provides us with the information that prior to 1950 cylinder “f.” in “Box 1” was of “Lovely Joan”, but it should be noted that Vaughan Williams also collected this song from Christopher Jay\textsuperscript{137} and as it can be shown that he too recorded to phonograph it is not inconceivable that the Karpeles / Slocombe reference is to an otherwise unknown recording from him, but with the evidence provided by MSS book 12 it is more likely that this reference is to that of the William Hurr recording.

As can be seen from the fact that there are only two phonograph recordings with which Butterworth was involved, in both cases with Vaughan Williams, the younger composer had little need for the new technology. As with Vaughan Williams, Butterworth’s musician’s training meant that noting songs in the field held no problems for him, but unlike Vaughan Williams he hadn’t been enlisted into the position of being the society’s transcriber for those collectors for whom it did – possibly Broadwood’s phonograph class was an attempt to inculcate this role in him, but if so there is no evidence that he took up this position other than Dorothy Marshall’s later sarcastic description of him as “Miss Broadwood’s special Sussex collector”\textsuperscript{138}. This is not to say that he was opposed to the idea of recordings, there is no evidence of that, but it was obviously going to be far more convenient for him to use pen and paper than to lug around an unwieldy piece of mechanical equipment. Consequently the two recordings that were made can be seen as simply reflecting the fact that on that particular collecting trip Vaughan Williams brought a phonograph with him, and Butterworth was not opposed to them utilising it.

\textsuperscript{136} Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 9, p. 354 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212) for 24 Oct, Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 9, pp. 369-370 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212) for the phonograph entry, dated 23 & 25 Oct, an additional verse was noted on the 22/12/11, see: RVW MSS 8vo C MS bk, p. 25. Lovely Joan GB/7c/30, and JFSS 17, 1913, p. 330.

\textsuperscript{137} Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library) MS bk ii, 36(2), (Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 9, p. 354 (Copy in VWML microfilm 212), JFSS 15, 1910, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{138} Letter from Dorothy Marshall to Clive Carey, 22 Sep 1911, Clive Carey Manuscript Collection (CC/2/146). Marshall collected songs in Sussex with Carey but wasn’t a member of the FSS and by 1911 was firm on the Espérance side in Mary Neal’s disagreements with Sharp, nonetheless she was sufficiently aware of the dynamics of the FSS to be pleased at Broadwood’s moves to get Carey on the committee in the hope that he could act as a further check to Sharp’s plans (CC/2/150). She is an important figure in her own right as the one member of the Espérance Club to make phonograph recordings. Namely ‘The Young Recruit or The Orange & the Blue’, from William Lemming. Terwick, Sussex, nd, though Full English dates it (with, as far as I can see, no justification) to March 1911 (CC/1/9) and ‘Green Bushes’, from Stephen Spooner, Midhurst Union, Sussex, 21 Sept 1911 (CC/1/116). From the latter singer she also attempted to record ‘The Nutting Girl’ on 18 Oct 1911 but “this was not a v[ery] exciting tune, & he was get[ting] v[ery] horse when he sang it, & I couldn’t get it on the gramophone” (CC/1/131). As a collector independent from the FSS she doesn’t fall within the remit of this thesis, but I hope to return to her work at a later date.
The Herefordshire Recordings and Notebook 7

The two questionable Herefordshire phonograph attributions: ‘It’s of a poor young girl’, and its companion piece ‘Johnny Dale’ as well as the two recordings of ‘There is a fountain’ found in Vaughn Williams’ notebooks but which were actually recorded by Leather have already been considered. This leaves us with five recordings (over four cylinders). The main problem with these is deciding on a date for them, one of them ‘One oh’ can be safely noted as being from 1911, the manuscript says as much, but the others are far more problematic. Four of the pieces are found in the same notebook – RVW 54189 (Vol.1), notebook 7, whilst the missing piece, the ‘Hornpipes’ found on cylinder C37/1590 is a companion recording, on the same cylinder, to one of the songs – ‘A bold young farmer’ – in the notebook and which thus must be contemporaneous. Consequently dating the recordings should be easy, unfortunately, whilst notebook 7 starts out as a diligent, day by day set of working notes of Vaughan Williams’ collecting work in Herefordshire in 1909 it soon becomes far more problematic: It begins with Mrs. Wheeler singing ‘A man shall live’ at Weobley on the 29th June, proceeds, via songs from Mr. Richards, the Hirons, children’s games, William Colcombe and Mrs. Powell to a surprisingly large selection of 39 songs and tunes from no less than 12 informants on the following day. Not surprisingly the transcripts are simple and brief and many of the singers are listed only by their surnames, if that. What though isn’t clear is whether all these songs and tunes were taken down on the same day, since only page 287 gives that date, the notebook not providing another one until page 313’s listing of the phonograph record of ‘One oh’ from October 1911. Physical inspection of the book shows the handwriting and ink of the entries between pages 287 and 312 to be stylistically related even though page 309 is of recordings from the previous year, and 310-312 of pieces collected without Leather, whilst the remaining three pages (313-315) seem to have been written in at a later date, probably in this book because the new entries were geographically related and the back pages were unused, much as I earlier showed had been the case with the transcription of Mrs. Verrall’s ‘Covent Garden’ in note-book 10: what is harder to decide is whether all the related transcriptions were made on July 30th or continued over the next couple of days, with Vaughan Williams neglecting to note the dates.

39 certainly isn’t an impossible number of tunes to be noted in one day if collecting from an informant used to being collected from, but otherwise it is an improbable total. Furthermore, whilst many of the transcripts can be matched with published versions that, unhelpfully, only give the month, or in some cases only the year of that song, a few do give more specific dates and not all agree with the that of July 30th. For example, Mr. Lewis singing ‘The Moon shines bright’ is noted in the copy in Lucy Broadwood’s collection as having been collected on the

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140. ‘The Bitter Withy’: RVW MSS Coll. (BL 54187) bk 5 – “Herefordshire Folk Sg” pp. 76v &76r. Also found in EML/1/23.


142. The Roud index gives all the 1909 dates in this MS as 1908, but although written in Vaughan Williams usual clumsy hand the three dated pages in the main section of the notebook on pp. 278, 280, and 287 are all 1909.

143. RVW MSS Collection, British Library 54189, Vol.1, MS bk 10, pp. 401-402.
31\textsuperscript{144}, whilst Mrs. Ellen Powell’s ‘Stockings & gown’ is also listed there as having been collected on the 27th of that month.\textsuperscript{145}

If the entries aren’t seen as all being collected on the same date, two approaches are possible with these discrepancies: one can either assume that Vaughan Williams and (in the cases of the songs that she co-collected with him) Leather were in the habit of making more than one visit to a singer during this song collecting trip, as, for example, with Mrs Powell, collected from on both the 29\textsuperscript{th} and the 30\textsuperscript{th} of July\textsuperscript{146}, and thus taking down the same song on different days, or one assumes that the few dates in the notebook, whilst trustworthy enough for the songs that they are written with, shouldn’t be applied to any of the adjacent entries unless confirmed from other sources. The latter seems the more workable hypothesis as enough separate sources identify these songs from 27\textsuperscript{th} July to (in one case\textsuperscript{147}) the beginning of August to suggest that Vaughan Williams remembered to date songs on the 30\textsuperscript{th}, but neglected to do so on most of the other days, consequently the entries from pages 278 to 308 should be seen as falling between these dates, roughly chronologically.

As already mentioned pages 309-312 are stylistically similar in terms of the handwriting, but can be shown to originate from different occasions. Pages 309 consists of the already mentioned transcriptions of the two recordings made by Leather of ‘There is a fountain’ in October 1908, the first from Esther Smith\textsuperscript{148} the second from Mr. W. Hancocks. The recordings are known to be ones that Leather made and, as they don’t fit chronologically with the preceding pages, one interpretation is that Vaughan Williams played the recordings during his 1909 visit, noting the tunes in readiness for Leather’s forthcoming article ‘Carols from Herefordshire’ which was to make up the bulk of the following years Journal. This movement from the strict chronology of the preceding pages, continues on the following page with the already discussed ‘Its of a poor young girl’ and ‘Johnny Dale’, both credited to an anonymous “Gipsy”, but actually from Mrs. Whatton, as shown by Leather’s letter of 3/11/08 to Vaughan Williams\textsuperscript{149}. the former being the song which Kennedy cited as being from a phonograph, probably due to the previous page of phonograph transcriptions, but for which no evidence can be found in the manuscripts. The next two of the pieces, both on page 311, the dance tunes ‘Hunt the squirrel’ and ‘Weobley Morris dance Sheep Skins’ are found in Leather’s collection, but only in the loose pages of transcriptions at the back of her Notebook taken down by Sharp from John Lock and William Preece in December 1909\textsuperscript{150}. Unfortunately Vaughan Williams doesn’t credit the performer on

\textsuperscript{144} LEB/5/263.

\textsuperscript{145} LEB/5/265.

\textsuperscript{146} For the 29th see: Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p. 286. For the 30th: Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p. 287-291.

\textsuperscript{147} Mr Floyd’s ‘The Young and Single Sailor’, 30 June in the MS, 54189, bk 7, p. 291, but August in the JFSS, 15, 1910, pp. 127-129.

\textsuperscript{148} Only credited in the manuscript to “Gipsy” but identified with Smith in the Journal – though incorrectly giving her first name as Eliza, see: JFSS 14 (1910), pp. 21-22.

\textsuperscript{149} EML to RVW, 03/11/08, RVW/Scrapbook/119 [84]. FE: RVW1/1/121.

the page so it can only be assumed that, as Morris tunes, they weren’t from the same unidentified “Gipsy” who sang the two previous songs (this was Mrs. Whatton.) With such a vague attribution it is impossible to say for certain who they are from, though, based on the Sharp transcriptions in the Leather Notebook, John Lock is the most likely candidate, a point made more probable as the next but one page (313) has “Dance tune / allegro (Locke)” as its second entry. These two entries are clearly titled ‘Herefordshire phonograph set’ and as well as the dance tune the page also includes a version of ‘Come all you worthy Christians’ [Roud 815] beginning with the line ‘O Job he was a patient man’, but other than that he was credited as the informant of the succeeding dance tune we have no other evidence that the accompanying song was also from Lock, furthermore it is uncertain which year these two entries were recorded, as no date is given, following the pattern of the previous entries then late August to early September 1909 would be the most likely time, but given the way that the notebook entries cease to follow chronological order once they become phonograph transcriptions this is provisional, Kennedy gives October 1910 for these and the succeeding two pages, probably based on the date found on page 314 of the manuscript, but quite apart from the fact that he misreads the year, (actually 1911151), the lack of any consistent dating system by this point in the notebook means that what is probably a discrete entry on this page could hardly be seen as representative for any of its contiguous pages, for by this point the notebook had gone the same way as the Sussex transcripts in book 10152 in that it was no longer a selection from one collecting trip, but was rather a book devoted to one county to which Vaughan Williams returned when he had additional later (or, for that matter, earlier) transcriptions to add. Nonetheless page 314 is helpful in that it is also clearly titled as being from a recording - ‘One oh’ (Phonograph), the song being a version of ‘The Dilly Song’ [Roud 133], unfortunately whilst the date ‘Oct 1911’ is given the informant isn’t, but ‘The Dilly Song’ is also to be found on page 302 of the same notebook, from a Mr. Dykes “In the Inn at Pembridge” where, the collector notes – “Note all rather doubtful as Dykes was in a great hurry”153. The only other time that Vaughan Williams collected this song it was from the same singer at Weobley in September 1912154, consequently whilst it is possible that Vaughan Williams neglected to get the name of his informant for the recording it is more likely that, as Dykes is mentioned earlier as a singer of this song, and we have no knowledge of Vaughan Williams having collected it from anyone else, that he simply didn’t need to give the singers name on that page.

The next page, 315, is arguably the most important in the book with regards to identifying a recording; it is of a Mr. Jones singing ‘A bold young farmer’ (written ‘A bold yᵉ farmer’) [see Illustration XX, next page] which due to the singer knowing it by one of the rarer titles by which this song is known.

151. Kennedy, p. 676.

152. 54189. Vol.1, MS bk 10.


154. Ralph Vaughan Williams MSS Collection (British Library 54187) 8vo D MS bk, p.20 (Copy in VWML microfilm 211), for this manuscript the singers name looks more like “Dukes” but this can be put down to the collectors handwriting rather than that two singers who knew the song near Weobley had similar names.
Illustration XX. Transcription of ‘A bold young farmer’
[RWW MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p. 315]
Courtesy of the British Library & VWML/EFDSS

has previously been overlooked in past surveys of the cylinders, and were the transcript of the tune only it is highly unlikely that its relationship to the recordings would ever have been noticed. However, luckily the transcript includes the words of two verses, and these show the song to be of the common ‘Died for Love’ family of songs, also known as ‘I wish I wish’ and ‘There is an Ale house’ [Roud 60; Laws P25], the latter being the title of the song performed by the unidentified singer on cylinder C37/1590, and when this transcript is followed against the recording it is obvious that they are one and the same, the transcription isn’t textually exact, Vaughan Williams writes “and me poor girl was in cold clay” for the third lines “and me poor girl all in cold clay” and “and down she lay then no more she spoke” for the seventh lines “and down she lay then no more were spoke” but he didn’t have the luxury of a digital copy of the recording to play over again for confirmation, each play damaged the wax, and considering that the number of viable plays was strictly limited it is impressive how close the transcribed text is to the source recording. Likewise, the musical transcription is remarkably close to its source, grace notes, phrasing (as represented by a series of notes for one word), and meter are all to be found in the transcription to exactly match the recording, this is not one of Vaughan Williams’ neat arranged transcripts, it is a straight version of what he heard on the cylinder, consequently, although there is nothing other than the transcriptions position in the notebook to suggest that it is from a phonograph, two assertions can be made about this recording: firstly that it can be safely stated that the recording is of Mr. Jones, and secondly that as the recording shares its cylinder with the famous “Dance Tunes / played by Locke” recording, and because we know

155. The original cylinder box label inscription for C37/1590 is “good for / 30 secs / There is an Ale house / Dance Tunes / played by Locke”. The 8 in a circle after “30 secs” is a later edition from the Karpeles / Slocombe Report.
that Vaughan Williams recorded Lock because of the “Dance tune / allegro (Locke)” transcription on page 313, the recordings can be provisionally dated from late July to early August 1909.

But these two factors point one to an even more dramatic revelation, namely that if the first piece on cylinder C37/1590 is, as it surely must be, of Mr. Jones on page 315 of Vaughan Williams’s notebook, then the contiguous recording of Lock on that cylinder must have been made by Vaughan Williams and not by Sharp. A considerable amount of critical fuel, including part of an article by this writer, has been bestowed on this famous recording, assuming that it had been made by Sharp\(^{156}\), mainly because his manuscripts replicates the titling mistake found on the base of the cylinder. As has already been noted in my chapter on Leather, two of the dances listed in the loose pages in Sharp’s hand found at the back of Leather’s notebook are known to have been recorded by her at the time: ‘Sheepskins’, which Sharp noted as ‘Tested by phonographic record taken by Mrs. Leather’\(^{157}\), and ‘The Morris Dance’, subsequently published in *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire*\(^{158}\), which was initially titled ‘Sheepskins’ in the Notebook appendix but subsequently re-titled, with the following explanation by Sharp, ‘This was noted from phonographic record taken by Mrs. Leather. Locke told her this was “Sheepskins” but he gave me the other tune (2416) by that name.’\(^{159}\) Only for Sharp to confusingly then title it “Cobbler”\(^{160}\). Under these circumstances it is understandable that the provenance of the hornpipe on C37/1590 has been conflated with these transcriptions because the notes on the cylinder (in, unfortunately, an unidentified hand) repeat these confusions, the inscription on the cover innocently reading ‘There is an Ale house / Dance Tunes / played by Locke’, but that on the bottom of the box clearly stating: ‘There is / an ale house / Gipsy / Locke / Sh[ee]pskins / Hornpipes’.\(^{160}\) Not surprisingly, this has been taken to prove that Sharp made the recording, the main caveat against which being that whilst there is no reason to assume that the recording is not of Lock it bears no resemblance at all to any of the Lock tunes in the manuscripts, least of all to those that Sharp finally decided to call either ‘Sheepskins’ or ‘The Morris Dance’.

Another point that should be mentioned is that one piece of evidence that I used at length in my *Folk Music Journal* article on Leather to prove that the Hornpipes recording was by Sharp and not Leather was to show just how different the cylinder and its packaging was to the other surviving Herefordshire recordings\(^{161}\), as I noted, two of Leather’s Herefordshire cylinders were housed in plain cardboard boxes with blue card tops and bottoms\(^{162}\), (the same packaging


\(^{157}\) EML/1/Ap/14; Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, p. 2416.

\(^{158}\) *Folk-Lore of Herefordshire*, p. 131.

\(^{159}\) EML/1/Ap/2; Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes, p. 2426. In the Sharp MSS this tune is titled ‘Sheepskins (?)’.

\(^{160}\) EFDSS Wax Cylinder Collection, C37/1590.


\(^{162}\) EFDSS Wax Cylinder Collection, C37/1585, Esther Smith, ‘There Is a Fountain of Christ’s Blood’ (the label also lists ‘Hancocks’, but there is only one track audible on the cylinder); C37/1586, Mrs Ellen Powell, 1. ‘Pretty Caroline’, 2. [‘Thresherman’].
as is found on a number of Vaughan Williams’ own recordings\(^{163}\). Admittedly the third one was in a blue Edison Bell ‘Gold Moulded’ box, and therefore must have belonged to a different series from the others.\(^{164}\) However, all three had identical, generic, ‘With Care’ stickers pasted on to them, with the titles written in Vaughan Williams’ worst handwriting. The final piece of evidence that these three cylinders were from the same collection is that not only were they all made from the same brown wax, but each was recorded at 140 rpm, whereas the Hornpipes cylinder is a very different article, for not only is it in a different, hand-made, plain blue box, but the generic label gave the details in a very different, unidentified hand. Furthermore, this recording was made at 160 rpm, and was cut on to a hard black wax, more like Bakelite than the softer brown wax of the other recordings.\(^{165}\) Consequently, whether or not this recording was made at the same time as Leather’s no longer extant cylinders of Lock, the substantial differences from the other surviving cylinders, in terms of packaging, type of wax, speed, and inscriptions, argue that this item, though of Herefordshire recordings wasn’t from Leather’s collection. My error was in assuming – as it was so different from Vaughn Williams’ cylinders – that it must have been from Sharp’s collection, but with the irrefutable evidence of ‘A bold young farmer’ in Notebook 7, these evidences (still valid in that it isn’t a recording by Leather) now have to be squared with the probability that it isn’t by Sharp either. Of course, one thing that should be borne in mind is that the similarity in packaging and inscriptions on the Leather recordings that Vaughan Williams transcribed is inevitable in that she would have sent him batches with explanatory lists of titles that he would have then, at his leisure, written onto the generic labels. If, as looks increasingly likely, this cylinder was from a set of Vaughan Williams Herefordshire recordings made when Leather wasn’t present it is understandable that it should, physically be of such a different batch, furthermore, as already noted, the inscription is in a different, unidentified hand; now if one assumes that Vaughan Williams had made the recording himself it would fit within his rather cavalier methodology not to bother to title it, after all, he knew what was on the cylinder, leaving that task to some later assistant or archivist.

Of course, it is not inconceivable that a cylinder may contain recordings from two separate sessions, though such a procedure is hardly practicable when the maximum possible duration on a cylinder – without adversely affecting sound quality – is no more than five minutes at the slowest speed, and furthermore such a procedure, requiring manual set-up, would have entailed the risk of either recording over the end of the first recording or wasting a substantial amount of the middle section of the blank. If a cylinder was to be reused all of it would be blanked, so it is therefore highly unlikely that a half used cylinder would be passed to a collector for them to only reuse its blank second section, not only for the difficulties attendant on making a recording halfway through a cylinder rather than at its beginning, but also because the short duration, variable speeds and fragile nature of the blanks made such an activity impractical. For the same

\(^{163}\) EFDSS Wax Cylinder Collection, C37/1580, C37/1582, C37/1583, C37/1584.

\(^{164}\) EFDSS Wax Cylinder Collection, C37/1587, [Mr Davies], 1. ‘John Riley’ ['Americkay’] 2. ‘The Bitter Withy’ ['The Holy Well’].

\(^{165}\) Details of the running speeds are taken from the spoken introductions to the most recent dubbings of the EFDSS Wax Cylinder Collection made by the British Library Sound Archive [formerly the National Sound Archive of the British Library], 2001–03. See EFDSS Wax Cylinder Collection, C37/1535–1640 (1CDR0015624–1CDR0015631, 2CDR0013124–2CDR0013131), and their (unpublished) accompanying notes, British Library Sound Archive, Will Prentice, C37 dubbing notes, 2001. Earlier (also unpublished) collection lists are British Library Sound Archive, C37 National Sound Archive dubbing notes, 1982; Elaine Bradtke, ‘Cardboard Box’ Collection Index, 1994 (copy in VWML); British Library Sound Archive, Michael Clayton, C37edit, 1995 (held as a Word document at G:/World & Trad Music/Collects/Cylinder/C37edit [last accessed by the author in 2005]).
reasons it is also highly improbable that a collector would take a used cylinder, shave away only its latter half and then put their own recordings on the now blank section. Furthermore, this cannot have been possible with the Hornpipes on C37/1590 as close inspection shows no disparity in groove height between the two tracks, consequently they can be shown not to have been recorded over a previous shaved recording.

Consequently, since ‘A bold young farmer’ can be shown to have been made by Vaughan Williams and the Hornpipes, despite so many related pieces, are completely absent from Sharp’s manuscripts, it becomes increasingly likely that both recording were made by Vaughan Williams. This begs the question why there is no transcription of these dances in Vaughan Williams’ notebooks, and certainly, until such a transcription – if it ever existed – is found, one cannot be dogmatic about the provenance of these recordings, but one page, or rather its lacunae, possibly points towards a solution. As has already been shown Vaughan Williams’ notebooks tend to begin chronologically but then become decidedly more “catch-all” – usually dictated by County – as they progress, the phonograph pages in notebook 7, (pages 309 and 313-315) prove this, consequently the omission of a transcription of the Hornpipes immediately after that of Mr. Jones’s song isn’t in itself problematic, but what is, is that there is no transcription of it at all. But closer inspection of the blank page between pages 313 and 314 reveals not only that it isn’t contemporaneous with the rest of the notebook, only dating back to when the books were bound and conserved by the British Library166, but that the reason for its being inserted during the conservation was to affix it to, and protect, a stub of a former ripped-out page that nestled amongst the transcriptions, since the page numbering was done long after this page was originally removed, the absence of this page was never noted, with the numbering failing to consider this omission. None of which proves that this page contained the missing transcription, but giving its position in the book and its authors transcription methodologies it certainly suggests the most likely place for it once to have been.

On balance therefore, it seems increasingly likely that the Lock Hornpipes on C37/1590 were made by Vaughan Williams and not by Sharp. Of course until a transcription is found, this premise can only be provisional, but I believe that the weight of evidence backs this new attribution. Subsequent articles and arrangements have christened the tunes ‘John Lock’s Polka’167, which is convenient, but ignores the simple title of ‘Hornpipes’ to be found on the box, and which I would suggest as the most suitable one until that time – if it ever occurs – that a transcript is found of this recording.

166. The bulk of Vaughan Williams’ manuscripts (Add MS 50361-50482) were presented by his widow to the British Library in 1960, but the majority of the folk song manuscripts were deposited in 1967. Dates from BL catalogue entries.

Conclusion

In surveying Vaughan Williams’ use of the phonograph, there is a certain irony in the fact that he made the number of recordings that he did, since of all the collectors he was the one that least needed recourse to mechanical reproduction. Leather needed it as she didn’t trust her own transcriptions, Broadwood used it because it ably assisted her in transcribing difficult Gaelic texts and subtle tunes, whilst Ralph Vaughan Williams had no need for such assistance, but this very ability made him by default the Society’s first choice for making transcriptions of other collector’s work (Leather, Gardiner) and consequently he found himself increasingly working with a medium that he didn’t need and probably thought of as more trouble than it was worth he nonetheless used on behalf of other collector in the Society who did. It is obvious that for Vaughan Williams, the phonograph was merely a means to an end, a way of preserving a tune for later transcription on those occasions when neither he nor any other musically trained collector was to hand. He saw its use as justified, but only as an incidental part of the process of collecting and recording songs for printed publication, not of making any form of documentary recording in its own right, that was superfluous to his aims and objectives. Consequently, under these circumstances, it is a miracle that any of the recordings that he made have actually survived.
As has already been discussed, deciding upon the provenance of the Hampshire recordings from early 1909 is one still fraught with variables, the most important factor being the involvement – or not – of George Barnet Gardiner. Some background information may be desirable in putting these questions in context.

Gardiner (c.1852-1910) though an important collector of the pre-War generation was one who until recently had been largely overlooked. A number of factors contributed to this: firstly, although Gardiner’s awareness of folk song went back to the early 1890’s, when both he and fellow folk song enthusiast Henry Hammond were both tutors at the Edinburgh Academy¹ his initial theoretical work on folk song, ‘a systematic study of the folk songs of Europe’², properly begun in 1903, marked him out very much as an internationalist in the mould of Child or Kidson, and consequently out of step with the aesthetic of the newly revitalised Society. Consequently It wasn’t until the following year, when he started collecting in the field in North Somerset, that his initial work came to the general attention of the Society, after which – at Lucy Broadwood’s suggestion – from 1905 onwards he concentrated on Hampshire, eventually collecting the best part of 1,500 songs, though it should be emphasised that in doing this he had to rely on other collectors to note the tunes, with Balfour Gardiner, Charles Gamblin, and J. F. Guyer, being his main associates in this work, but often on different occasions from when Gardiner had initially met the informant, thus very much complicating the chronology and collecting attributions, i.e. who did what, of his collection.

Problems of attribution within the published part of Gardiner’s Collection

As already noted the 13th Journal of the Folk-Song Society (1909) was devoted to Gardiner’s Hampshire collection³, and as such was designed to give his Hampshire work the same degree of attention that Grainger had been given in the previous issue and Leather was to receive in the succeeding, and with the issue highlighting forty-five songs (in sixty-one versions⁴) was

¹. Gardiner was there from 1890 to 1896, Henry Hammond from 1890-1899. All biographical information on Gardiner from the introductions to the four volumes edited from his collection by Frank Purslow (1965-1974, revised edition of volume one 2007), also Purslow’s ‘The George Gardiner Folk Song Collection’ Folk Music Journal, 1 (1967), pp. 129–57, the Take 6 biography and Bob Askew’s folkopedia entry on him. The dates for Hammond’s tenure are noted on the IFFHS website at: http://www.iffhs.de/?3f4b05ffcd85bca952b9b95205fdec3bfcde0aeec70aeeda315 for 1889 [accessed 26/01/12] though the site is incorrect in stating that he spent the rest of his life in Rhodesia after moving there in 1899, ill-health forced his return after but one year (again, see Purslow).

². See Take 6 biography.

³. JFSS No.13, pp. 292-293.

⁴. The Journal only lists a version as separate (e.g. “First Version”, ‘Second Version’, etc) if a tune is provided, different textual versions are not listed this way, I have counted both in my total, but have not included the two song versions included by Anne Gilchrist as these (unlike the other transcriptions) were not from singers that Gardiner had collected from in the first place.
certainly a major tribute to Gardiner’s work, unfortunately, and I believe that this was unintentional, issue 13 gave a far less cohesive overview of his work than the other collectors were to receive in their own respective issues.

A number of reasons contributed to this, the first, albeit minor – though telling – one being the absence of an overall title for the collection in the issue, Gardiner’s Introduction being seen as adequate for this purpose, when in fact its brevity and the extended interjections of the Editorial board throughout the issue gives at times the sense of the collection being the product of their work rather than that of Gardiner and his associates. Interestingly, this was an error in presentation that wasn’t repeated when a similar single-County issue was devoted to Butterworth’s collection three years later, where after Frederick Keel’s brief Preface the collection is neatly presented under the title of “Songs Collected From Sussex”5.

Secondly, as already noted, whether due to the ill health that was to beset him during his final year, or due to a temperamental preference for brevity, Gardiner was happy to provide only the briefest of two page introductions to his volume, a negligible amount considering that Grainger – over the length of two articles and a key to his transcriptions6 – had twenty-three pages devoted to his ideas, whilst Leather, though restricting herself to a four page introduction, came only second to the indefatigable Broadwood in providing detailed historical notes and anecdotes to the songs found in her collection. This was very different to Gardiner’s volume where virtually every member of the Editorial Committee had something to say about the songs, often – especially in the cases of Anne Gilchrist and Lucy Broadwood – at much greater length than the collector. Whilst commending this democratisation of input, it is unfortunate that the collector’s own notes are often of the briefest and, with regards to date and collector-attribution, ambiguous.

This latter point is especially unfortunate as the songs represented had been collected piece-meal with the assistance of no less than six other collectors; Balfour Gardiner, J. F. Guyer, Charles Gamblin, Ralph Vaughan Williams, H. E. D. Hammond and Cecil Sharp of whom Vaughan Williams had the lion’s share of contributions, being connected with no less than thirty of the entries7, with Gardiner – generally – making the initial contact and text transcriptions, and the tune being left to a later visit by one of his more musically literate associates, often on more than one occasion, sometimes with Gardiner, but generally alone. Unfortunately the credits in the article are often far from transparent, for example the second version of song 39 ‘Oh Mother, Go and Make My Bed’ [a variant of ‘Lady Maisry’, Roud 45] sung by David Marlow of Basingstoke states:

Noted by Charles Gamblin, Winchester,

Oct., 1906, and by R. Vaughan Williams, Jan., 1909.8


6. ‘Collecting with the Phonograph’ [pp. 147-162]; ‘The Impress of Personality in Traditional Singing’ [pp. 163-166]; and ‘Signs and Accents Used in This Journal’ [pp. 167-169].

7. Respective totals are: Balfour Gardiner: 11; J. F. Guyer: 15; Charles Gamblin: 7; Ralph Vaughan Williams: 30; H. E. D. Hammond: 1; and Cecil Sharp: 1.

Which very much gives the impression that Gamblin collected the tune from Marlow in Winchester, and Vaughan Williams – because there is no other location noted – at Basingstoke three years later, when in fact the one manuscript of this song in Gardiner’s collection, of Gamblin’s neat transcription clearly states;

“Sung by Mr. David Marlow, (aet. 84), Basingstoke, Hants.
Noted by Charles Gamblin Esq. organist, Winchester, Oct. 1906.”

With written underneath, in Vaughan Williams hand:

“and Jan: 1909 by R. Vaughan Williams”

Consequently, with access to the manuscript we not only know that the meaning behind the credit should be:

Noted by Charles Gamblin, [of] Winchester,

But that the reason for there being no transcription in Vaughan Williams hand is because rather than write the tune out from scratch, Vaughan Williams simply took Gamblin’s neat transcription with him, correcting it as he saw fit for the purposes of the Journal’s article. None of which, unfortunately, is obvious in the printed version, a situation exacerbated further in Gamblin’s credits for song 15 ‘Lord Derwentwater’ where as well as containing the ambiguous ‘Winchester’ reference the reader is only given the ‘Jan., 1909’ date for Vaughan Williams’ transcription, but none for Gamblin’s, so consequently the reader is perforce reliant on the songs’ main credits, in the case of ‘Lord Derwentwater’ reading:

Sung by Mrs. Goodyear (Aet. 74), Axford, by Basingstoke, Hants, Aug., 1907,

This is to assume that Gamblin made a transcription at the same time as Gardiner collected the text, a correct assumption, as borne out by the manuscripts but hardly obvious to the reader.

These factors, the brevity of the main collator’s notes and confusing attributions, no doubt would have been remedied in later articles by or about Gardiner, but unfortunately he had only three months more of collecting work left to him after writing his article’s introduction (June 1909) before the kidney disease that was to kill him in January 1910 made further work impossible. Consequently the untitled article was to become his monument, a representative cross section of his collection but only a fragment of the seven hundred and thirty tunes that he had sent the Society at the end of 1907, a situation not to be remedied until the 1960’s with the appearance of the first of Frank Purslow’s volumes devoted to the forgotten manuscripts,


11. The same problems are faced with song 31 ‘White Copper Alley’, found in the manuscripts as ‘The Lass of London City’, GG/1/10/599.

though even here this and its three successors were not unproblematic in their treatment of Gardner’s legacy by the way the editor conflated the material with the equally neglected Hammond collection, and it wasn’t until 2009, with the digitisation of Gardner’s collection as part of the Take Six Archive, that the full quality of the collection, a hundred years after Gardner made it, finally became apparent.

All of which would be interesting, but hardly relevant to this survey, were it not for the fact that these problems of attribution also apply to the phonograph transcriptions found within the Journal devoted to Gardner’s collection.

**Gardiner and the Phonograph**

Although it has already been shown that many phonograph recordings transcribed by Vaughan Williams were also attributed to him erroneously as collector, the evidences from Journal 13 as noted in the previous chapter show him to have been responsible for at least a few, possibly as many as five of the 1909 Hampshire recordings. That the others, despite the ambiguity of the attributions, can’t also be conveniently attributed to him rests on the evidence of one letter from Gardner to Vaughan Williams found in the latter’s Scrapbooks. There are actually two letters from Gardner to Vaughan Williams extant in this source, the first is simply a brief note on a postcard, written by Gardner whilst in Bath in February 1906 suggesting a possible song contact for Vaughan Williams in Ipswich but is useful in that Gardner’s note after his signature “member of the Folk Song Society.” strongly suggests this to have been the communication which initiated their correspondence, as had they previously been in contact the note would hardly have been necessary. The second letter, written from Southampton on January 14th 1909 is the crucial one as, apart from a brief note to the effect that the village of Nyetimber “is a warbling village” it otherwise discusses the cylinders that he will be sending the other collector, the main body of the letter is worth quoting in full:

Dear Dr. Vaughan Williams,

Today I had the records and the unused cylinders carefully packed and sent to you carriage paid. I hope they will arrive unbroken.

One cylinder broke in my bag and one at Basingstoke W[est]. Kindly let me know what I owe you for these and for the cylinders used.

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14. VWML: RVW Scrapbook 2/129

A fourth puncture befell the car at Alresford. I was detained more than an hour & did not get back till after 12. With infinite thanks

I am Yours truly

George B. Gardiner. 16

Apart from providing further confirmation that it was considered practicable in 1909 to send wax recordings through the post, this seems to prove fairly conclusively that Gardiner made at least one series of phonograph recordings. An alternative interpretation would be that he was simply forwarding to Vaughan Williams a series that the other collector had made in the previous weeks but had been unable, for some logistical reason, to take with him, but were this the case it is highly unlikely that Gardiner would then have felt obliged to enquire in the letter as to what he owed for the cylinders that he had used or broken; in fact, were this the case it is more likely that the letter would have noted what Vaughan Williams owed Gardiner for the “carriage paid” postage. That Gardiner believes he owes something for the cylinders sent, would seem to prove that they were his recordings, and consequently we can look at the ambiguous credits in Journal 13 and at the earlier transcriptions of some of the same songs to be found in Gardiner’s manuscripts in the knowledge that at least a handful of the Hampshire recordings were by Gardiner but, as I noted in the previous chapter, always aware that any attribution – in the absence of firm manuscript evidence – must be based on probability and be seen as provisional.

Of these recordings the two most transparent entries are Mrs. Randall’s ‘Yonder Sits a Fair Young Damsel’ [Roud 542], collected at Ellisfield, near Basingstoke, in January 1909, having been originally collected in October 1907 by Gardiner and Charles Gamblin 17, and Mrs. Goodyear’s ‘Robin Hood and the Three Squires’ [Roud 71] collected at Axford, also near Basingstoke, also in January 1909 and originally in August 1907 by Gardiner with Gamblin 18, both of which have the inscription in the Journal: “Noted by R. Vaughan Williams from a phonographic record.”, and not the more specific: “Noted (and corrected from a phonograph record) by R. Vaughan Williams, Jan., 1909.” 19 That is found with the songs that Vaughan Williams himself recorded, consequently, as both these songs have the simpler credit, as well as notes by Gardiner – something, it should be emphasised, that not all the songs noted in Journal 13 have – it would seem increasingly likely that these two recordings were made by him, but a further piece of evidence is provided by Gardiner’s own note to the former song where he states:

“The phonographic record noted is that of the second verse, as the first verse was indistinctly sung by Mrs. Randall. The words of the latter half of the verse were not clear enough to be noted.” 20

16. Ibid.

17. JFSS No.13, pp. 267-268. Gardiner Manuscript: GG/1/16/986. Frank Purslow’s notes on page 6 of the latter misinterprets the Journal attribution and assumes that Vaughan Williams made the recording.

18. JFSS No.13, pp. 268-269. Gardiner Manuscript: GG/1/13/796. The MS title is ‘Robin Hood Rescuing Three Squires’.

19. See for example ‘Banks of Green Willow’ at JFSS No.13, pp. 292-293.

This is a slightly clumsy and – again – ambiguous note since, though it seems to be all about the first verse, the second sentence is actually about the second, where the tune is provided complete, but only the first half of the verse [see picture], but once these ambiguities are removed, it tells us a number of things about the provenance of the recording, for though Vaughan Williams could be cavalier with regards to noting texts, it is highly unlikely that – had he made the recording – he would not have had at least some approximate idea of the way that the first verse was married to the tune, or even had a sense of the missing words from the second verse. That he did not, not even noting that the missing text was “as the broadside” establishes that he was not present when this recording was made, and consequently was not involved with making either this recording or the other song bearing the same credit. Further evidence is on page 2 of GG/1/16/986, Gamblin’s 1907 transcription of verse two of ‘Yonder Sits a Fair Young Damsel’ in which “Noted by Charles Gamblin Esq Winchester” has been scored through and replaced by “Noted by R. Vaughan Williams Jan. 09” with “from a phonographic record” inserted as an afterthought between his name and the date, thus his involvement should be seen purely as that of transcriber (as with Leather’s cylinders) and with Gardiner as the recordist.

Of the remaining three Hampshire recordings, only one ‘She was wringing of her tender hands’ (C37/1627) can with certainty be attributed to Gardiner, of the other two, though both of singers that Gardiner collected from, one C37/1592 ‘The Banks of the Nile’, sung by Henry Day of Basingstoke, has already been discussed and can, I think, on balance be attributed to Vaughan Williams, which leaves us with C37/1632 ‘Claudy Banks’, sung by Frederick White of Southampton.

Not only is ‘Claudy Banks’ to be found in Gardiner’s manuscript collection, but there is also extant a cylinder box lid that names the singer21, however one anomaly should be noted, namely that Gardiner and Guyer noted the song at Southampton Workhouse on June 21st 1906, but where their initial transcription, noted by Guyer as “Very good one of the best I / have noted down”22 was without a chorus, which subsequently only appears in the Gardiner manuscripts on a page in Vaughan Williams’ hand entitled “ ‘Claudy Banks’ Revised by R. V. W.”23, when it was subsequently printed in the Journal it is clearly – and unambiguously – credited as: “Noted by J. F. Guyer, L.R.A.M., Jan., 1909.” With no reference to a phonograph.

The issue of there being no manuscript of Guyer’s later transcription remains slightly problematic. The bulk of Gardiner’s collection to be published in his lifetime in the Journal was taken from the manuscripts of the seven hundred and thirty tunes that he had sent the Society at the end of 1907, with the majority of the transcriptions that post-dated this selection serving only to correct or amend the earlier ones. As has already been noted, some of these only exist as notes scribbled on the earlier transcriptions, so it is not inconceivable that – as well as the inevitable possibilities of the loss or destruction of manuscripts over the last hundred years – there is also the possibility in a few cases, of the later collecting work simply consisting of the collector returning to the informant with an initial or initial-but-amended transcript which, if it was shown to be correct, could then be simply approved for publication, but with the date of

21. See C37/1632. Over three lines the lid states: 022y [?] / Claudy / Wh[ite]

22. Gardiner Manuscripts: GG/1/7/388. The quote is on page 1.

23. Ibid, on pages 3 and 4 [two scans of the same page].
collection in the Journal moved to the more recent visit. Hence there would be no new manuscript to survive. A cynical extension of this idea would then be to suggest that Guyer’s second visit was in fact nothing more than a face-saving gesture arranged to allow him to approve the Vaughan Williams’ revision as the correct full version of the song, but on, as it were, his own terms, but this does a great injustice to his diligence as a collector and fails to take into consideration the – as already noted – great competence of his transcriptions.

Nonetheless, without further evidence it is impossible to be dogmatic over this point, or of the series of visits and textual emendations that led to Guyer’s final transcript of ‘Claudy Banks’. It could be suggested that Vaughan Williams made his version from the extant phonograph, but the fact that he doesn’t refer to it being a phonograph transcript, something he tended to do, even in his manuscripts, makes this highly unlikely and thus the only other option is that his transcript must have been the product of an – otherwise – unknown visit. Consequently, with no phonograph references in either the printed or manuscript sources it looks increasingly likely that we have a chronological sequence that consists of Gardiner and Guyer’s initial transcript of 1906, then Vaughan Williams’ undated, revised version which included the chorus, and finally Guyer’s complete published version, based on his visit in January 1909 incorporating (and probably spurred on by) Vaughan Williams’ revision.

If this narrative is accepted, then this one, unsatisfactorily dated collecting session in January 1909 may actually go some way in assisting in the dating of Gardiner’s recordings. An analysis of the manuscript collection shows Guyer to have been heavily involved in collecting tunes for Gardiner all through 1909 up until the 23rd August24, noting the tunes to no less than 103 songs25, unfortunately what it doesn’t do – and this might simply be because Gardiner didn’t live to compile his later songs properly – is give the month when most of them were collected, with only twenty seven of them having more than just the year to date them by, nonetheless, the earliest date given for that year is for Alfred Porter’s ‘T Stands for Thomas’ (Roud 419) at Basingstoke on January 15th26, which was the day after Gardiner had sent his recordings to Vaughan Williams. If one accepts that Guyer’s return trip to Frederick White presented Gardiner with a golden opportunity to make some of his recordings because the singer was well used to the foibles of collectors’ and thus unlikely to be put-off or confused by the new technology27, then, based on Gardiner’s letter we have a date of some point in the first two weeks of January for not just the final transcription of ‘Claudy Banks’ but also for the recording of the cylinders. Furthermore, that the recording of this song was made whilst Gardiner’s amanuensis was checking the earlier transcripts explains the absence of the phonograph in the manuscripts and published version of the song. As already stated, there are many variables involved in the Hampshire recordings, but – based on the surviving cylinder and the manuscripts – this seems the most likely interpretation of this published songs protracted collecting genesis.

24. For this last batch see Gardiner Manuscripts: GG/1/21/1415-1435.

25. The collection lists 102 but the fragment of ‘Oxford City’ from William Newman, though only listed under Gardiner is in Guyer’s hand, see Gardiner Manuscript: GG/1/21/1434.

26. Gardiner Manuscript: GG/1/10/601

27. He had sung 13 songs to Gardiner and Guyer, June- July 1906, see: Gardiner Manuscripts: GG/1/7/383-395.
The last possible Gardiner related recording is probably, for a number of reasons, the most important, even though it had formally been credited to him by custom rather than by hard evidence, this is a lacunae that I hope to show has now been remedied and that there is now enough evidence for this attribution to be seen as secure. At some point in its early history ‘She was wringing of her tender hands’ (C37/1627) had “Gardiner?” written on its box, possibly at some point post First World War, but certainly pre the Karpeles/Slocombe Report, as in the latter it was numbered 26, whilst the other number, 247, in the same hand as “Gardiner?”, a number that appears no less than three times on the recording, twice on the box packaging and once etched into the rim of the cylinder itself, and thus should be taken as a relic from an obviously earlier numbering system. This inscribed rim is but one of two things that sets this recording apart from all the others in the collection, the other being that it is in a plain brown, possibly homemade, box that is found nowhere else, the only other homemade one being the very different blue box that houses the Jones and Lock recordings on C37/1590, though whilst that the lid is securely fixed this one it is so insecure that the only lid inscription rather than song title or name of singer is the following warning in bold:

LID / LOOSE / ______ / HANDLE / WITH / CARE

Whilst the titling on the box label only gives:

faint 26 / She was wringing / 247 / Gardiner?

With a variant of this on the box base (it has no reference to Gardiner)28, it is only the unique inscribed rim that gives the full title: “247 She was wringing of her tender hands” a line which appears in the ballad ‘Maid in Bedlam’ (Roud 60529) also entitled ‘Through Moorfields’ and ‘Newgates’ by the collectors, but which confusingly seems unconnected to the two verses (the second repeated) that make up the song fragment on the cylinder, until one realises that it is a nearly identical rendition of the third verse of Mrs. Maria Etheridge’s version of this song, titled ‘She was wringing of her tender hands’ on the original text manuscript but ‘Bedlam’ in Guyer’s musical transcription, and which later cataloguers – in following Frank Purslow’s later transcription – have titled ‘The Maid in Bedlam’30.

The text of the recording is as follows:

I’ll go down to Mr. Newmans, I will go with some way
I will go to the dark cell where my true love doth lay

And I’ll give to the turnkey, Oh a large purse of gold
If he will convey me to my own joy and soul

And I’ll give to the turnkey, Oh a large purse of gold
If he will convey me to my own joy and soul

28. Base reads: 247 / she was / wringing

29. Not to be confused with the other, more common ‘Maid in Bedlam’ [Roud 578] with its well known ‘I'll love my love because I know my Love loves me’ refrain.

30. See Gardiner Manuscript: GG/1/8/426 and George Gardiner Notebook No 7 pp. 39-40 [GG/2/7/1 items 21 and 22 the latter for the ms of the third verse].
Which differs from the text in Gardiner’s notebook in only two respects, “some way” being “straightway” and the absence of ‘Oh’ in the second verse.

Two factors prove that this recording is of Mrs. Etheridge, firstly that there is – what could be described as – the cumulative evidence as found in Gardiner’s manuscripts. No date other than June 1906 is given in Gardiner’s own notebooks for this song, but we know that Guyer noted the tune on June 27th and what is immediately apparent between the two visits is that whereas in the notebook Gardiner has the texts for all three verses, the companion tune manuscript only notes, in a neat hand, the texts of the first two verses with the concluding note: “(The rest is wanting.)”. Consequently one can assume that Gardiner realised this discrepancy and thus prioritised noting the missing verse at a later date, so elevating it to the privilege of being recorded when he made his one series of phonographs. That there are minor differences between the transcripts of 1906 and the recording of three years later is only to be expected, in fact given the singer’s tendency to alternate 3/4 with 4/4 time it is worth noting the skill with which Guyer has captured this aspect of her performance in his transcription, far more so than in the later slightly-more regularised version that Frank Purslow later edited from the manuscripts, but what conclusively proves this recording to be of Mrs. Etheridge is the unique semi-garbled version of the text that she gave to the collectors on both occasions. Namely the first half of the opening line “I’ll go down to Mr. Newmans”. ‘Maid in Bedlam’, under its various titles, is a fairly scarce song in the oral tradition, although nine versions were collected from singers there are at least thirteen Broadside versions and none of these, printed or collected, contain this variant line of Mrs. Etheridge’s, a garbled version of the commonplace “As I was a-walking by Newgate one day” in which the singer has changed the jail’s name to that of a putative jailer. Such a change, using the exact alteration is unlikely to have occurred twice and that, coupled with the fact that the recording is of the very verse that was missed when the musical transcription was made seems proof positive of its attribution.

Assuming this to be the case, what else can this phonograph tell us about Gardiner’s phonograph work. Firstly, it is only one of seven cylinders in the collection to have been made on the later black wax, rather than the softer cylinder-blank brown wax, the other six being Vaughan Williams’ four recordings of Mr. Penfold, his later Mr. Jones / John Locke cylinder, and the one surviving recording from A. M. Freeman’s collection. But of these, the Penfold recordings are deceptive, as ‘The Miller on the Dee’ (C37/1580) is on a wax that could be described as very dark brown and its consistency, plus that of its three companions and the Freeman recording is actually no harder than the usual brown blanks, consequently, in the case


32. I am indebted – again – to Dr. John Bentley for pointing this out to me.

33. See Roud database. Hammond collected four versions, Gardiner three, and Alfred Williams, Wiltshire Community History site at: http://history.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getfolk.php?id=546

34. For example, see ‘As I was a-walking by Newgates’ collected by Alfred Williams from Job Phipps of Brize Norton, Oxfordshire. WSRO: 2598/36 Packet 3 - Oxfordshire: Williams, A: MS collection No. OX 239. Text available online at Wiltshire Community History site at: http://history.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getfolk.php?id=546

35. C37/1580, C37/1582-1584, C37/1590 and C37/1591
of these five recordings, the first four from the same batch, the last one unconnected (it was after all made eight years later in 1915) we are dealing with normal commercial blanks that had simply been made in a darker shade than the industry standard, although the same is not the case with C37/1590, the Jones / Locke cylinder and Mrs. Etheridge’s recording, the former, as has already been shown, is the only extant recording from Vaughan William’s Herefordshire cylinders, so it is impossible to say how typical this hard proto-Bakelite-like cylinder was of the series, but that it is made from a stronger materiel suggests that it is not an ordinary used blank, but possibly a pantographic copy, made at a later date to preserve what was considered a particularly important recording. Without more information this can only be a probable supposition but with regards to Gardiner’s recording it is certainly the case, for despite the wax not being quite so hard as the black Herefordshire cylinder ‘She was wringing of her tender hands’ can only be a professional copy as proven by its rim inscription, something only found on moulded commercial releases or professionally made copies of home recordings.

The inscription also tells us something else, for without it there would be grounds for seeing the cylinder as representative of the batch that Gardiner made, and consequently the evidence of the packaging of ‘Claudy Banks’, which is on the usual brown wax contained in a faded grey Edison Bell box with a blue lid, would then suggest Vaughan Williams as the recordist rather than Gardiner, since of the seven English cylinders with this packaging five can be attributed to Vaughan Williams, whilst only one was made by Sharp and one (‘Claudy Banks’) by Gardiner, but the inscription and harder wax proves that this cylinder isn’t the original recording but a professionally made moulded copy and thus shouldn’t be seen as typical of Gardiner’s batch of recordings. Furthermore these differences makes it very unlike the only other duplications in the collection, Sharp’s two copies (C37/1588 & 1589) of his source recording (C37/1628) of Priscilla Cooper singing ‘The Indian Lass’, both of which are soft-wax pantographic copies. This was a process which would hardly have been practicable for home operation except by the most diligent phonograph-phile, which bearing in mind Sharp’s rather neutral attitude to the technology seems unlikely, but it was certainly something which could be done, in real time, at a suitable phonograph or hardware shop. This would not have been possible for the manufacture of ‘She was wringing of her tender hands’ since its inscribed rim tells us that this was a moulded cylinder, a method, sometimes called the Gold Moulded system, originally marked by Thomas Edison in 1902, consisting of utilising gold-leaf and electrolysis to create a hardened metal master mould over the phonograph from which, second-generation metal sub-moulds could be created, or (if done privately) a harder wax cylinder could be cast, the process destroying the master, but which permitted durable multiple copies with little loss in sound fidelity. Apart from the practical issue of where Gardiner could have had this copy made in Southampton there is also the simple one that he would hardly have had time to do this between making the recording in the first two weeks of the year and then posting it to Vaughan Williams.

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38. I am indebted to Roger Hewland of Gramex records and Norman Bruderhofer’s *The Cylinder Archive* for the terms and explanations of these manufacturing methods. See: http://www.cylinder.de/index.html [accessed 17/02/12].
Williams on the 14th of January, furthermore, if he had gone to such expense it is highly unlikely that he wouldn’t have mentioned it in his letter. Consequently the discrepancies in packaging between this and ‘Claudy Banks’ isn’t an issue with regards to provenance, and it is highly likely that the version of ‘She was wringing of her tender hands’ that was posted with its companions would have been of the same soft brown wax. But whether this recording was subsequently copied to moulded black wax at Gardiner’s instigation or that of another member of the Folk-Song Society is impossible to say without further documentation. On the one hand it is unlikely that Gardiner, with his health failing would have been in a position, or even inclined to spend time on such a project, on the other hand the fact that the process destroyed the original master making it unlikely that it would have been done by another hand whilst Gardiner was still alive. A third option is that it was copied by another collector after Gardiner’s death as a trial to see how well such recordings survived being copied, using a recording that was no longer of use to its owner, but these are just suppositions, although what can be said is that this one recording, coupled with its accompanying manuscripts stands as the one certain testament to Gardiner’s work with the phonograph.
Chapter VI

Walter Ford

Walter Ford is hardly known as a collector. Frank Howes short but affectionate obituary for him in the *JEFDSS* for 1938 has to a large extent defined what is thought – if anything – about him:

“His name is not associated with any spectacular piece of work, either of collecting or publication, but through all his career as a teacher of singing he used folk-song as part of a singer’s normal curriculum, and in this way introduced it to those professional circles which to this day remain most impervious-to, the very essence of our native music.”

An evaluation seemingly borne out by the fact that his only major contribution to the *JFSS* was the obituary for Lucy Broadwood he contributed in 1929. But these two memorials hardly do justice to his lifetime involvement with the Folk Song Society and pedagogy. A trained baritone and contemporary of Sharp’s at Cambridge, he joined the society in 1903, and was a committee member by the following year, and by 1905 was noted as collecting in Oxfordshire, while his wife became the society’s honorary secretary for two years after Lucy Broadwood resigned from the position in 1908 in order to better concentrate on her work as the Journal’s Honorary Editor. His collecting work seems to have been restricted to 1906-1907 though some of the evidence (as will be explained below) has extended this to 1909, though certainly no later than then, for – as becomes apparent by his published papers on Art-song – though both he and his wife did find time to arrange the “agreeable” concert of Folk-Songs that rounded up the Society’s 1911 Annual General Meeting after this his educational concerns dominate his work.

In 1916 he was one of the signatories of the manifesto of ‘Recommendations’ promulgated on the foundation of The Society of English Singers, with two pages of its opening article in The

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2. ‘Folk-Song Society. Annual Report, June, 1905.’ [2], a copy of this Report (which, unlike the other Reports was printed to a smaller scale) is found bound after *JFSS* No. 7 (II, no. 2, 1905) in Broadwood’s own set of the Journal at the VWML.


5. ‘Report of the Annual General Meeting Held at St. George’s Hall, Mount Street, London, *On Saturday, February 4th*, 1911, at 8 p.m. Sir Ernest Clarke in the Chair’ ix, usually found at the back of Journal No. 16 (4 no 3, 1911).
Musical Times devoted to one of his previous papers on vocal training⁶, and it in his writings
within this area that his attitude to song in general and folk-song in particular can be gauged:

“There is in short no artistic gift so nearly universal as that of song. Folk song is the
most obvious illustration of this truth. In primitive communities men, women and
children all sing, and in some mysterious way songs arise with melodies rarely wanting
in some sort of rude beauty, by which the musical instinct is satisfied.”⁷

An evaluation and interpretation of the genesis of folk-song that that other educationalist, Sharp
would have been in sympathy with, but as a singer Ford possibly went further than his
contemporary in seeing the musical instinct as one fundamentally rooted in song -

“Music will never, unless it signs its own death warrant, be released permanently from
its melodic, that is to say, its vocal origin. Melody is not the weakness of music but its
strength. ‘Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret’”.⁸

Though while the store that Ford set on practical experience was certainly something that both
would have agreed on, it is unlikely that Sharp would have accepted such an unmediated
attitude to leaning -

“My piece of advice is only this, and it is addressed to the young. Music is not
understood through books, or articles, or lectures, only by hearing and, however feebly,
playing, singing, making it one-self.”⁹

The emphasis on ‘one-self’, without recourse to specialist teachers or lectures, would hardly
have met with Sharp’s approval¹⁰ but it should be emphasised that this quote, from his 1928
article ‘The Grand Style’, was discussing such music-making in the context of art-song, and
specifically that of Schubert’s lieder, and thus a genre in which it could be assumed any
proficient, or simply enthusiastic student would know many of the basic rules of performance,
tonation and interpretation, unlike the potential interpretive minefield brought about by
bringing vernacular song into the classroom.

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(Jul. 1, 1916), pp. 319-324. Pages 320-321 contain “extracts from a paper read by Mr. Walter Ford at one
of the Society's gatherings”.


article consists of sections by H. Plunket Greene, Ford, and C. Kennedy Scott, Ford’s section is on pp.
349-352). The quote “You may drive out Nature with a pitchfork, yet she still will hurry back” from

321.

¹⁰. See: Gammon, Vic, ‘‘Many Useful Lessons’ Cecil Sharp, Education and the Folk Dance Revival,
1899-1924’, Cultural and Social History, 5, No.1 (2008), especially the section ‘Cecil Sharp as Teacher
and Dancer’ (pp. 77-79) for Sharp’s methods.
Which brings us to one of the crucial aspects of Ford’s work, and which should be emphasised, namely that the oft-repeated tension between Art and Folk Song that his obituarist spoke of when he described Ford introducing folk-song to the educational and concert-hall worlds and how those circles “remain most impervious to, the very essence of our native music,” was probably not a dichotomy that its subject would have noted, for his involvement in both areas suggests that he saw both, in their purest forms (as he would have thought of them), as representative of the best in human creativity, but simply at different parts of the sliding scale of cultural development. This continued involvement in what came to be seen as different cultural areas is not dissimilar to Broadwood’s work within early music or Kidson’s tracing of folksong within publishing: that it becomes a point worthy of note in Ford’s obituary possibly says less about his eclecticism and more about the way in which by 1938 not just the EFDSS, but the very concept of “Folk-Song”, had become so established that part of its identity was defined by its “otherness” from Art culture.

This tension isn’t found in Ford’s writings, and it is worth noting that his last publication, a two volume edition of Handel’s then neglected songs and solo-cantatas, a subject he had previously written evangelistically about, were issued on either side of his late collaboration with Vaughan Williams, the ‘Two Old German Songs’ for which Ford provided the translations. Consequently, it can be seen that the encomium in his obituary was too slight when considering his record of publishing but, based upon what little evidence there is, represents a fair evaluation of his collecting work, but even here, with details of his work in only one Journal and two AGM Reports, and with no known surviving manuscripts, there are still anomalies as to its extent or duration.

The most important source for Ford’s collecting work is the 19th Journal of the Folk-Song Society, being the second part of volume 5, issued in June 1915. This contains six songs, the transcriptions of five of which being from phonographs, unfortunately, rather than being given together the songs are spread throughout five of the Journals eight main articles and thus what little sense of them being a collection is dispersed. The earliest song, ‘Summer comes and the grass grows green’ (Roud 2350) noted from Michael Carolan in Corklieve, Co. Mayo in 1906 was, according to the Journal, transcribed normally but the other five songs, collected from Mr. Kemp, Mr. Bodding and Mr. Budd in Elstead, Surrey, in 1907 were all “Noted, from phonograph record, by Walter Ford.” and thus represent an early and unified batch of recordings. Of course, as has already been shown the phonograph credits in the Journal are (at best) ambiguous and knowing that Lucy Broadwood was taught the use of the phonograph by


13. 1 song is found in ‘Songs from Ireland’; 1 in ‘Narrative Ballads’; 1 in ‘Songs of Soldier Life’; 2 in ‘Songs of Sailor Life’ and 1 in ‘Songs of Love and Country Life’. JFSS 5 (1915) pp. 97-103, and 122-203.
the composer Graham Peel in June 1907\textsuperscript{14}, and that Elstead, was in an area that she knew well, being about twenty-five miles from Lyne House, Capel, where she had lived from 1864 to 1894, it could be suggested that these recordings were at Broadwood’s instigation with Ford taking the credit for the transcriptions, but two things argue against this, firstly the absence of any references to making these recordings in Broadwood’s own diaries and secondly the inclusion of Ford amongst those collectors who “used a phonograph, either as a substitute for, or supplementing ordinary methods.” in the collectors’ list designed to show “in what parts of England members have collected since the last Report was issued”, that appeared in what should have been printed as the ‘Annual Report. June, 1907-8’\textsuperscript{15}, and in which an asterisk was printed by a collector’ name to denote phonograph work.

This Report, written by Ford’s wife, has already been considered in depth\textsuperscript{16}, but with regards to Ford, the fact that he is specifically noted twice in the Report proves the transcriptions in the 19th Journal to have been his own work, and not just transcriptions at the behest of others, and furthermore, that he recorded in two Counties. This latter point is an important one, as the fact that he is specifically mentioned as collecting with the phonograph in County Mayo – he was in fact the only collector from the Society noted as collecting in Ireland at the time – isn’t backed up by what we are presented with in the later Journal, where there is only the one, non-phonograph, transcription from his Irish collection and nothing else. Consequently it can be seen that ‘Summer comes and the grass grows green’ is but one song from a collection of Irish pieces that otherwise have not come down to us, some of which were recorded by phonograph, but unless manuscripts or further Folk-Song Society documentation one day come to light nothing further can be stated about these recordings, or of the companion Sussex ones, or of his Oxfordshire work.

\textsuperscript{14} Entry for 27th June 1907, Lucy Broadwood Diary 6782/21.

\textsuperscript{15} I say “should have” as it was incorrectly titled and dated the ‘Report of the Annual General Meeting June, 1909.’ The Erratum note that explains this error is found in JFSS No. 14 (IV, no. 1, 1910) p. 82. As already noted, this error means that the Report can be found bound in any Journal from No. 10 (III, no. 1, 1907), to No. 13 (3 no 4, 1909). Lucy Broadwood’s personal copy of the Report is bound after the title-page of No. 13 (III, no. 4, 1909) where she has inked an “8” over the incorrect “9”.

\textsuperscript{16} See the section: The ‘Annual Report. June, 1907-8’ in Part I, Chapter III.
As the evidence suggests that Lucy Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell only made one phonograph recording (probably over two cylinders), at the instigation of Lucy Broadwood, it could be suggested that her involvement with the new technology might be better told in Broadwood’s chapter, certainly, going by Fox Strangway’s obituary for her in the *JEFDSS*, her work within the Society was slight, and other than that she:

“had the keenest enjoyment of a bit of dialect, of the re-emergence of a Shakespearean word, of a funny turn of speech or look on a face or trick of manner, and would search for these in first editions of herbals and county histories, and in her numerous acquaintances high and low.”

her main claim to fame seemed to rest on her close friendship with Sharp who could “disburthen himself of his aspirations and difficulties and get a sane and heartening view of them in return.” but this affectionate, resume does her even less justice than Frank Howes’ later obituary did for Walter Ford, as it is riddled with errors, firstly giving her date of birth as 1878, when it was in-fact 1871, and secondly in assuming that her physical infirmities (mainly arthritis) had always debarred her from participation in learning dance, a curious comment, unless one assumes that her anecdotal reminiscence of an elderly maître à danser ‘An Old Master’ that she wrote for his Journal *Music & Letters* was actually pure fiction. But apart

17. Her name is variously given hyphenated and unhyphenated throughout her life, her articles in *Music & Letters* employ both forms. As a descendent of Edward III she is listed in the Marquis de Ravigny and Raineval’s *The Plantagenet Roll of the Royal Blood* as Wyatt-Edgell (1905, p. 274), and this version of her name is also used in the papers devoted to her memorial tablet at Cowley Chapel: ‘Faculty for Lucy Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell memorial tablet’ Devon Record Office, Ref: 7186A/PW/2/a/2, but in the Brampford Speke census for 1881 her name is given as Wyatt Edgell, and on her birth registration it is given as “EDGELL Lucy Priscilla W.”, although this is the earlier version I have adopted the hyphenated version for consistencies sake as that seemed her preferred personal usage, for example her letter of 10th June (no year given) to Lucy Broadwood at LEB/5/434. I am indebted to Keith Chandler for locating her birth registration for me.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. 1871 is given as the year of her birth on her birth registration (information courtesy of Keith Chandler), this is supported by the 1881 census for the Civil parish of Brampford Speke where she is listed as being nine years old and her “Estimated Birth Year” is given as “abt 1872”. Unfortunately, although the *Plantagenet Roll of the Royal Blood* conveniently lists her parents thus: “Frances Albina Gresham Leveson Gower, b. 7 Mar. 1846 ; m. 30 July 1868, Arthur Wyatt-Edgell, J.P., D. L. (Cowley Place, Exeter)” (p. 274), it – based on the principles of primogeniture – irritantly omits her date of birth whilst including that of her two younger brothers.

21. Wyatt-Edgell, Priscilla, ‘An Old Master’, *Music & Letters*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jul., 1921), pp. 284-286. Admittedly, the article is certainly written in a florid and rather non-specific way, we are never told the
from these errors, it does little justice to her life-long interest in folk song, for whereas Ford’s collecting work only spanned a couple of years, Wyatt-Edgell’s, despite her own modesty – she once wrote to Lucy Broadwood that she was “not very well up in Folk Songs” — spanned over thirty years, beginning with two songs that she jotted down as a twenty year old from her neighbour, Mr. Blamey at Upton Pyne in 1891 to her last, noted from Mr. Sprague of Stoke Canon in 1923.

These songs can be seen as representative, in microcosm, of her collection in more than one way. Firstly in that they bring home the way in which Wyatt-Edgell was very much a ‘County Collector’, more so even than Leather, for whilst two of her songs were collected in Somerset, the remaining thirty-six are all from Devon, and mainly within a very small radius at that, for (if we take the above examples) Upton Pyne was less than two miles distance from her home at Cowley, whilst Stoke Canon entailed a slightly longer journey of a bit over three miles.

The second way in which they are representative of her collection is that we only know of them from their having survived in other collector’s archives, the ‘Jolly Goss-Hawk’, the last song she noted, is only to be found in Baring-Gould’s ‘Personal Copy’ MSS, whilst the two early songs have only come down to us in Lucy Broadwood’s manuscript collection. As with Walter Ford, there is no surviving Wyatt Edgell manuscript collection; of the thirty-eight songs known to have been collected by her, twenty, covering the years 1901, 1902, 1904, 1920 and 1923, have only survived because she sent them to Baring-Gould who then copied them into his own collection, whilst the two Somerset songs (both 1908) were sent to Sharp who also made his own copies: only the sixteen songs, from 1891, 1906 and 1908, found in Broadwood’s name of the titular old dancing master, but it would be a curious thing to pen for such a Journal were it not based on experience.

22. Letter, Wyatt-Edgell to Lucy Broadwood, 10th June, at LEB/5/434. No year given, but based on her self-effacing terminology, and that it was – probably – sent with the transcriptions of ‘The Berkshire Lady’ (LEB/5/435-436) [Roud 23463] and ‘The Sailor’s Sweetheart’ (LEB/5/435) [no Roud number as yet], both of which were in the informants hand rather than the collectors, the letter probably pre-dates her own transcriptions from 1908.

23. The two early songs were ‘Roger of the Valley’ [Roud 590] and ‘Fickle-Minded Sally’ [Roud 23441], the last one the ‘Jolly Goss-Hawk’ [Roud 1048]. For Mr. Blamey see: Lucy Broadwood MSS (Vaughan Williams Memorial Library) LEB/5/428-429 and LEB/5/432-433. For Mr. Sprague: Baring-Gould ‘Personal Copy’ Ms, Vol. 1, p. 151, song No. 71 (VWML Take Six Ref: SBG/1/1/330). The latter is mis-catalogued to 1882 on ‘Take Six’ as Baring-Gould’s inscription has been interpreted as “Sung by Mr Sprague (c1882) Stoke Canon Exeter, taken down by Miss Wyatt Edgell, Spring, 1923”, but which to my eyes looks like: “Sung by Mr Sprague (aged 82) Stoke Canon Exeter, taken down by Miss Wyatt Edgell, Spring, 1923”. I am very indebted to Martin Graebe for sending me his unpublished ‘Songs in the ‘Personal Copy’ Ms collected by Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell and sent to Sabine Baring-Gould’.


25. ‘Lord Rendal’ from Alice Davy of Dunster and ‘Jan to Joan’ from Mr. Rawle of Barrington, both February 1908, see: Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Words pp.1430-1431 / Folk Tunes p. 1584 and Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Tunes p. 1585.

26. Or thirty seven songs if one includes a duplicate from the same singer collected on a different occasion. Her collection can be pieced together from the Sabine Baring-Gould ‘Personal Copy’ MS, Lucy Broadwood MSS collection (VWML), Cecil Sharp MSS, Folk Words and Folk Tunes (VML) and JFSS.
collection, are in Wyatt-Edgell’s own hand or those of her informants, though of these one is a duplicate of a song that had already been sent to Baring-Gould27, whilst three from the 1908 batch were to printed as the ‘Songs from Devon’ section of the 15th Journal, published in 191028.

The one song that hasn’t survived as a manuscript is the one that concerns us directly in this chapter, namely that of ‘The Pretty Ploughboy’ (Roud 186), sung by “Mr. W. Bryant, at Cowley, near Exeter, Nov., 1912” which appeared three years later, in the 1913 Journal devoted (mainly) to Butterworth’s and Jekyll’s collection, and which was “Noted from Phonograph Record by Lucy E. Broadwood.”29 Though in saying that it hasn’t survived in manuscript I have assumed that W. Bryant, though probably a relation, isn’t the same as the R. Bryant found in the manuscripts and the ‘Songs from Devon’ article30. As we know from the example of William Colcombe in Leather’s collection, names can be mistaken or lead to confusion when singers are credited by formal names in one source and familiar names in another and this might be the case in this example, especially as ‘The Pretty Ploughboy’ was the one song collected from R. Bryant in 1908 for which the words weren’t noted, thus suggesting why it was the one song recorded in 1912, but against this should be put three points, firstly that R. Bryant’s text might not have been collected in 1908 simply because it was so close to a broadside or other printed source as to have not been thought necessary to note at the time; secondly, and most importantly, the substantial differences between the tune noted in the 1908 manuscript and that in the Journal, suggesting a different version of the song, and thus probably a different singer; and finally that due to the evidences from the local census returns for 1911, where a William Bryant, of Cowley Road Exeter, age 69 is listed as a “Gardener”, and Richard Bryant of “Cowley Nr. Exeter”, age 60, is noted as a “Railway Packer”31.

What seems to have probably happened here is that Broadwood, who had previously been sent three of Richard Bryant’s songs from 1908 – on one of which Wyatt-Edgell had written “Sung by Bryant. age about 50. Workman on the Railway. Cowley N. Exeter.”32 - then conflated him with the Cowley Place gardener of 1912, furthermore although it was a commonplace for middle-aged collectors to describe as “old” an informant often only a few years their senior,


30. R. Bryant’s songs: ‘Twas on one April morning’ [Roud 1546] Lucy Broadwood MSS LEB/5/424 and JFSS No. 15 (IV, no. 2, 1910), 94-96; ‘The Pretty Ploughboy’ [music only] [Roud 186] Lucy Broadwood MSS LEB/5/426; and ‘Three pretty maidens milking did go’ [Roud 290] Lucy Broadwood MSS LEB/5/424 and JFSS No. 15 (IV, no. 2, 1910), pp. 93-95. All March 1908, though the MS of the last song states 31 March 1908 as well. Only ‘Three pretty maidens gives Bryant’s initial.

31. Census refs for 1911: RG14PN12669 RG78PN728 RD271 SD1 ED1 SN145 [William Bryant] &: RG14PN12628 RG78PN725 RD270 SD4 ED22 SN90 [Richard Bryant]. I am indebted to Keith Chandler for sending me the two census forms.

32. ‘The Pretty Ploughboy’ LEB/5/426. The other songs both being on LEB/5/424. Only one of these ‘Three Pretty Maidens’ gives the initial of the singers Christian name.
Broadwood’s diary description of “Miss Wyatt-Edgell’s old singer.” does seem rather more apt for the then seventy year old gardener than the sixty-one year old railwayman. Admittedly, whether the printed error was due to William Bryant being erroneously given Richard Bryant’s occupation or to the less likely option that the “W.” is an error for “R.” it is unlikely that Wyatt-Edgell wouldn’t have noticed this error and mentioned it to Broadwood who would – as was her wont – have then annotated her personal Journal collection accordingly, so it is problematic that no such correction appears, nonetheless I think all the evidences point to the fact that we are dealing with two related singers from Cowley rather than one misnamed one.

What we can be more certain of is the chronology behind this one phonograph recording of Wyatt-Edgell’s, and for that we have to thank Broadwood’s diaries. In late September 1912 Broadwood had just spent a few days visiting her old friend the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould, on the 1st October she travelled from Plymouth to Exeter to stay with Wyatt-Edgell for three days, amongst the inevitable round of social engagements and sightseeing Broadwood managed to find time for not only a few of her impromptu musical performances but also to hear three – unnamed – source singers, “A labourer” on the 1st, the “Gardener’s daughter” on the 2nd and “An old gamekeeper” in the employ of the Earl of Iddesleigh at Pynes on the 3rd, this last was preceded by a trip to Exeter to see the famous Anglo-Saxon Exeter Book at the Cathedral after which they “Walked abt. the old town & hired a phonograph.” The following day Broadwood wrote “Helped Miss Edgell to adjust the phonograph, & sang into it. Left Cowley & Exeter for London by 1.45 train to Paddington.”

At some date between then and the 18th of that month Wyatt Edgell recorded Mr. Bryant and posted the recordings to Lucy Broadwood, as on the 19th after an afternoon concert at the Queen’s Hall where she heard Casals play and Grainger conduct his composition Green Bushes she “Began to note a Devon phonograph-record from Miss Wyatt-Edgell’s old singer.” an activity that took her two more days to complete.

33. Entry for 19th October 1912: Lucy Broadwood Diaries 6782/24, I am indebted to Shan Graebe for providing me with a transcription of this entry.

34. Entries for October 1st-4th 1912: Lucy Broadwood Diaries 6782/24. Again, I am indebted to Shan Graebe for providing me with transcriptions of these entries.

35. Ibid. “[…] In aftn we walked to a pretty church above Pynes & then to Pynes to have tea w. Lord Iddisleigh’s dr. Lady Rosalind Northcote. Lovely family pictures a Raeburn of a young girl in particular & also the Vandyke of Lucy, Lady Carlisle. An old gamekeeper sang to us & told amusing Devon stories very well there. Afwds Lady Rosalind walked back w. us & talked folk-lore etc. I packed late. Splendid day.” 3rd October.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid, 4th October.

38. Ibid, 19th October.

39. 24th October “[…] Took down phonograph song (Devon),” and 25th October “Took down phonograph song.”
As already noted, the results were published in the following year’s Journal as one of the three other versions of ‘The Pretty Ploughboy’ accompanying Butterworth’s version, and, as a phonograph transcription, it is much the most detailed of the four versions, with Butterworth’s and Vaughan Williams versions being tune only40 with only the version collected R. Hughes Rowland’s – collected for Ella Leather – also giving a full text and tune variants41. Hughes Rowland’s transcription is skilled and exact, but Broadwood’s transcription, has obviously profited from the possibility of replaying the cylinder as it is a detailed, verse by verse transcription giving musical and textual variations, including differences from the recording as well as a previous transcription from the same singer that hasn’t come down to us. It is worth quoting at length from Broadwood’s notes to the phonograph transcription to show the care that she took over it -

“Although the words noted on one occasion direct from the singer differ only very slightly from the phonographed, in a few places the latter are very indistinct but obviously, according to the accent and number of syllabub [sic], are different from those taken down from the actual voice. Thus, in verse 2, “you’re of higher degree” might be “you’re of a high degree”; in verse 4 it might be “well lined,” and at the close of the song, where “For the last cruel wars it caused many a lads away” called is usually sung, the very in-distinct words and accents of the phonograph sound more like “called thousands of lads away.”

This is very much in the style set by Grainger in his 1908 article, and Vaughan Williams utilised in his transcriptions of Burstow’s recordings, in that it is an attempt at preserving a performance, rather than simply one of noting a text and tune, and giving the depth of the analysis it is easy to see why it took Broadwood three days to complete. What it also tells us, as a verse by verse transcription, is that Wyatt Edgell recorded it over two cylinders as the last line of verse 5 is transcribed in square brackets with the note “Incompleted on Record.” only for the final four verses to be given complete, thus proving the use of two blanks. This is less obvious than it should be in the transcription as due to the fragmentary nature of the last two verses, and repetitions of some shorter lines, Broadwood was obviously undecided as to where to note their beginnings and endings and consequently numbered them 6 and 7 but with verse 7 being more than double the length of the preceding ones, in that it actually consisted of all of verse 7, which I posit ends with the line “Where oft times she had him be – fore”, and verse 8, which confusingly is two lines longer than the other ones due to the repetition of both its halves rather than just the second one.43


41. Ibid. R. Hughes Rowland: “Sung By Mr. John Morgan (Farm-Labourer, 80), At Dilwyn, Herefordshire, 1905.”, pp. 308-310.

42. Ibid. p. 307.

43 Ibid.
This textual issue aside, Broadwood’s transcription is detailed and informative, and because it gives us such a good idea of Mr. Bryant’s art that one can but only regret that Wyatt-Edgell didn’t make more recordings, but as her collecting was by this time very sporadic – her next known collected songs were in 1920 and 1923 respectively – and the phonograph was a hired one, it is unlikely that she made any other recordings; furthermore, with no surviving manuscript collection other than those examples sent to her fellow collectors it is difficult to evaluate the overall breadth and depth of her collecting work, but one can at least be grateful that at least one detailed transcription, if not its source recording, has survived for posterity.

44. Again, only extant as copies in Baring-Gould’s collection, see SBG/1/3/552 and SBG/1/1/330.
Chapter VIII

A. M. Freeman

The last to be considered of the lesser known collectors who made phonographs recordings is that of the English-born Irish-Gaelic expert Alexander Martin Freeman. Freeman’s legacy initially looks not dissimilar to that of Walter Ford, in that his main work for the Folk-Song Society was on its editorial board, being on the board from 1919 to the amalgamation of the societies in 1931, a position mirrored in his involvement with the Irish Folk Song Society, with himself on the Publications Committee and his Donegal born wife Aida, in the roles of Honorary Secretary and Treasurer from 1920 until the Society’s dissolution in 1939. But unlike Ford, his one major collecting work, his 1914 Ballivyourney Collection from South West County Cork, was fully published by the Folk-Song Society, making up Journals 23 to 25 from 1920 to 1921, this was a major financial and logistical enterprise on the part of the Society, its only previously published non-English language collection having been the celebrated Journal 16 ‘The Hundred and Five Gaelic Songs’ from the Tolmie collection issued in 1911, later described by Frederick Keel as “the most famous Journal the Society ever published”. That issue, however, was restricted to only one volume and (anticipating additional sales north of the border) was printed by the Scottish firm of Maclehose rather than the Journal’s usual printers Barnicott and Pearce of Taunton. Consequently these volumes from the 1920’s can be seen as part of the shifting emphasis in the publications and work of the Folk-Song Society during the post-War period, away from its earlier direction, dominated by individual enthusiastic amateurs and the dominance of the publications by field work from England, and towards a broader remit that incorporated non-English language collections and a greater attention towards education as the main mode of cultural transference, though it should be remembered that an internationalist stance had always been part of the FSS’s remit, hence its not adopting Sharp’s and Vaughn

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5. JFSS No. 16 (IV, no. 3, 1911). Keel, Frederick, ‘The Folk Song Society 1898-1948’, JEFDSS, (Vol. 5, no. 3, 1948), p. 116 and fn. 14. the only other non-English language collection to have such attention bestowed upon it were the three volumes (No. 28-30) that made up the posthumously issued John Clague Manx collection, but that came after the Freeman volumes, being issued over three years between 1924 and 1926.
Williams’ motion at the 1904 AGM of altering its title to that of the “British or English Folk-Song Society”.

Briefly, these changes can be put down to the following causes, firstly to the growing belief that the significant ‘older’ repertoires of the surviving singers had been exhausted, and thus the new purpose of the Society was less to concentrate on the accumulation of more variants and more towards the consolidation of the previously collected legacy and its furtherance within education and organised cultural activities. This was of course an emphasis that was of the greatest importance to the work of some of the society, such as Sharp, but certainly not to all of its core members, Broadwood being the most influential of this group, but it was central to the essentially pedagogic Dance Society, and with the merging of the two Societies in 1932 and the deaths in the 1920’s and 30’s of so many of the late Victorian and Edwardian period collectors, and with their passing that also of their methodologies, it became – in consultation with other international groups – one of the combined society’s foundational doctrines.

Of course an internationalist agenda had always been a central part of the identity of the Folk-Song Society, as Frederick Keel noted on its 50th Anniversary “Throughout its independent life it resisted all attempts to narrow its field, or to apply the name ‘English’ or ‘British.’”, much to the chagrin of some of its members, one of whom, ironically, was the young Vaughan Williams, who made this very suggestion as his first proposal upon being elected to the societies committee in 1904, but “After some discussion the proposal was negatived, and the meeting adjourned.”

Admittedly it wasn’t until 1911, in the form of the already mentioned Tolmie collection, that the precedent of publishing a non-English language collection was set, but as early as their second journal in 1900 the Society had published Francis L. Cohen’s paper ‘Folk-Song Survivals in Jewish Worship-Music’; nonetheless, it is understandable that the vast majority of the songs collected and papers published were of English material, reflecting the simple fact that the society was a “Folk Song Society situated in England”. But whilst Freeman’s was only the


7. This was something that was finally taken to its logical extension, utilising the Dance Society’s more developed links with its continental equivalents, when the EFDSS moved towards the internationalist agenda that was finally to be defined by the foundation in 1947 – at a meeting presided over by Vaughan Williams – of the International Folk Music Council, itself an offshoot of the 1935 founded International Folk Dance Council, see Karpeles, Maud, ‘The International Folk Music Council’, Journal of the Folklore Institute, Vol. 2, no. 3 (1965), p. 308.


9. ‘Report of the Annual General Meeting Held at the Royal Academy of Music, Tenterden Street, W. (By Kind Permission Of Sir Alexander C. Mackenzie, Mus. Doc.) On Friday, June 24th, 1904, 5.30 p.m. Sir C. Hubert H. Parry, Bart., Mus. Doc, in the Chair.’, xii. This can be found bound between the title-page and page 1 of JFSS No. 6 (II, no. 1, 1905) of the EFDSS copy available on JSTOR, and bound at the back of No. 6 of the Indiana University Library copy.

10. Keel, ibid. The full quote – as I have taken it out of context – is “On its amalgamation, in 1932 with the English Folk Dance Society, its name was drawn into that of the larger and more organised body, but it is still a Folk Song Society situated in England, not one confined to the preservation of English Folk Song”.


second non-English language collection to be included in the pages of the Journal, there was a second factor that made its publication all the more remarkable, for between the date of its collection and the date of its publication, a phenomenal political sea-change had occurred. When Freeman made his collection he was working in what was then still part of the British Empire, for although Home Rule had been the burning political question for the best part of the previous thirty years, Ballyvourney was at that time still part of the “United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland”, whilst by the time of the publication of the final part of the collection in September 1921 the establishment of the Irish Free State was less than three months away. Seeing these momentous events through the narrow prism of the publications of a British Folk-Song Society speaks highly of the politically non-partisan make up of the society, and what should not be overlooked in evaluating its work at this time is the fact that the first two parts of this Irish collection, printed in England in January 1920 and January 1921 respectively, came out during the Anglo-Irish War, the first part during the relatively quiet part of the conflict, but the second during the height of the bloodshed, whilst the final part was issued between the cease fire in July and treaty in December of that year.

In noting these points: of the growing internationalist slant of the society’s publications, and thus the way in which Freeman’s collection, by the very nature of its contents, lent itself to publication in the post-War journal; as well as the fact that the collection has acquired the weight of an added historical importance due to the proximity of its publication to foundational events in Irish history, I am not suggesting that’s its inclusion was simply due to fortuitous happenstance, or that its lustre is merely a reflected one, but that it should be judged on its own merits as a collection of importance, firstly because it concentrated on a previously neglected geographical location and secondly because although the complete collection consists of a total of nearly a hundred songs or their variants thereof, the collector, with only five exceptions, restricted himself to four main singers, and thus was able to give an overview of their individual repertoires and song cultures only rivalled in depth by Grainger’s Lincolnshire work. This is especially so of his main informant Mr. Conny Cochlan – “Said to be over 80 in 1914, but no one knows his age.” – who contributed over half of the songs in the collection, but is also true of the youngest, Miss Abbey Barrett, then aged about thirty-seven and about whom we are told that “She learned all the tunes I took from her from old people. She sings them all without...

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11. The collection consists of 84 main, numbered songs, but a number of these contain second – and in one case even a third – versions, as well as “a” and other subsidiary versions, thus giving the total of 98, the collection breaks down in the following way: JFSS 23: Songs 1-34, 18a, 31a = 36 + 2nd versions of 9, 12, 18a, 19, 31, 32, & 2nd & 3rd versions of 20 = + 8 = 44; JFSS 24: Songs: 35-54, 35a, 38a = 22 + 2nd tune for Song 50 = 23; JFSS 25: Songs 55-84 = 30 + 2nd version of 65 = 31. Total, 44 + 23 + 31 = 98. Donal O’Sullivan in his short encomium of the collection in the Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society gives a total of 96, this discrepancy is probably due to the variants for Song 50 (noted as a “Second Tune” rather than a “Second Version”) and Song 31(a), as the former isn’t listed in the collection index, whilst the latter, though mentioned “(31a and 31b variants)”, is done so in a way which gives the impression that this numbering is for the First and Second versions of song 31, when in fact 31(a) is a separate piece, to confuse matters further, there is no 31b variant! For the indexes see: JFSS, No. 23 (VI, No. 3, 1920), xi-xii, and JFSS, No. 24 (VI, No. 4, 1921), [vii]. For O’Sullivan see: O’Sullivan,, D[onal]. J., ‘The Ballyvourney Collection’, JIFSS, No. 18 (IV, no. 18, 1921), p. 40.

12. These are song Nos. 14 second version, and 65 second version: Mr. Frank Brewe; Song 31(a) “sung by several young singers in Ballyvourney”; Song 41: Mr. Dinneen; and song 47: Hannah Riordan (aged 15).

hesitation but thinks some of them very odd.”\textsuperscript{14} the other two informants being Mrs. Mary Sweeny, noted as being illiterate and knowing no English, whose voice was “very small and feeble but well in tune” and from whom Freeman took down Jacobite songs, and Miss Peg O’Donoghue, also illiterate and roughly the same age as Mrs. Sweeny but described by Freeman as “The best natural musician I met in the district” adding that “She is infirm, emotional, excitable, and I seldom could get down more than one short song from her at a sitting. When singing a complete song she becomes ecstatic.”\textsuperscript{15} The importance that Freeman set on noting the subtleties of the singers’ individual styles is one of the acknowledged great strengths of the Ballyvourney Collection, something still recognised decades later when Tomás Ó Canainn wrote that:

“Freeman’s scholarly approach to his task and his determination to reproduce as nearly as he could, either by musical annotation or by written commentary on the songs, the nuances of performance, means that not only has the basic material of the tradition been saved but something of the local style as well.”\textsuperscript{16}

Not surprisingly it provided a template for later Irish collections, being immediately recognised upon its publication as a major contribution to Irish Folk-Song scholarship. Donal O’Sullivan, Honorary Editor of the \textit{Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society} and co-member with Freeman of its Publications Committee described it as “a record of the highest scientific value, both linguistic and musical, and the method adopted of notation and annotation provides a model for all future collectors of Irish songs.” adding that “we of the Irish Folk Song Society intend to proceed on the lines of the Ballyvourney Collection, and we cannot flatter it more sincerely than that.”\textsuperscript{17}

If any criticism can be levelled at the collection it is the curious omission of specific collection dates, though this was probably due to not only the protracted gestation of its publication but also to Freeman’s way of working, in which he would bring to Mr. Cochlan the songs that he had collected from other singers for his evaluation and – in the case of fragments – emendation: consequently some of the songs were pieced together over a number of days, but the main reason must be due to its publication history. The collection had been the product of two trips made to Ballyvourney in 1914, the first as an initial reconnaissance, and the second as an extended ten weeks visit in the Autumn when the songs were actually collected.\textsuperscript{18} Two sources give us clues to the time of the second visit, firstly Freeman’s quoting of Mr. Cochlan’s comment: ““There are not,” he said, “any two men in Ireland who could do what you and I have done this för (August to October). […]” and one English language song from Mr. Cochlan’s repertoire ‘Where were you all day, my own purtee boy’ (a version of ‘Lord Randal’), that was separately published as part of the Appendix to Journal 19 (1915) where it was dated October

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.


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5th 1914. Upon Freeman presenting his collection to the Society it had been hoped that the first part of it might have been published by 1916, with the collector himself giving a series of talks over the following year to generate interest in the soon to be printed collection, as the Society’s Annual Report for 1915 noted –

“Mr. A. Martin Freeman, one of our more recent members, gave the Irish Folk-Song Society, the Irish Literary Society, and the Folk-Lore Society delightful papers on his collection of Gaelic Songs from Ireland, himself singing the illustrations admirably.”

but, as Lucy Broadwood noted in her ‘Preface’ to the collection “the Great War decided otherwise”, for not only Freeman’s active service in the war, but also the internment of Frederick Keel, the Journal’s then editor, in Ruhleben Camp, Berlin, for the duration made its publication impossible. In so far as the collection could be sorted and arranged in Freeman’s absence it was, with Robin Flower, the then Keeper of the Irish MSS in the British Museum and Professor of Irish language literature at London University appointed to the position of proof-revision, but it required Freeman’s return from Europe, which wasn’t until the Summer of 1919, before he could vet and put the finishing touches to the printers copy, consequently, as has already been noted it wasn’t until January 1920 that the first part was published, with the remaining two parts issued the following January and September.

Freeman and the phonograph

While this collection was purely one of pen and paper, it must have increasingly dawned on Freeman that the phonograph provided a viable means for documenting song and it comes as no surprise that it was Lucy Broadwood who made his one series of phonograph recording possible. The history of this begins on the 11th March 1915 when she invited him to her house to play him some of her Gaelic recordings and discuss his collecting work.

The meeting must have been a success as the following day Broadwood was writing to Freeman “re: contributions

19. Freeman, A. M., ‘Irish Folk Songs’, *JFSS* No. 25 (VI, No. 5, 1921), p. 334; and ‘Appendix: The Little Wee Croodin’ Doo; or, Lord Ronald; [Lord Randal]’, *JFSS* No. 19 (V, No. 2, 1915), pp. 244-246, where Mr. Cochlan’s version (listed under his Irish name, Conchubhar Ó Cochláin) is given with another song collected by Freeman, the related Italian ballad ‘Dove andashti ieri sera?’ from Dominica Persi, noted on February 18th 1915 (Ibid. pp. 247-248) Persi was from Piperno, Romagna, but is noted as being “in service”, so one can assume that this song was noted in London.


22. ‘Annual Report for 1917’, *JFSS* No. 22 (VI, No. 2, 1919), ix-x.

23. Broadwood, Lucy, ‘Preface’ [to Freeman’s collection], *JFSS* No. 23 (VI, No. 3, 1920), iii.

24. Entry for 11/03/15. Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/26: Again, I am indebted to Irene Shettle for sending me her transcripts of Broadwood’s 1915 diary.
to Folk-Song Journal. Their next meeting wasn’t to be until September when both Freeman and his wife visited Broadwood to hear more of her Gaelic recordings, but it must have been at this meeting that it was decided that Freeman would try his hand at making his own recordings as the following week Broadwood “prepared phonograph to lend to Mr. A. Martin Freeman.” Freeman kept the phonograph for just over two weeks as it was returned to Broadwood by his wife on the 16th October, it is probable that the loan had only been intended for a short period, but the return of the instrument was probably precipitated by an illness that had necessitated Freeman having to convalesce at a nursing home, leaving Broadwood and his wife to go through “some of Mr. Freeman’s collected records,” he was obviously better by the following month though as on the 21st of November he “came early and had tea and sang into and tested old records of my phonograph.”

These entries mean that Freeman had access to Broadwood’s phonograph between the 30th September and the 16th October, evidence further borne out by the one surviving recording from his collection which is clearly dated “London [ ] Oct 2. 1915” as part of the second, horizontally written, inscription on the side of its box. Thus emphatically placing his phonograph recordings between his main collecting work in the latter half of 1914 and his call-up for the War effort in 1916.

Illustration XXI. Freeman’s Inscription on cylinder box C37/1591
Courtesy of the British Library & VWML/EFDSS

What we don’t exactly know is the extent of his phonograph collection other than that it consisted of at least two and possibly as many as ten cylinders. This problem stems from the two sources that mention them; firstly there are Broadwood’s diary entries, the one from the 16th of October (see above) being the most important in that it talks of Freeman’s recordings in the plural, so we at least know that he made more than one recording – not counting the ones that Broadwood may have made of him on the 21st November – but that is all that can be gleaned from this source, the other manuscript source consists of the two lists to be found in the unpublished Karpeles and Slocombe, Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, made between 1949 and 1950\(^{31}\). I will discuss this document in greater detail in the following chapter, but for the purpose of Freeman’s collection we are presented with two pieces of evidence. Firstly, a list entitled Phonographs which is a box by box (but unfortunately not item by item) list of the collection before it was surveyed, in which the number of cylinders in each box is noted, being between 4 and 12 cylinders, and then the Report itself, which unfortunately only lists the cylinders that were preserved. It is in this latter list that two of Freeman’s cylinders are noted individually, namely as cylinders 112 and 113 (the numbers are Karpeles and Slocombe’s own, not the collector’s\(^{32}\)) both titled “Whistling.” and described as “[…] good condition, quite clear” with provenance given (capitalised in the source) as:

FOLLOWING FROM BOX LABELLED “BOX 12: A. MARTIN FREEMAN’S IRISH RECORDS, OCTOBER 1915”

Unfortunately, only one of these, number 113, appears to have survived, which consists of three whistle tunes played by Frank Brewe of Ruan, West Clare. He is phonetically called “Frank Brue” on the cylinder box, but this is corrected in his two appearances in Freeman’s collection in the JFSS where two of his English language versions of Irish songs are given as “Second Versions” to pieces collected in Ballyvourney. The second of these is a one verse fragment beginning ‘And he says: “Lady love, won’t you come with me now?”’ which Freeman identified with song 65 in his collection ‘Éamon A Chnuic [Ned Of The Hill]’ noting however that Brewe’s text doesn’t appear in the translation of this song to be found in Mangan’s Poets and Poetry of Munster\(^{33}\), whilst the first song from Brewe, beginning ‘There’s a home by the wild Avon More’ is given as a version of song 14 ‘Er Éring Ní Neóssuing Cé Hi. [For The World I Would Not Say Who She Is]’ to which Freeman has added the important note “Mr. Brewe sang his version to me in London, in September, 1915. I give it here as an example of the

\(^{31}\) Karpeles and Slocombe, Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society [unpublished]. WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder. [two versions].

\(^{32}\) See Part II, Chapter X.

\(^{33}\) Freeman, A. Martin, ‘Irish Folk Songs’, JFSS No. 25 (VI, No. 5, 1921), p. 283. The version in Mangan is titled ‘Eamonn an Chnoic’, see the 4th edition of James Clarence Mangan’s, The poems and poetry of Munster: a selection of Irish songs by the poets of the last century (Dublin: James Duffy & Sons, [ca. 1884]) pp. 264-271. The variant editions and complex publishing history of this work would itself warrant its own paper, but Freeman makes it clear in his ‘List of the Principal Works Consulted and Referred To’ that he mainly utilised the “second series, “with metrical translations by Erinnmach” (1860), and the fourth and fifth editions (Dublin, James Duffy and Co.), the latter published in 1884”, see JFSS 23 (VI, No. 3, 1920) viii. I have favoured this reference and the University of Toronto catalogue over the British Library Catalogue which erroneously dates this edition to 1901 (see bibliography).
songs of a generation of translators and adaptors, who still have a good deal that is Irish in their singing." Consequently we know that Freeman was collecting from Frank Brewe in London in September and early October 1915, but whether these songs were also recorded as well as the two cylinders of whistle tunes is impossible to say based on the present evidence. If the reference in the earlier Karpeles and Slocombe Phonographs list is correct – and not an error in which the presence of one or two of Freeman’s recordings led to an entire box being attributed to him – then it is likely that he did record Brewe’s singing for we are told that Box 12 contained a total of ten cylinders; furthermore the later Report on Phonograph Cylinders has a gap of ten titles between cylinder 113 and cylinder 124 (meaning that those numbers were destroyed as “inaudible”), a large enough gap to certainly cover the remaining eight from Box 12 that are now missing, but a number of factors should be considered before we attribute all the Box 12 recordings to Freeman.

Firstly there is the simple issue of accuracy in the Karpeles and Slocombe Report, for as well as simple errors of transcription, such as “Mrs. Venall” for “Mrs. Verrall” and “Ade” for “Acle” (an understandable error) there are also numerous errors in collector attribution, for example, all of the six surviving cylinders from the eight that made up “Box 7” in the first list are attributed to Sharp, when in-fact two of them were not his work at all, David Penfold’s ‘The Trees’ being definitely, and Henry Day’s ‘On the banks of the Nile’ probably, recorded by Vaughan Williams. Likewise cylinder 3 in the Report, ‘The Turtle Dove’, another Penfold / Vaughan Williams recording, is also attributed to Sharp as is cylinder 16, Frederick White’s ‘Claudy Banks’, probably recorded by Gardiner, and although cylinders 23 and 64 are noted as being from Herefordshire there is no reference to Leather at all in the list. Certainly, we have no reason to doubt that Box 12 was labelled “A. Martin Freeman’s Irish Records” but that doesn’t mean that all ten recordings inside it were by him. If this seems an overly strong assertion to make on very little evidence, the strongest factor in its support is found in the one recording from his collection that has survived, namely C37/1591, or cylinder 113 as it is numbered in the Report, and that support lies in its condition, for this recording must number as one of the clearest in the collection, only rivalled by the London Gaelic recordings. Furthermore we know from the Report that its companion recording was in equally good condition, so the question that has to be asked is whether it is likely that with cylinder 113 (and, by inference, the now lost cylinder 112) amongst the best in the collection, that the remaining eight Freeman recordings (if one assumes that cylinders 114-122 made up the rest of the set) could be so poor as to have been disposed of in the 1950 culling. This strikes me as very unlikely, but the Broadwood diary references certainly suggest more than a couple of recordings, so it is currently impossible to say what percentage of Box 12 consisted of other recordings by or of Freeman. Unless a complete, associative list to the Report comes to light, noting the contents of all the 138 cylinders surveyed, it is unlikely that a final decision can be reached on this point.

Freeman’s 1914 Ballyvourney collection marks the highpoint of his field collecting work, but it didn’t mark the end of his involvement with folk-song: as already noted, it wasn’t to be until 1921 that the collection was printed in total and he was to remain a major figure in the Irish Folk Song Society until its dissolution in 1939, furthermore with the merging of the FSS with the English Folk Dance Society in 1932 Freeman remained on the Journal’s editorial board, a

34. JFSS No. 23 (VI, No. 3, 1920), pp. 133-136.
position he held until his death in 1959\textsuperscript{35}, but one other contribution to folk-song scholarship is also worth noting. As Broadwood’s diary entries make clear, her meetings with Freeman weren’t just to consider his Irish collection and its publication, but also to introduce him to her Gaelic work, so it is therefore fitting that when those songs from her Gaelic collection were posthumously published as four articles, covering 52 songs, beginning in the last Journal of the Folk-Song Society and continuing in the first three Journals of the newly constituted English Folk Dance and Song Society\textsuperscript{36}, that it was to Freeman that the overall task of editing the collection was entrusted. In the preface to his own collection Freeman had acknowledged how much he owed to Broadwood for his collection being published\textsuperscript{37}; in this later enterprise one sees him repaying the debt to his mentor.

By 1915 the Europe that existed when the first of the Folk-Song Society phonographs were made was quickly disappearing, whilst with the commercial dominance of the gramophone disc over the phonograph cylinder the very technology that they relied upon was soon to become far less readily available. It is therefore unfortunate that only one of the two definitely known A. M. Freeman recordings has come down to us, but it is fitting that the one that has is such a splendid recording, for as these London based Irish whistle tunes are chronologically the very last recordings in the Folk-Song Society collection they as such mark the end of our survey of these recordings.

\textsuperscript{35} This is attested by his name still being on the list of the Editorial Committee as noted inside the cover of the JEFDNS Vol. 8, No. 4 (1959). My thanks to Dr. David Atkinson for providing me with this information.


\textsuperscript{37} Freeman, A. M., ‘Collector's Preface’, Journal of the Folk-Song Society, No. 23 (VI, No. 4, 1920), iv.
The End of Collecting

Why did the recordings cease in 1915? Certainly, as the effect on the publication of Freeman’s collection in the journal has shown, the War was a very major factor in interrupting the work of the Folk-Song Society, since the editor was interned in Berlin, Sharp was to travel to the United States in the hope of making a living from his lectures, Butterworth (along with three other members of the English Folk Dance Society’s first demonstration Morris side) was killed in the Somme offensive\(^1\), and Grainger, who had relinquished his committee membership in 1911\(^2\) but was still a society member, had left for America in 1914, his mother’s health was collapsing and he knew that if he stayed in Britain he would be unable to resist the pressure to volunteer, hence his precipitate relocation to the States\(^3\).

But other factors contributed to this break in continuity, for the War followed not only the premature deaths of Gardiner and Henry Hammond in 1910, and that of the great Scottish collector Gavin Greig in 1914, but also the end, to all intents and purposes, of intensive collecting by Vaughan Williams, Leather, Grainger and Broadwood: Vaughan Williams and Leather both, bar a few exceptions, ceased collecting in 1913, Grainger, with regards to English music, in 1909, and Broadwood’s main collecting work, which had always been sporadic and rarely in the field – preferring as she did to rely on others sending her the material or visits by the singers themselves (the 1907 Arisaig phonograph sessions being a notable exception) – was long over by 1914\(^4\); Alfred Williams, though not a contributor to the *Journal*, ceased collecting

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3. In this he was, as with so many other things, precipitate, conscription not being introduced until 1916. For Grainger’s rational for leaving see Bird, John, *Percy Grainger*, [3rd edn] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 176.

in late 1916 when he joined the army\(^5\). Furthermore, by 1910 Sharp was more concerned with wrestling the initiative in dance education from Mary Neal’s Espérance Morris group, a bitter struggle between former allies, later succinctly described by the source musician and Morris dancer William Kimber as the “bother” in which “she wanted to drive the coach and he [woul]’dn’t wear it”\(^6\), consequently most of his energy went into founding his own rival English Folk Dance Society in 1911 and in the immediate years after that its survival and consolidation\(^7\).

Admittedly, the immediate post-War journals contained some relatively recent collecting work, the already considered three volumes devoted to Freeman’s collection being the most extensive of these, along with Juliet Williams’s collection of ‘London Street Cries’, with additions from Broadwood and Annie Gilchrist, collected between 1911-1918, which made up the centrepiece of Journal 22 (1919), whilst the seventeen songs noted by E. J. Moeran in Norfolk, which made up the bulk of the rather short 26th issue (1922) could be said to even be an exercise in proving that there was indeed continuity in both song singing and collecting work, in that the two periods in which the collection was made (1915 and 1921-22) fell on either side of the collector’s own Wartime experiences. Nearly all the other material published was to be posthumous: Journal 27 (1923) was devoted to the Hammond collection, Journals 28-30 (1924-1926) the John Clague Manx collection and Journal 31 (1927) was a memorial edition to Sharp. Admittedly the very last Journal of the 1920’s, number 33 was shared between two small contemporary collections, a selection of eight “Carols from Cornwall” made by J. E. Thomas and T. Miners, mainly between 1924 and 1927\(^8\) and six “Folk Songs from the Essex-Suffolk Border” noted by Dr. Thomas Wood in 1928-1929, but by the time of publication J. E. Thomas had died and Wood was himself to note, in the introduction to the collection, that in a year of searching for material in the Stour valley. “The results are not large. I have so far found only two men who were able to give the tunes and text of songs in anything like a complete form”\(^9\).

It is therefore not surprising that the belief – which was to become a commonplace – grew within the Society that every early song of consequence that could be collected in England, before the older source singers died out, had been, and thus the new purpose of the Society was to move from the accumulation of more song variants and towards the consolidation of this collected legacy within educational and organised cultural activities.

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8. Omitting the two versions of ‘Green Bushes’ appended to the first song in the collection, one from Gilchrist collected in 1907, and one reprinted from Sam Cowell’s 120 Comic Songs (ca. 1850) the one exception is the third version of the ‘Wassail Song’ which Miners had noted in 1914, see: Thomas, J. E., and T. Miners, ‘Cornish Carols’, Journal of the Folk-Song Society, 32, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1929), p. 123.

This was of course a convenient matter for those in the Folk-Song Society who saw the shift in the societies activities towards education as the logical furtherance of their earlier collecting work, but it was an unwelcome shift in emphasis for some, as Vaughan Williams was to later write in his obituary of Lucy Broadwood in the English Folk Dance Society’s *Journal* –

“It is perhaps natural that Miss Broadwood’s mind should have been more in touch with a purely learned body like the Folk Song Society than with a Society like ours, which is concerned with action rather than with theory;”

To which, in an attempt to do justice to both schools of thought, he added –

“The difference between the two schools of thought is becoming an historical fact and ceasing to be a subject of controversy. We can recognize that the propagandist principle has its risks just as the other has its limitations.”

But whilst there were those in the Folk-Song Society who felt uncomfortable with the move from collecting to popularist dissemination, such was a central tenant of the pedagogic Dance Society, for whilst it can be said that Evangelising was always central to Sharp’s work the foundation of the English Folk Dance Society gave him for the first time a group where he not only had complete control over the material collected and collated but also over its propagation and dissemination; consequently, with the exception of his financially imposed trip to America in 1915-1918 in which he alternated lecturing with field-work, Sharp’s later work concentrated on educational matters and whilst he didn’t live to see the merging of the two Societies in 1932 this coming together of the smaller society of song experts with the larger one of dance practitioners can be seen as not only a culmination of his work and beliefs but also the point at which the idea that everything of consequence that could be collected had been, increasingly become the orthodoxy of the newly combined English Folk Dance and Song Society.

**The Combined Society**

Evidences for this shift in emphasis are not hard to find, and can be charted in the Journal; initially there is some allowance that material might exist that was still awaiting collection, and a degree of caution is initially sounded, as illustrated by Frank Howes’ editorial for the Society’s first journal in 1932 –

“The primary work of both societies, which was to collect and conserve the remains of traditional song and dance has been, as far as we can see, accomplished – and accomplished with a measure of success that entitles us to a modest and, we hope, legitimate pride. But it would be foolish to write *finis* hastily to that chapter: we do not know, we rejoice in the uncertainty that at any moment someone may light on a song hitherto unrecorded or dance previously unobserved, and we fully expect to find variants of sufficient interest to put on permanent record. The work of preservation will in fact be continued to just such an extent as the occasion warrants, and in token of this intention a dozen folk-songs and two folk-dances are recorded in this *Journal.*”


This echoed sentiments expressed at the Special General Meeting that was held to consider the merger of the two Societies when Fox Strangways observed that “there are no more folk-songs, only variants, to collect”\(^\text{12}\), which within a few years had hardened into the orthodoxy of a ‘job-well-done’ -

“Now that the actual collection of oral folk-song is for practical purposes completed in this country, the task that confronts students of folk-song is to sift the large quantity of material that has been preserved and by comparative study see how far its history can be written.”\(^\text{13}\)

Furthermore, Vaughan Williams, who became the Society’s President in 1929, and thus the most influential member to side with this societal interpretation of the changing dynamics of the Folk-Song Society in the post-War period, was often to reiterate these ideas in his later writings. On the occasion of the Folk-Song Society’s Diamond Jubilee he wrote:

“The great period of folk-song collecting in England came to an end during the First World War; collectors continued to go out into the field, but it was felt by the middle of the ’twenties that there was little left to collect except variants of songs already well known.”\(^\text{14}\)

Not only did this evaluation become the norm, but it could go into the realms of hyperbole, such as in Vaughan Williams’ 1952 ‘President’s Speech’, in which we are taken a step further than even the idea that everything of consequence had been collected, to a retelling of history in which the condition of vernacular culture at the turn of the century was even more perilous than the collectors’ ever admitted at the time –

“about fifty or sixty years ago Folk Song and Dance had almost disappeared, and it was then largely owing to the efforts of our society that it has risen again like a phoenix from its ashes”\(^\text{15}\)

**Self-imposed rules that limited collecting**

In hindsight it can be seen that the situation was much more complicated than these bold statements suggest, for whilst it is quite true that cultural and demographic changes meant that many songs were, as the original Folk-Song Society prospectus stated “in danger of being lost”\(^\text{16}\) and whilst it can be admitted that when dealing with a cultural form one is invariably dealing with finite resources, i.e. that there are only so many created songs not a limitless supply, it should be emphasised that in many ways this noticeable falling off in newly

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12. ‘Special General Meeting’, *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, Vol. 8, No. 35 (1931), x.


discovered material was not only due to the factors already discussed and acknowledged by the collectors themselves but also by two other factors of their own making, firstly to the society’s own interpretation of what constituted “folk-song”, and secondly to the society’s changing criteria of what should be printed in the pages of the Journal.

I have already considered the first point, that of “selectivity” in Part I, Chapter II, though it is worth noting that the post war period probably saw a wider exposure of rural singers’ to contemporary popular culture than ever before by not only (if they were ex-servicemen) the enforced mobility of their wartime experiences but also, and to a degree commensurate with, their access to the new physical medias for popularising them, i.e. the gramophone record; a cheap, easily duplicated, less cumbersome, and relatively durable format compared to the commercial phonograph cylinder.

With regards to the second point, if one considers the original Rules of the Folk-Song Society, we are told that Rule II is that:

“The Society shall have for its primary object the collection and preservation of Folk-Songs, Ballads, and Tunes, and the publication of such of these as may be deemed advisable.”

The crucial point there is in the last line, the very open rule of publishing “such of these as may be deemed advisable.” but this purposely vague rule though not replaced, was later, in practice, superseded – possibly in the hope that it made the final selection of greater consequence – by one that favoured only printing songs that had not previously been published, implemented by not printing song variants if the editorial board deemed it too similar to any already printed versions. Thus a whole series of collected songs consequently became ineligible for inclusion in the journals pages. By 1948 Margaret Dean-Smith was to note the following –

“Contributions to the Journal are now circulated in MS. It is, by this time, comparatively rare for a “new” English song to be offered, or a variant, hitherto unpublished, that merits inclusion in a Journal which strictly maintains its tradition of including no material of merely passing interest. All too often a contribution has been printed before.”

Consequently one can see how the increased implementation of the Journal’s publication rules ruled out a whole series of collected variants from being included in its pages.

Changes in physical media

As already noted, many of the collectors who ceased collecting before 1914 were those most heavily involved in phonograph work, Broadwood, Vaughan Williams, Leather and Grainger; consequently one should not be surprised that collecting via sound-equipment wasn’t resumed after the hiatus of the War, but why didn’t other collectors take up the challenge of continuing this work? A partial answer to this question is already given by the changes in the Society outlined in this chapter, it was felt that there was less to collect and less Society members were

17. *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 1 (1899), [vi].

collecting, inevitably the likelihood that one of them would also add the logistical problem of audio recordings to their work was correspondingly low, but more importantly, there was the problem of having a convenient medium to hand.

The two phonograph machines to be found at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library are both of the Edison “Standard” make which, as Chris Bearman has noted, were made for dictation and “not designed for ethnomusicological fieldwork”, furthermore as well as being unsuited to the rigours of transportation and improvised recording sessions the optimum state for recording into the wax blanks was during warm weather\(^{19}\), which, if Dr Bearman’s theory that Sharp’s main series of recordings was made during the two and a half weeks between the end of December 1907 to the beginning of January 1908 is correct\(^{20}\), would give us a further reason for the unsatisfactory results that he obtained during his one extended attempt at using the phonograph. Nonetheless despite these practical issues the phonograph, in 1906, was still the best technology for making home recordings, whilst its associated range of commercial recordings and playback equipment was still holding its own in the audio equipment format-war against the cheaper but sonically inferior gramophone.

This industry position had been made possible with the implementation and marketing from 1902 onwards of the Edison Gold-Moulded cylinder as a replacement method of commercial duplication over the pantographic system. This earlier method essentially consisted of utilising two balanced needles, one playing the source recording with the other copying its actions onto a wax blank, and was the method that was still generally current for making duplicates of homemade recordings, as was indeed the case when Sharp made his two copies (C37/1588 and C37/1589) of ‘The Indian Lass’ (C37/1628) but as a method of commercial duplication it was inefficient and time consuming in that it required mechanical copying in real time. The new method entailed the manufacture of a metal master-mould from a wax original and thus permitted a degree of mechanical duplication that could rival the easily stamped gramophone disc record\(^{21}\). Understandably, this method wasn’t generally employed for home recordings, as it would have entailed the time and expense of sending the wax source recording to a factory or chemist with the requisite equipment for making the metal master, but it does seem to have been the method utilised with regards one of our recordings, since the copy that we possess of Gardiner’s recording of Maria Etheridge singing ‘She was wringing of her tender hands’ (C37/1627) is not only made from harder black wax than the other cylinders but also contains an etched rim inscription, both of which are signifiers of this commercial duplication system.

The marketing of the Edison Gold-Moulded cylinder gave phonographs another ten years of commercial viability against the gramophone record, but the format was living on borrowed time and the competition was fast to react with the introduction by the Victor company of a 12

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20. Email to the present writer and Malcolm Taylor 31st March 2012.

21. See ‘Edison Gold-Moulded Cylinders (1902-1912)’ *Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project*, Department of Special Collections, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara, at http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/history-goldmoulded.php [accessed 01/08/12].
inch disc in 1903 thus making possible an average playing time of three and a half minutes enabling them – and the format – to corner the lucrative opera market.

Further attempts were made by the phonograph companies to remain competitive: in 1905 the Columbia Phonograph Company via its American Graphophone branch patented and issued a phonograph player called the “Twentieth Century Graphophone” which could play six inch cylinders (thus increasing the playing time by half) whilst Edison’s company devised the four minute Amberol cylinder by doubling the number of grooves cut in the wax, but the latter was not a success as the public discovered that such finely cut wax was only good for a few plays before the top notes became blunted by the playing needle, this problem was finally solved with the replacement of wax by unbreakable celluloid in what were called Blue Amberol cylinders (named after the dye colour used to differentiate them from their wax predecessors) the marketing of which was seen as being of sufficient importance for Edison to rechristen his phonograph machines as Amberolas. This didn’t reach fruition until late 1912 by which time the improved model was too little too late, as the recorded release market was by this time dominated by the Victor gramophone, not only due to the increased duration made possible by the 12 inch disc but also by the other great advantage that the gramophone had over the phonograph, namely the possibility of having recordings cut on both sides of the disc, a development implemented as early as 1904 when the Beka company of Germany published the first double-sided records.

Edison was to continue phonograph manufacture for two more decades, but by 1912 the writing was on the wall, as shown not only by the belated launch of the company’s first gramophone discs, the Edison “Diamond Disc”, but also by this being the year when the company made its last soft cylinder commercial recordings. From now on, the company was only to use wax cylinders for their Dictaphone (I am using the term in its generic sense) machines, but now aimed purely at the medium’s original niche market; spoken memorandums and secretarial work, as shown by the publicity film The stenographer’s friend (1910) in which not only is the Dictaphone shown operated by the office boy but the secretary is able to improve her output – “Transcribing the Dictation, the pleasant task of doubling the results” – to the extent that everyone is able to leave the office by five, saluting the Edison representative as they do so, but though competition in this area led to technical refinements in sound quality, the equipment’s limited usage meant that there was no longer any pretence of the recordings being

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23. Ibid, pp. 84-86.


25. Ibid, p. 86.

26. Technically the name patent belonged to the US Columbia Phonograph Company, Edison’s version being called an Ediphone, but the Columbia name stuck, becoming the generic title for such machines.

27. The stenographer’s friend, or, What was accomplished by an Edison business phonograph [Film] (Thomas A. Edison, Inc.: 1910) at The Library of Congress: American Memory: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?ammem/papr:@field(NUMBER+@band(edmp+4058s1)) [accessed 13/08/12].
the audio equivalent of the continually improved gramophone disc; furthermore, although the model in the film is a portable one (the issue of easy transportation is glossed over in the movie but it would obviously have needed to be a portable model in order for the representative to bring it to the office) the later models, sold as part of what was increasingly seen as a modern office package were usually designed with shelves or filing cabinets and consequently as part of the office furniture thus being totally unsuitable for field-work.

Admittedly, amateur recording opportunities and facilities did exist in the second quarter of the twentieth century, initially in the form of one-off aluminium disc pressings of studio recordings and later via the recording booths to be found in shops, arcades and amusement parks such as the “Voice-O-Graph” booth, but the former were only devised in the late 1920’s whilst the latter only became common from the 1940’s onwards, and the bulk of these were to be found in the United States, consequently with the phasing out of the wax cylinder as a format for other than Dictaphone use there was a noticeable lacunae in field recording home equipment that wasn’t to be remedied until the widespread use of magnetic tape in the 1950s made private recording once again a viable option.

For the majority of the public, interested in commercial recordings, these developments were hardly earth shattering; those that preferred the phonograph found themselves in roughly the same position that DAT, Betamax or Laserdisc aficionados found themselves in the later 20th Century when their preferred formats lost out to the generally sonically inferior but cheaper and less temperamental CDR and VHS, but for those who wanted equipment for making their own recordings the triumph of the gramophone was to have an overtly detrimental effect in that the format wasn’t designed to cover the eventuality of making home recordings, it was a purely reactive format, not a potentially proactive or creative one.

Of course, had the artefact of the field recording been a major priority with any of the collectors’ then it is probable that some way of continuing this work, possibly by hoarding and buying up unsold batches of wax blanks, would have been possible, but as has already been shown in the individual collector biographies, such was not the case. The phonograph was only ever a means to an end, not an end in itself, consequently, with the change in mechanical formats making such work even more problematic than it had previously been, it is little wonder that the alternative turned to was a return to the pen-and-paper methodology of the pre-sound recording collectors. Furthermore, this change in technology, and the commensurate logistical changes it brought about for those who may have wished to continue making recordings, occurred just before the watershed of the First World War, is a further and major factor for why the post-War collectors didn’t take up again either their own previous, or their forebear’s earlier recording work. That the commonplace that everything of consequence had been collected was now also current was but a further factor in why the laudable recording work of the Folk-Song Society was not to be continued after 1918.

But, in saying that audio field recordings came to an end in Britain in 1915 I have not forgotten that there are two – one definite and one supposed – exceptions to this rule, unfortunately the one collector who actually made recordings, the American collector James Madison Carpenter worked completely independently of the Folk-Song Society, which is rather ironic in that he was to record many singers that Sharp and Gavin Greig had previously collected, noting around

28. My thanks to Mr. Paul Cullivan for advice on the definitions of these terms and their usage.
two thousand songs and ballads as well as carols, singing games and an extensive collection of three hundred mummers’ plays between 1929-1935 of which approximately 1000 excerpts exist on 179 surviving Dictaphone cylinders, though it should be emphasised that with Carpenter’s collection “excerpt” is the operative word, as his method was to record only a few verses of each song prior to typing the complete text. Unfortunately it seems that the combination of his outsider position as an American, independently funded, collecting in Britain, plus a naturally diffident temperament, mitigated against his working with or even contacting other collectors; consequently, as his work was unconnected with the Folk-Song Society in any way he falls outside the scope of this Thesis.

Whilst the other collector, who was a member of the Society, E. J. Moeran, though deeply involved in collecting and recording work, never actually made phonograph field recordings, despite assumptions that he did. It is to him that we turn now.

**E. J. Moeran**

As I have already noted at the beginning of this chapter, a number of factors contributed to the downturn in collecting by members of the Folk-Song Society in the immediate post-war period, consequently published material tended to consist of posthumously printed matter from earlier collections: the Hammond collection in Journal 27 (1923) the John Clague Manx collection in Journals 28-30 (1924-1926) and the memorial edition to Sharp that made up Journal 31 (1927), the two notable exceptions being Juliet Williams’ 1911-1918 collection of ‘London Street Cries’, the centrepiece of Journal 22 (1919) and the seventeen songs noted by Ernest John Moeran in Norfolk which made up the bulk of Journal 26 (1922), both of which proved that there was indeed some continuity in both song singing and collecting work in the pre-war, wartime and post-war periods. This is especially true of Moeran where the dates of his collecting work, 1915, 1921 and 22 neatly fell on either side of his own Wartime experiences.

Moeran had enrolled at the Royal College of Music in 1913 but interrupted his studies to enlist in late 1914, by June 1915 he had been commissioned 2nd Lieutenant, but found time the following month to note at least five songs from James Sutton, known as “Old Larpin” of

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30. This is a truly phenomenal amount, adding up to some 35 hours worth of recordings [estimation from Dr. David Atkinson; telephone conversations 18th August 2012 and 13th February 2013].

31. There were two reasons for this, firstly that by 1930 he was concentrating on Highland ballad singers the lengths of whose songs meant that few complete pieces would have fitted on a Dictaphone cylinder, secondly that by the later 1920’s Carpenter was perforce reliant on equipment that, due to the market factors already discussed, were no longer designed for quality field recordings, but rather for office and court stenographers, consequently Carpenter, knowing that the sound quality would be, at best, barely adequate, made the recordings essentially as aide-mémoires for later transcription. Details from Bishop, Julia C.: ‘Dr Carpenter from the Harvard College in America’: An Introduction to James Madison Carpenter and his Collection’, *Folk Music Journal*, 7, No. 4 (1998), which quotes from the tape-recorded interview that Alan Jabbour made with Carpenter on 27 May 1972, at Booneville, Mississippi. These tapes are now part of the Carpenter Collection, AFC 1972/001, Reel Tapes, AFS 14,762-14,765. Copies are held at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, VWML Cassettes 121-122.
Winterton, by 1916 he was on active service in France being seriously injured in May of the following year when he received a shrapnel wound to the head at Bullecourt. After convalescence, the rest of his military life consisted of nominal duties at Boyle, Co. Roscommon where his “competent skill in music, was very much in demand in Boyle Society”. Fortunately he wasn’t to be present at the opening of the Anglo Irish War (21st January 1919) as he had been sent on two months study to the School of Military Aeronautics at Buckinghamshire, at the end of which time he was awarded an 80-90 percent disability pension and received his discharge.

As an example of continuity, Moeran’s collecting work would be important. And that he was also, after Vaughan Williams, arguably the most important of the English collector-composers of the 20th Century National school is a further point of consequence, but possibly the most interesting facet to his work is the seemingly effortless and close relationship that he had with his informants in both Norfolk and later on, in Co. Kerry, showing a familiarity that is only seen rarely with the previous generation of collectors. Obviously – as with Ella Leather – a degree of this was due to his being a local person, also of course we are dealing with a post-War environment in which class difference, though still very present, were less a barrier to intimacy, but other factors should be considered that are specific to Moeran’s case, that he was a War veteran, and not only that but one who had been badly wounded in the service of his country must have been a contributory factor, but also that he wasn’t averse to a good drink in jovial company, as his friend Sir Arnold Bax wrote in the obituary he wrote for Moeran in Music & Letters:

“His friendly and unpretentiously straightforward manner was precisely the same whether he was in the company of a brewery peer, an hotel boots, a priest, an out-at-elbows tramp, or even a drink-sodden and bellicose tinker at Puck Fair in Killorglin.”

this empathy with his singers’ is obvious not only in his own reminiscences but also that of his biographers, the most insightful one being that of his friend Philip Heseltine (the composer


33. Dates from Barry Marsh’s ‘Moeran Chronology’ (from his forthcoming biography) available on the Worldwide Moeran Database. [accessed 10/03/2012].


35 Ibid, p. 19. Self calls the school the “School of Military Aeronautics (Royal Air Force)”, I’ve assumed that he is talking about RAF Halton, Buckinghamshire and not the No. 1 School of Military Aeronautics at Reading as the latter had been largely superseded by the former by the time of Moeran’s course.


Peter Warlock) with whom Moeran shared a rather bohemian existence at Eynsford, Kent from early 1925 to late 1927 but who had known Moeran from the early 1920's and in 1924 neatly enumerated the strengths in Moeran's collecting work in a short article for *The Music Bulletin*. As a contemporaneous report this is especially valuable, and although it over-values the importance of Moeran’s collection of “considerably over a hundred” songs it nonetheless is absolutely correct when it talks of Moeran entering “whole-heartedly into the spirit of the old tradition”, it is worth quoting at length -

“Moeran discovered that the tradition of folk-singing was still vigorously alive in the district of Norfolk in which he had lived from his eighth to his twentieth year. His familiarity with the neighbourhood gave him facilities which are often denied to the stranger, and his collection of songs, which now number considerably over a hundred, is undoubtedly one of the finest that has yet been made in any part of the kingdom. There has certainly been no collector who has entered more whole-heartedly into the spirit of the old tradition. He collects these songs from no antiquarian, historical, or psychological reasons, but because he loves them and the people who sing them. It is of no more interest to him whether a tune be referable to this, that or the other mode, or whether a variant of its words is to be found on some old broadside, than it is to the singers themselves.

For him, as for them, the song itself is the thing – a thing lives, a part of the communal life of the country; and, indeed, it is a much more heartening musical experience to sit in a good country pub and hear fine tunes trolled by the company over their pots of beer than to attend many a concert in the West End of London. It is no good appearing suddenly at a cottage-door, notebook in hand, as if you might be the burn-bailey or sanitary inspector, and - if you manage to overcome the singer’s stage fright at all - holding up your hands in pious horror at any verses of a song which may conflict with the alleged tastes of a suburban drawing-room; nor should you spoil the ground for other collectors (as someone has tried to do in Norfolk, it seems) by forgetting that old throats grow dry after an hour’s singing. The scholarly folk-lorist has his own reward, but he does not get in touch with the heart of the people.”


Perhaps the finest tribute that could be paid to Moeran’s personal popularity in the district was the remark of an old man at Sutton after a singing session to which Moeran had brought a visitor from London: “We were a bit nervous of him; with you it’s different, of course - you’re one of us - but he was a regular gentleman, he was.”

After the publication of his seventeen songs in Journal 26 Moeran’s next major entry was to be in Journal 35 (1931) the last one published by the Society before its amalgamation with the English Folk-Dance Society, though for this edition Moeran’s collection was only presented as a discrete package in the second of the two articles devoted to it – ‘Humorous and Disreputable Songs, and Ballads of Adventure’ where all ten songs, numbered 9 to 18 (plus one variant) are from his collection, whereas the first eight songs in the volume, making up the article ‘Love Songs and Ballads’ were treated as the core examples, being augmented by variants from the collections of A. M. Freeman, Frank Kidson, Maud Karpeles and Anne Gilchrist. Two of these songs came from his 1921 collecting trip, but the remainder were collected between 1923 and 1931. Obviously, what we have presented here is only a fraction of his collection for, as Roy Palmer has noted, “He was clearly cavalier with his field collection, of which manuscripts survive for only a score of tunes and a solitary text” but in-fact Palmer underestimates the final total, for even if one omits neat manuscripts of Moeran’s folk song settings there are still 19 tune transcriptions in the collection that Moeran’s widow Peers Coetmore bestowed to the Library of the Victorian College of the Arts at the University of Melbourne in 1977 and a further 10 tunes, plus fragments in a manuscript notebook belonging to M. W. Coetmore-Knott, there are also folk song transcriptions in the manuscript that contains fragments of the unfinished second symphony that resides at The Library of Trinity College Dublin but it is uncertain as to whether these are field notes or themes that Moeran noted for his own arrangements. Nonetheless, even with an expanded total of 30 known tunes this is still a very

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42. The years for the published songs are 8 collected in 1924, 4 in 1927, and 1 apiece in 1923, 1926, 1928 and 1931. See JFSS, 35, 1931, pp. 257-269 for ‘Love Songs and Ballads’ and pp. 270-279 for ‘Humorous and Disreputable Songs, and Ballads of Adventure’.

43. Palmer, Roy, ‘E.J. Moeran and Folksong’ CD booklet article in E.J. Moeran: Complete Solo Folksong Arrangements (Upminster: BMS [British Music Society], 2010), p. 7 and note 17. There is also a very good chance that many manuscripts were lost in Moeran’s last two years, when the combination of illness and alcoholism got the better of him and he would often disappear for weeks at a time, it was during this period that much of the original manuscript of his unfinished 2nd Symphony was either destroyed or lost, so it is little wonder that few of his song collecting field-notes have survived. For the fate of the manuscripts of his late compositions, and in particular the 2nd Symphony see: McNeill, Rhoderick, ‘Moeran’s Unfinished Symphony’, The Musical Times, Vol. 121, No. 1654 (Dec., 1980), pp. 771-773 & 775-777.

44. The Library of the Victorian College of the Arts is now called the Lenton Parr Music, Visual and Performing Arts Library of the University of Melbourne. The Coetmore bequest is listed on the University of Melbourne catalogue as: [E.J. Moeran Collection], Accession Number: melb.h3521515, this entry gives the date of the bequest. I am indebted to Julie Marr, Service and Liaison Support Librarian, for sending me catalogue information on this collection, Julie Marr, email to the author 09/04/13. All other information from Appendix 3 of R. J. McNeill’s PhD thesis ‘A critical study of the life and works of E. J. Moeran’ (Faculty of Music, The University of Melbourne, 1982), the folksong manuscript in the Peers Coetmore bequest had belonged to Julian Herbage until 1965 when he then sent it to Coetmore, it is listed by McNeill at Section 1, No. 34, pp. 813-814. The M. W. Coetmore-Knott manuscript is listed at Section 3, No. 2, p. 816 and the Trinity College Dublin manuscript (Ms. 6451) is listed at Section 5, (d), p. 818.
low total for surviving fieldwork transcriptions, consequently to divine the extent of his, to a very large extent, lost collection one is perforce much more reliant on not only the handful of pieces that were published in the Journal but also on his folksong arrangements, twenty-four of which (out of a total of twenty-seven) being made from songs that Moeran had himself collected. 45

All of which would be but tangentially relevant to the subject of this Thesis were it not for one crucial quote contained in a letter from Philip Heseltine written on the 7th September to fellow composer Bernard van Dieren, where he states –

“I shall be returning to Essex tomorrow or Saturday for about ten days and am going on a folksong hunt with Moeran and a phonograph in the Eastern counties.” 46

It is due to this one source that it has consequently been assumed that Moeran made phonograph recordings: this is understandable, and whilst not impossible, on the surviving evidences given below, it does strikes me as improbable.

Certainly, of all the Folk-Song Society collectors, Moeran, after Grainger, would have had the greatest aptitude for utilising recording technology, having shown from an early age an aptitude for engineering and a love of all things mechanical 47, joining the army as a motor-cycle dispatch rider, a position that allowed him to “indulge his passion both for motor-bike riding and for mechanics” 48. Such concerns inevitably were to take less precedence after the war when it became obvious that his career was to be that of a composer rather than an engineer, though he was to win the Gold Medal of the Motor Cycling Club’s London to Land’s End speed trials in 1922 49, but even in later life he maintained an enthusiasm for technology that is rarely associated with English romantic composers (Elgar, who enthusiastically and famously embraced early recording technology, excepted), for example maintaining a fascination with trains that incorporated not only methodically taking photographs of his favourite engines but also memorising all the local timetables, even going so far as to admit that “minding a railway crossing in some remote spot with two trains a week” struck him as the perfect occupation 50. Furthermore I think it not unfanciful that some of the moto perpetuo themes to be found in his compositions, for example in the first movement of the Symphony in G minor (1924-1937) and the Fantasy Quartet for Oboe and Strings (1946) are specifically written in hommage to rail...
Consequently, as a trained musician but, unlike Vaughan Williams, with an understanding and enthusiasm for technology, the phonograph would have posed few problems for Moeran, but on reviewing the evidence I think it unlikely that he ever made any, and that what we have here is wishful thinking on the part of later writers who have taken Heseltine’s (admittedly unambiguous) quote, conflating it with the later examples of Moeran’s continued audio work with folk song to assume that phonograph recordings were made.

The first argument against this is of course the very simple one that apart from Heseltine’s quote we have no other evidence that such recordings existed, the only piece listed as collected by Moeran in 1923 is ‘All Frolicking I'll Give Over’ (Roud 262 / Laws P1A/P1B) collected from Robert ‘Jolt’ Miller at Sutton, Norfolk, the first singer that Moeran noted songs from when he resumed collecting after the war in 192152, this is in the previously mentioned ‘Love Songs and Ballads’ article where the song receives the credit reference “Sung By Robert Miller” – the most common template by which songs collected by Moeran and published in the Society’s journal were credited53 – with no reference to the song being from a phonograph whatsoever: had the song been a transcript from a cylinder, it is highly unlikely that Moeran wouldn’t have said as much in his article.

Had Heseltine’s letter been written after the event, noting that the recordings had been made, that would have been a different matter, with the lack of other corroborative evidence simply a further reflection of the paucity of surviving manuscripts and artefacts from Moeran’s collection, in-fact it would suggest that there must have been more than one collecting trip in late 1923 and that the song in the Journal was from the trip that was made sans phonographe, but Heseltine was writing in the future tense, and the distance between intention and action is a great one, never more so than when those involved encounter factors that play to their weaknesses and are inimical to carrying out their plans, in the case of these two composers, alcohol.

For Moeran, collecting folk songs in Norfolk necessitated being based in the village public house, and whilst individually both Moeran and Heseltine could be said to have had a weakness for drink, collectively they were topers of prodigious proportions – “spectacular if intermittent drunkards”54, each encouraging the other to further excess. As Stephen Wild, Moeran’s first biographer noted in 1973, for Moeran Heseltine was “a person with whom he shared many common personality and character traits, both laudable and regrettable”55, tragically for Moeran,

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51. From roughly 10’30 in the Symphony and more obviously at 2’00” and 9’45” in the Quartet. The resemblance in the former has also been noted by Lewis Foreman in his notes to the David Lloyd-Jones recording of the Symphony, see Foreman, Lewis, Ernest John Moeran: Symphony in G minor; Sinfonietta [CD booklet] (Germany, Naxos [HNH International Ltd.], 2002).


53. ‘Humorous and Disreputable Songs, and Ballads of Adventure’, JFSS, 35, 1931, pp. 262-263. The other template, when giving the name of a Public House was: “Sung in the “---””.


although drinking was certainly a facilitating factor in his acceptance into public house song cultures in East Anglia and, later on, Co. Kerry it also exacerbated the side-effects of the metal plate that had been inserted into his skull to stabilise his shrapnel wound, and these two things, his wound and drinking were certainly contributory factors to his later ill health and relatively early death, but in the short term, whilst aiding his confidence in both public house song-sessions and the artistic soirées that he and Heseltine hosted for the visiting bright-young-things of the London art world, it not only enervated his creativity but made him “awfully lazy”, it is consequently easy to see how phonographic good intentions might have became lost on the way.

Moeran’s recording projects

If, after considering these factors, it can therefore be assumed that Moeran didn’t make any phonographs, why has Heseltine’s future-tense quote retained its suggestiveness? The answer to this is found if we look at Moeran’s later extra-curricular audio work with folk song, where by “extra-curricular” I mean those recordings, made by institutions, that he was instrumental in bringing about. This occurred on three occasions, the first time being in 1934 when he persuaded the English Folk Dance and Song Society to issue a commercial record of the great Norfolk singer Harry Cox.

Although not the first commercially issued record of an English traditional singer – the set of nine gramophone records of Joseph Taylor recorded by the Gramophone Company in 1908 at Grainger’s behest, seven of which were made commercially available, hold that title – the commercial issuing of a recording of an unaccompanied source singer, as opposed to an arranged folk song performed by a classically trained one was sufficiently revolutionary a venture to excite interest, especially within the local (Norfolk) press, the reviewer for the Eastern Evening News bestowing no less than seventeen column inches to his review of the release and although he was incorrect in thinking it the first record “to reproduce folk song singing in its absolutely unadorned form.” – an understandable error considering how long it had been since the Taylor releases – he was absolutely correct in recognising that “Listening to traditional folksongs rendered in the traditional style is a very different experience from hearing finished renderings of such songs after they have been adapted to modern musical art form.” Moeran was modest about his involvement in this enterprise, his article ‘Notes on Folk-Songs and Traditional Singing in East Norfolk’ published in the October 1936 edition of Norfolk Annual, suggested that the choice of Cox had been very much an executive decision –

“The year before last he was chosen by the English Folk Dance and Song Society to make official gramophone records of traditional songs. In spite of this occasion, which


58. See Bob Thompson’s booklet to the LP release Unto Brigg Fair: Joseph Taylor and other traditional Lincolnshire singers recorded in 1908 by Percy Grainger (London: Leader Sound Ltd, 1972) which also contains a facsimile of Grainger’s 4 page advert flyer to the original set: ‘English Folk-Songs sung by Genuine Peasant Folk-Singers’ (London: Gramophone Company, 1908).

also constituted his first visit to London, the ordeal of recording at the Decca company’s studio passed off without a hitch.\textsuperscript{60}

But this was simply another example of his personal modesty: Moeran had been the first collector to note songs from Harry Cox, back in 1921, just as he had proposed him for this recording venture, meeting the singer at the station as he got off the train and supervising the recording session that was to give us Cox’s first recordings of ‘The Pretty Ploughboy’ and ‘Down by the Riverside’ (more commonly known as ‘The Bold Fisherman’).\textsuperscript{61} Moeran’s reminiscence in Norfolk Annual do rather suggest that this recording was to be the first of a series, obviously sales – the record was specifically for sale only to members of the Society – weren’t good enough to justify an immediate follow-up, but it was a valiant first step for the newly constituted combined society in recognising the integrity of the performance of the source singer; of course, the nature of the project – a commercial recording – presented a conundrum, in that it dictated the singer be brought into the rather sterile environment of a recording studio, thus presenting the songs divorced from their context and culture, and this dilemma was one that Moeran was to address in his next two recording projects.

In 1938 the BBC hired the journalist, collector and folklorist A. L. Lloyd to make radio documentaries, most of which were about political and social issues, most notably the celebrated six part drama-documentary The Shadow of the Swastika but before that Lloyd had managed to widen the remit of his work to include field recordings of vernacular culture after encountering the song evenings at the Eel’s Foot in Eastbridge, Suffolk. In order to document this \textit{in situ}, he arranged for a “Direct Disc Cutting” van to record an evening the following year (May 13\textsuperscript{th}) when Velvet Brightwell, Alec Bloomfield and Edgar Button were amongst the source singers recorded\textsuperscript{62}. In the short term the BBC failed to follow this programme up but it had at least set a precedent and consequently when, after the hiatus of the war, the BBC decided to make more field recordings in late 1945 Moeran was consulted in an advisory capacity and suggested they recorded at The Windmill Inn, Sutton, Norfolk, to record Harry Cox and his drinking associates\textsuperscript{63}. Some sources have assumed that Moeran was present at these recordings\textsuperscript{64}, which took place on the 18\textsuperscript{th} December, but this can’t have been the case as he was in Ireland from November 19\textsuperscript{th} 1945 until January 17\textsuperscript{th} 1946. This trip was initially for the premier of his Cello Concerto (with his wife as soloist) after which they spent the first half of December touring Ireland at the end of which deferred honeymoon Peers had to return to

\begin{itemize}
\item 60. Quoted in Holderness, Chris, ‘E J Moeran Collecting folk songs in East Norfolk - in his own words’ \textit{Musical Traditions}, article MT219 http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/moeran.htm [accessed 23/02/13]
\item 61. Decca 10” OC87/88 (London, 1934), see also Self, p. 49 (though he mistakenly credits the recording to the Gramophone Company).
\item 62. Eleven of these recordings are available, as tracks 5-15 on the Veteran CD \textit{Good Order!} see: Various Artists: \textit{Good Order! Ladies and Gentlemen Please. Traditional Singing & Music from The Eel’s Foot} (Stowmarket: Veteran, VT140CD, CD, 2000). Details from this release.
\item 64. “Recording supervised by E. J. Moeran in The Windmill, Sutton, Norfolk, 18 December 1945” see the booklet to: Various Artists: \textit{We’ve Received Orders to Sail. Jackie Tar at Sea & on Shore} [The Voice of the People: Vol. 12] (London: Topic Records, TSCD 662, CD, 1998), pp. 32 & 45. Moeran persuaded
England leaving Moeran at Kenmare, Co. Kerry, working on his second symphony 65. Mike Yates, recognising this discrepancy, notes that “Moeran persuaded the BBC to send a recording unit 66 which I think sums up the extent of his involvement in this first post-War recording enterprise, advising the BBC who, where, and when to record, but not actually being present himself, that he consequently must have given out this information “blind”, as it were, is backed up by his later writings, for example a year later, in his 1946 article for Countrygoer he suggested that “It seems likely that the spontaneous singing of old songs when men foregather on Saturday nights has now died out.”67 but this was an assumption based on the fact that he “had not-revisited the folk-singing area of Norfolk for many years”68 and, very much reiterating the official line of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, had assumed that traditional song culture was on the decline, he was thus delighted to prove himself wrong in 1947 when he revisited his old haunts at the behest of the BBC who commissioned a follow up programme East Anglia Sings, this time with Moeran in full control.

Moeran’s 1948 article ‘Some Folk Singing of To-Day’ provides us with a lot of detail about this recording session –

“Last autumn I was asked by the British Broadcasting Corporation to make investigations in East Anglia with a view to obtaining authentic recordings of traditional singers. I visited my old haunts in East Norfolk, and to my delight and surprise, I found that not only were many of my old friends living, hale and hearty, but that they were still having sing-songs on their own in the local pubs. Also, fresh singers had turned up in the district, men who had retired from the sea, and in particular a retired wherryman from the Broads whom I had not met before, and who proved to be excellent.

[…] Two weeks after my preliminary trip I went again with a recording van. The singers seemed quite excited about it and were out to do their very best. The engineers, for the most part, arranged things in such a way that all the men had to do was to sit and sing and carry on as usual. In one place, however, this was not possible, and each man had to sing into the microphone. There were five men in the party of singers, and it was really lovely to see what a delight they took in singing into this thing. They seemed to regard it as some sort of new toy. One of them, having sung a song, would pass it on to his neighbour, unprompted by myself, saying “Now it's your turn: hand it on to Bob when you’ve done.”69
Fortunately, the whole programme has survived\textsuperscript{70} and stands as testament not only to the musicianship and artistry of the singers involved, but also to the tangible strength of vernacular music making in East Anglia in the mid-twentieth century and finally, via his song introductions and commentary Moeran’s deep affection for the repertoire and rapport with the singers.

An editorial note was appended to the end of Moeran’s ‘Some Folk Singing of To-Day’ hoping that “in a later number of the Journal Mr. Moeran will tell of his travels in Eire, and contribute some of the songs he collected there - particularly those peculiar to the calling of the tinkers, among whom, and in their tents he lived in the spring of 1948.”\textsuperscript{71} Sadly this wasn’t to be: his physical ailments, compounded by his drinking led to a general collapse in physical and mental health bringing on increasingly erratic behaviour and crippling his creativity. In June 1950 he managed to cease drinking, but the struggle to finish his second symphony was more than he could cope with, and on the evening of December 1\textsuperscript{st} he was seen falling off the end of Kenmare Pier, suicide was rumoured but the autopsy showed he had suffered a massive cerebral haemorrhage and was dead before he even hit the water.\textsuperscript{72}

One of the sad ironies of Moeran’s sudden decline and death was – as Mike Yates has noted – that it occurred “just as the BBC was beginning to send collectors around the country in search of folk music for their \textit{As I Roved Out} program.”\textsuperscript{73}, a programme that was partially built upon the success of Moeran’s documentary and one in which he would have found himself in his element.

As already noted, I believe that the evidence shows that it was highly unlikely that Moeran ever made phonographs, but that the combination of Heseltine’s letter and Moeran’s later exemplary recording work created a receptive environment to the hope that possibly he had made some, on balance I think this unlikely, though – as Moeran was when he discovered that Saturday night sing-songs still existed – I would be delighted if I could be proved wrong, but even if his phonographs are as non-existent as those parts of the second symphony that he could never bring to fruition, in his 78 record of Harry Cox and in the respect he showed to the traditional performer and their culture in \textit{East Anglia Sings} he provided us with two crucial steps in the slow recognition of the primacy of the performance of the traditional singer above all other documentary factors, this is a great achievement, especially when one remembers that the composer E. J. Moeran was not only a skilled transcriber, but also an arranger of consequence, but “Jack” Moeran recognised the primacy of the source, and for this we should be grateful to him.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{70} Various Artists: \textit{East Anglia Sings} (Stroud: Snatch’ed from Oblivion, SFO 005, CD, UK, 2009), the four tracks recorded at the Eel’s foot – though not the introduction – are also found as tracks 1-4 on the Veteran CD \textit{Good Order!} see: Various Artists: \textit{Good Order! Ladies and Gentlemen Please. Traditional Singing & Music from The Eel’s Foot} (Stowmarket: Veteran, VT140CD, CD, 2000).
\bibitem{71} Editorial “Note” (by Margaret Dean –Smith) to Moeran’s ‘Some Folk Singing of To-Day’, \textit{Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society}, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1948), p. 154.
\end{thebibliography}
The 1935 78 rpm record of cylinder transfers

In the previous chapter I looked at the factors that led to a decrease in song collecting after the Great War and the ways in which the amalgamated EFDSS increasingly concentrated on educational avenues and arranged settings of collected songs for achieving its raison d'être of propagating its interpretation of folk culture, such an attitude made the need for field recordings less essential, and whilst the recording medium was to be later utilised by Moeran, such work was mainly to be via the BBC. Nonetheless, it was probably his successful arranging, recording and issuing on behalf of the Society of its 1934 10” 78 rpm record of Harry Cox singing ‘The Pretty Ploughboy’ and ‘Down by the Riverside’ that suggested the possibility of preserving and making the cylinder recordings more accessible by transferring them to 78 rpm record.

Though still used in various versions of the Dictaphone, by the 1930s the phonograph was an obsolete recording medium: not only did it require playback equipment that had long been superseded but the soft wax necessary for home recording was fragile and susceptible to mould. Consequently if the recordings were to be made accessible in a stable format, this necessitated transferring it to 78. Interestingly though, it wasn’t Decca, who had issued the Harry Cox 10” in 1934, but to EMI that the EFDSS turned. Decca was in those days still perceived as very much an “independent” company; it was separate from the two major companies, EMI and RCA, who had controlled the bulk of gramophone recording in the first three decades of the 20th century and consequently whilst it was probably cheaper to use for a small commercial pressing, such as the previous 10”, its reputation for technical work wouldn’t have been on a par with the majors, especially as the audiophile cache that is now seen as synonymous with Decca was not to be associated with the label until the late 1950’s. EMI (Electric and Musical Industries Ltd) on the other hand was the product of the 1931 merger of the Columbia Graphophone Company with the Gramophone Company, which had issued Grainger’s set of Joseph Taylor recordings back in 1908 as well as providing the FSS with test pressings of the series, so the more established company, who had already made archival recordings for the Society would have been the logical choice for this venture when five cylinder recordings were cut to shellac the following year.

Consequently a set of five transfers were made to one disc of which the VWML Sound Archive has three copies, dubbed in 1935, two with the generic HMV yellow labels, a label reserved for

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2. Joseph Taylor’s Gramophone Company records are: 10”: G.C. 3-2971: (a) Murder of Maria Martin (b) Sprig o’ Thyme [matrix 8756e]; G.C. 3-2972: Lord Bateman; G.C. 3-2973 [matrix 8751e]: (a) Died for Love (b) Brig Fair [matrix 8748e]; G.C. 3-2974: Creeping Jane [matrix 8754e]; G.C. 3-2975; Worcester City [matrix 8753e]; G.C. 3-2976: The White Hare [matrix 8750e]; 12”: G.C. 02148: Bold William Taylor [matrix 2518f]: there were also three the alternate takes, one issued separately: 10”: Sprig o’ Thyme [matrix 8747e]: the unissued ones being: 10”: 9a) Rufford Park poachers (b) The gipsy’s wedding day [matrix 8752e]. With the lost alternate takes mentioned being: 10”: (a) Brig Fair (b) Died for Love [matrix 8749e]. See Thompson, Bob, Unto Brig Fair: Joseph Taylor and other traditional Lincolnshire singers recorded in 1908 by Percy Grainger [LP booklet] (London: Leader Sound Ltd, 1972), it is mentioned that there are also rumours of there having been a recording of “Geordie” (np [p. 7]) but that this hasn’t been proved. Copies of all of these bar the lost record, and including white label pressings on superior shellac are all to be found in the VWML Sound Archive.
private pressings, whilst the third has a Columbia white label [see Illustration XXII], despite this difference, and the rather unfortunate typed titling error:

TPX. 29-1. March. 1935. Transfer from Cylinders to Disc for the English Soap Society. (Private Recording)

With the offending word struck through and the correction “Folk Dance” written to its right and “5 folk songs.” Written below, the pressings are identical as all three share the same matrix number’ the yellow labelled copies are no more informative and its only the accession cards which provide titles, albeit sometimes different ones to those given in the MSS.

Illustration XXII. Label of the 1935 78 rpm of Cylinder transfers [TPX. 29 – 1. Archive No. 67 A]
Courtesy of VWML/EFDSS

The following table gives the contents of the record, singer, MSS titles, collector and the equivalent cylinder number, also a suggested playback speed –

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3 Matrix: TPX 29 – 1. The three records have been numbered and renumbered over the years by the archive, at the moment the current Archive Nos. are 67 and 67 B for the two HMV yellow labels and 67 A for the Columbia white label.
The suggested playback speed is only noted as in making my own dubbings from the 78 it soon became apparent that at least two of the recordings had been copied at too slow a speed, namely tracks 3 and 4; as I had access to a variable speed 78 player I was able to increase these two to 82 rpm, and although I would not claim these as the correct speeds I do consider them preferable to the obviously too slow recordings on the 78.

Two things become immediately apparent when looking at this table, firstly, that (the unidentified recording excepted) all of the recordings are from Vaughan Williams’ and Leather’s collections, and secondly, and most importantly, that of the five recordings, three are from cylinders no longer extant in this collection.

Regarding the unidentified recording, only three versions of the song made in the correct period for the cylinders (1905-1915) are known: William Burland’s version, noted by Sharp in 1906; Albert Gregory’s, collected by Gardiner in 1909; and Edward Spooner’s, collected by Clive Carey in 1912. But none of these match the recording on the 78. Noting that all the other recordings were taken from Vaughan Williams and Leather would suggest that it must be from their collections, with different factors favouring both options: The fact that the transfer is correct at 78 favours its being from Vaughan Williams’ collection – as the two other transfers from his cylinders are both correct at this speed, unlike the two from Leather’s which play closer to 82 rpm, whilst MSS clues in the Karpeles / Slocombe Phonographs list initially seems to favour Leather, namely that ‘Claudy Banks’ is listed as “Gypsy (2)”, which presupposes that this was the second of two recordings, ‘Bonny Labouring Boy’ possibly being the other, but the problem with this is that even if one takes into consideration the discrepancies in dubbing speed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>MSS Title</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Collector</th>
<th>Suggested Playback Speed</th>
<th>C37</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rolling in the dew</td>
<td>Rolling in the dew</td>
<td>Mrs Verrall</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bonny Labouring Boy</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[EML?]</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Banks of Claudy</td>
<td>The Claudy Banks</td>
<td>Alfred Price Jones</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pretty Caroline</td>
<td>Pretty Caroline</td>
<td>Mrs Powell</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>C37/1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Still Growing</td>
<td>The Trees</td>
<td>David Penfold</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>C37/1583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Respectively: Cecil Sharp Manuscript Collection (Clare College, Cambridge) (CJS2/10/990); George Gardiner Manuscript Collection (GG/1/21/1412); Clive Carey Manuscript Collection (CC/1/139). It also isn’t Robert Barratt’s version noted by H. E. D. Hammond, though that should be ruled out as it’s too early (1905) see: VWML/Henry Hammond Manuscript Collection (HAM/2/9/23).

5. VWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder: Karpeles and Slocombe, Phonographs [1 page, unpublished].
the singer of ‘Bonny Labouring Boy’ is clearly not the same as on ‘Claudy Banks’, his voice being slighter lighter. This on its own wouldn’t be enough to say definitely that the recording isn’t of the same singer, but what is an issue, for both Vaughan Williams and Leather, is that we have neither MSS nor published sources that credits either with having collected this song, consequently it has to remain unattributed.

It is unfortunate that this experiment in dubbing cylinders to 78 never got any further than this single disc, for whilst we have no evidence for why these five recordings were chosen for this trial 78 of transfers, what we do know is that of the five recordings extant in 1935, only two of the originals have subsequently come down to us. To find out why requires looking at the next part of this collections history.

The post-War period

The years immediately after the Second World War were challenging ones for the EFDSS, not least because Cecil Sharp House had taken a direct hit during the Blitz in September 1940 and much of the upper story and hall were still badly damaged6, but the Committee was beginning to see the issuing and preservation of recordings as an important part of its mission in the post-War period. The first steps taken in this direction were the recording of pieces by William Kimber (“8 Morris and 2 Country Dances”) in 19467, but the following July it was decided at a meeting of the Library Sub-Committee that –

“The wax phonogram cylinders in the Society’s possession should be examined (first by the B.B.C. recording experts, via Miss Slocombe) with a view to possible disc-recording and a possible B.B.C. collaboration (See Librarians Report).”8

Unfortunately the subsequent report by Margaret Dean-Smith, the then librarian9, proved particularly negative regarding the recordings, Section 5 of her yearly survey was devoted to them, and was particularly damning about their condition and importance –

“Sound Recordings. The report of the Sub-committee of July 10th indicates the position to that date. The outcome of experiment appears to be that the wax cylinders are now practically useless, and the cost of recording early disc records is so high as to be at present prohibitive. Even if the material justifies the expense there would still be very little of English folk song available in this medium, the International Folk Music Conference showed England far behind other countries in sound-archives, with little to contribute to any Archive of Recorded Sound that may be founded, or available for exchange in kind for purpose of comparative study.10


Fortunately, the follow up Library Sub-Committee meeting, held on November 21st wasn’t quite so negative with Slocombe reporting –

“that the cylinders she had taken to the B.B.C. had been found worth continuing the experiment of disc-recording a little further. It was unlikely the words could be made intelligible. If the two she had proved so far successful[,] it might be worth while to select six of intrinsic merit, dub on disc and demonstrate the result.”\(^\text{11}\)

As Slocombe had founded the BBC Sound Archive in 1936 it is understandable that she would have had greater sympathy with the idea of attempting to preserve the recordings on the cylinders; consequently at the following Library Sub-Committee on January 30\(^\text{th}\) 1948 they were able to report that a disc had been dubbed from one of Broadwood’s cylinders. Sensibly Slocombe had chosen one of the better quality recordings for this purpose, namely a Farquhar MacRae London recording which the BBC cut as a single copy acetate\(^\text{12}\), reactions were positive and the committee –

“gratefully accepted her [Slocombe’s] offer to bring a specially adjusted player by which all our cylinders can be tested for further treatment.”\(^\text{13}\)

This initial selection was a success as well, consequently –

“After having selected cylinders played on a specially adjusted machine, it was agreed Miss Slocombe should examine the rest, and with the Director and Miss Karpeles recommend a final selection, if any, for reproduction.”\(^\text{14}\)

Slocombe was responsible for the initial review of the collection, as the minutes for July 16th 1948 tell us that “30 are useless. The rest, about 60 await hearing by Miss Karpeles and the Director”\(^\text{15}\), and by the following January it was noted that “the final selection of phonogram cylinders for preservation could be expedited”\(^\text{16}\), with about half of the recordings examined by 4\(^\text{th}\) May\(^\text{17}\), and the complete series by 2\(^\text{nd}\) November after which “a further examination of those preserved was agreed.”\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{11}\) *EFDSS: Minutes Vol. 20: L.S.C. Nov. 21, 1947 [for E.C. Jan. 14, 1948: 6. (c).], p. 1. I have inserted a comma to make the sentence more intelligible, i.e. if the two chosen transferred successfully then it would be worth selecting more for dubbing.

\(^{12}\) *VWML Sound Archive No. 68 “Local Wax Cylinder / Dub. [of] Dr. F. MacRae. / 2 Bands.”


\(^{17}\) *EFDSS: Minutes Vol. 20: L.S.C. March 25, 1949 [for E.C. May. 4, 1949], [i].

The Karpeles / Slocombe Report

Consequently it was at the Library Sub-committee meeting of April 27th 1950 that Slocombe gave the report on the phonographs she and Karpeles had taken nearly two years preparing, to an audience of “Mr. Howes, Mr. Kennedy, Dr. Vaughan Williams, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Shuldhams-Shaw, Miss Karpeles, Miss Slocombe, Miss Dean-Smith; In attendance, Mr. [G.W.] Lee, Miss Lightfoot.”¹⁹, but although so much time had been expended on the recordings, private correspondence suggests that neither Slocombe nor Karpeles were quite prepared for the presentation, Slocombe admitted that she had “been working night and day on our own catalogue & am nearly dead” consequently she was behind schedule on the cylinder list and was “filled with shame at the thought that very early on the agenda tomorrow comes the old item ‘Phonograph Recordings’.,” consequently what she had done was to “type out the list of the ones we have left. I thought I would present this, saying you & I had talked about the next step & decided that it was not necessary to listen again (nor are there facilities at present for this)”, whilst mentioning that they might “select on paper 2 or 3 which should be recommended for the BBC to try”, but signing off “It looks as if we are in for a long meeting tomorrow!”²⁰, Karpeles meanwhile had recently been vaccinated so wasn’t feeling her best.²¹

The Report, entitled Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society²² consists of a short, two paragraph introduction, followed by three pages listing the 58 recordings that were deemed worth saving. Scans of these documents can be found as Appendix V of this Thesis but as they are of the highest importance to the later history of the collection I will quote the introduction in full:

“...A total of 138 cylinders were examined; of these 80 cylinders were rejected and have been destroyed, as they were found to be practically inaudible owing to extremely light modulation.

The remainder, although below normal standards, are more or less intelligible (at least the tune can be distinguished, though not always the words), and have been listed below, with comments. The numbers in the left-hand column are those which were given to the recordings at the time of this investigation and are written on the cylinder boxes; the numbers of cylinders already destroyed are omitted.”

Even the distance of 65 years doesn’t dim the shock as one reads this, and it is hard to imagine how such a cavalier attitude to such important historic recordings could have been seen as reasonable even then: of course, one doesn’t wish to be a-historical and the 1950s and 60s were...

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¹⁹. EFDSS: Minutes Vol. 20: L.S.C. April 27, 1950 [for E.C. May 17, 1950], [i]. Violet Alford was listed as absent.

²⁰. VWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder: Marie Slocombe to Maud Karpeles, April 26 1950.

²¹. VWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder: Maud Karpeles to Marie Slocombe, April 29 1950, this was of course two days after the presentation, but Karpeles says that she was “vaccinated a few days ago” so presumably before the meeting, and was consequently waiting for the treatment “to take before I make any definite appointments”.

to become a time synonymous with the destruction of ancient buildings and social history artefacts 23 but what is hard to understand here is that these recordings were destroyed by the very people who one would have thought of as their natural custodians.

Admittedly, the concept of “Sound Archives” was still in its infancy, the British Institute of Recorded Sound (now the British Library Sound Archive) wasn’t founded until 1955, and I have already mentioned how Marie Slocombe had been responsible for the founding of the BBC Sound Archive in 1936, so possibly what we have here is a situation in which her role in pioneering Sound Archives’ had accustomed her to state-of-the-art technology, consequently restricting her ability to perceive worth in recordings that weren’t of the highest technical merit. Likewise, although Karpeles, one of the founders of The International Folk Music Council in 1947 and executor of Sharp’s estate, obviously had an understanding of the importance of primary historical artefacts, this didn’t necessarily extend to preserving a phonograph that had long since been transcribed – which, we should remember was for most of the collectors the sole reason for making these recordings – and whose signal was now “practically inaudible”.

Furthermore, in 1950 Cecil Sharp House was still in the process of being rebuilt, there were other far more pressing priorities. Though one does wonder why space was at such a premium that there couldn’t have been found room for a dozen boxes of wax cylinders of source singers, recordings made before the Great War, by luminaries of the Edwardian revival, regardless of how lamentable their condition might have been? After all, space certainly wasn’t an issue for the teacher training manuals and dance books that the Society used in its evangelising, so why the need to destroy the cylinders? In the end, this decision can only be seen as unfortunate, for even if they had no concept of the idea that sound technology might one day improve to a degree at which a seemingly indecipherable signal could be salvaged, surely their responsibilities as archivists should have precluded such a final irrevocable step; but such judgements are always easy to make with hindsight.

Furthermore, whilst there is always the possibility that in the intervening years mould may have contaminated the three cylinders that are found on the 1935 78 rpm record which are no longer in the collection, the sound quality of each one of them seems hardly more problematic than the two that survived the culling, so one can only assume that either personal preference, exhaustion with the project on a bad day, the clumsy placing of a needle – thus giving poorer playback than the cylinder was capable of – or any one of the myriad factors that affect analogue playback may have been instrumental in the surveyors final decision regarding whether or not to keep a recording. The evaluation of sound recordings is one fraught with value judgements, especially so in the pre-digital age, when it was anything but an exact science, something Karpeles and Slocombe would have done well to bear in mind.

One wonders what Vaughan Williams must have made of all of this, after all he was the one collector concerned with these recordings who was present at the meeting, but those days when

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23. I live near Essex and in 2006 visited the Essex Record Office at Chelmsford to see the exhibition that had been put on to commemorate the launch of Sue Cubbin’s book ‘That Precious Legacy’ Ralph Vaughan Williams and Essex Folk Song (Chelmsford: Essex, 2006), it just so happened that there was also a photography exhibition on at the same place of early photographs of local buildings of merit, I was shocked to discover the number of 16th and 17th Century farmhouses, many of medieval foundation, that had survived relatively unscathed until the post-War period, only to disappear without ceremony over a few years in order to facilitate the growth of suburbia.

24. I am indebted to Dr John Bentley for this observation.
he had recorded David Penfold and the Verrall’s were quite literally a lifetime ago, and for him
the songs had been collected and they had been preserved, so it is unlikely that he would have
set much store by the retention of a barely audible cylinder. What we do know is that the
general consensus of opinion was that the transferring of some of the cylinders to records was
still seen as a priority –

“It was agreed a final selection be made for transcribing it to permanent record,
preference being given to English song rather than the Gaelic although the latter were
better cylinders. A selection of Dr. MacRae’s Gaelic Cylinders were to be preserved as
eamples, and tunes not already in the Journal noted.”

Other than that we only have the later note that on May 17th the Executive Committee accepted
the Library Sub-Committee report without comment.

Despite these unfortunate, and contentious developments, things of use can be learnt from
Karpeles and Slocombe’s Report. Of course, if the collection as we now have it mirrored their
final list it would be a very simple task to identify all of the recordings, likewise if they had
taken the trouble to type up the details of all of the recordings surveyed rather than just those
finally chosen, but even the most cursory comparison reveals major discrepancies between what
is listed and what we have; for example, none of the London Gaelic recordings are mentioned in
the Report, nor are a number of the English ones such as ‘Rambling Sailor’ or ‘All among the
new mown hay’, whilst of those listed eleven are not extant, the most important ones being
Broadwood’s 1907 recordings from Garramor.

The following table is a transcript of the Report list (for facsimile see Appendix V, 2). As
already noted, it only contains those recordings that Karpeles and Slocombe deemed worthy of
preservation, hence the gaps in the numbering. All recordings that are extant are given in bold,
Box attribution, as given in the list, is highlighted in grey, notes by this editor in square
brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title/Performer notes</th>
<th>Condition Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>There is an alehouse. Dance tunes played by Locke</td>
<td>In good condition but cracked second half. Voice quite loud but distorted. The tune noted by C. Sharp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Title illegible on container. ? Claudy Banks.</td>
<td>Some “mould” on cylinder. Quite loud. Tune and some words clear. Some distortion; fainter towards end. Noted by C. Sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Title illegible; marked (213) xxx 1919.</td>
<td>Cylinder in good condition; rather faint, but tune distinguishable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Condition Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Fountain of Christ’s Blood.</td>
<td>Patches of “mould” on cylinder; noisy, voice just audible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Green (?) [Banks of Green Willow [I]]</td>
<td>Faint, but tune just audible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>She was wringing. Gardiner (?)</td>
<td>Slight “mould”; cracked second half. Very faint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Green Willow. [Banks of Green Willow [II]]</td>
<td>Faint, but tune distinguishable and some words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>The Trees</td>
<td>“Mould”. Noisy, but voice quite loud. First third of cylinder cracked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Isle of ?</td>
<td>“Mould”. Rather faint but clearly audible, for tune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>[blank] [All among the new mown hay]</td>
<td>Some “mould”. Fairly clear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Gardner. [Fare ye well, lovely Nancy]</td>
<td>Patches of “mould”. Fairly clear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>The Indian Lass.</td>
<td>Slight “mould”. Tune clear and words possibly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>A Basket of Eggs</td>
<td>Good condition. Quite clear. Some distortion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>The Indian Lass.</td>
<td>Good condition; rather faint but tune clear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Following from Box Labelled “Box 1: D. Kennedy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Pretty Caroline, Herefordshire.</td>
<td>Quite distinct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Following from Box Labelled “Box 2: L.E.B.’s. Noted or Experimental.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Tarry Trousers. Bushes and Briars.</td>
<td>Quite distinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Following from Box Labelled “Box 3”. Dr. mcrae (Noted L.E.B.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>Distinct, but of doubtful interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>Distinct, but of doubtful interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>Quite good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>Quite good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>Quite distinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>Of doubtful interest. Poor singer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>Of doubtful interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>Of doubtful interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>Fairly clear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Following from Box Labelled “Box 6”. Dr. MacRae’s own records. Taken by him 1908. Examined Jan 11. Not very notable, any of them”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Gaelic titles</td>
<td>All more distinct than most of the rest. Suggest these should be kept for expert advice on value of songs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[noted as above but error, as this is one of the London LEB recordings of MacRae, consequently not from Box 6]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as 100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>[Gaelic titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Following from Box labelled “Box 12”:</td>
<td>A. Martin Freeman’s Irish Records, October 1915.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Whistling.</td>
<td>Cylinder in good condition; some “bloom” but quite clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Whistling.</td>
<td>Cylinder in good condition; some “bloom” but quite clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Following from Box labelled “Box 9”:</td>
<td>Phonograph Records. L. E. B. Notes” (Cylinders labelled: Garramon [sic] 1907).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>No titles</td>
<td>Good condition, but faint. Only just distinguishable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>[No titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>[No titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>[No titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>[No titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>[No titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>[No titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>[No titles]</td>
<td>[as above]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which breaks down as follows –

- 58 cylinders, of which
  - 27 are English cylinders, of which 25 are extant.
  - 29 are Scottish Gaelic, of which 21 are extant.
  - 2 are Irish, of which 1 is extant.

These, if one only considers only unbroken sequences, breaks down accordingly:

21-28: English recordings (various collectors).

38-40: English recordings (various collectors).

44-51: English recordings (various collectors).

81-87: Scottish Gaelic recordings made by MacRae.

100-111: Scottish Gaelic recordings made by MacRae (the error of 103 excepted).

112-113: Irish recordings made in London.

124-131: Scottish Gaelic recordings made by Broadwood.
One minor point that should be noted before going further is that the attribution of cylinders 50 and 51 to Box 8 is an error, as Box 8 is one of only two Boxes (the other being Box 1) which has its contents listed individually in the earlier *Phonographs* list (see below), consequently we know that both these titles are from the previous Box. This aside, two main points can be made from this breakdown of the list. Firstly, if one assumes that cylinders 33 and 35 are, due to their provenance, part of the English collection, and one also includes cylinder 75 – despite being one of Broadwood’s test recordings – in this category, then it is probable, despite the noticeable gaps, that 1-75 were essentially from collections of English recordings, albeit generally listed out of order and grouped by neither collector nor session, possibly with the occasional London Gaelic recording in the gaps in the sequence. Secondly, that the only Scottish Gaelic recordings listed that have survived are all from MacRae’s collection, for the only Broadwood Gaelic recordings noted are the ones made at Garramor, none of which are now extant, whilst the London Gaelic recordings are conspicuous by their absence.

**The Phonographs list**

Fortunately as well as the *Report* we also have the *Phonographs* list that preceded it which is a box by box, but – in most cases – not cylinder by cylinder list of the collection, this obviously represents, in the simplest form, the *FSS* collection as Karpeles and Slocombe found it and can be shown to be earlier than the *Report* by the mention of recordings that didn’t survive the culling.

Appendix VI contains a scan of this important document, giving the individual titles of the English recordings in Boxes 1 and 8, but a table of the basic contents of the collection, box by box, as originally reviewed by Karpeles and Slocombe, is as follows with box descriptions taken from their *Report* [see Table 4] –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box No.</th>
<th>No. of Cylinders</th>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Collector/s</th>
<th>Title in Karpeles/Slocombe Report</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Leather: 4 [1 broken] Vaughan Williams: 2 Vaughan Williams/George Butterworth: 1 Unidentified: 1</td>
<td>Box 1: D. Kennedy. [sic] [Unidentified prob. a commercial recording.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gaelic</td>
<td>MacRae: 12</td>
<td>Box 3. Dr. McRae (Noted L.E.B.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>London Gaelic</td>
<td>Broadwood: 5</td>
<td>[not in K/S Report]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>London Gaelic &amp; unknown</td>
<td>Broadwood: 1 Unidentified: 3</td>
<td>[not in K/S Report]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box</td>
<td>Content</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gaelic</td>
<td>MacRae: 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Box 6. Dr. MacRae’s own records. Taken by him 1908. Examined Jan 11. Not very note-able, any of them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Sharp: 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vaughan Williams: 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Box 7 (Recorded by C. Sharp)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Leather: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vaughan Williams: 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gardiner: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unidentified: 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Box 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gaelic &amp; poss. trials</td>
<td>Broadwood: 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Broadwood unidentified trials: 2 [1 broken]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>London Gaelic</td>
<td>Broadwood: 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[not in K/S Report]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gaelic</td>
<td>MacRae: 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[not in K/S Report]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Freeman: 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Box 12: A. Martin Freeman’s Irish Records, October 1915.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before discussing the main data suggested by this document it is probably worth noting the curious attribution given to Box 1, ‘D. Kennedy’, as can be seen by the list, it contained cylinders by Leather and Vaughan Williams (with one of the latter’s being made in collaboration with Butterworth), so why the attribution to Kennedy?

Douglas Kennedy was of course to play a pivotal role in the later development of the EFDSS for as the one remaining member of the English Folk Dance Society’s original 1911 demonstration team to have either survived the War or remained involved with the Society he was to become Sharp’s designated successor as director of the Society in 1924, subsequently becoming director of the combined Society in 1932, a post he held until his retirement in 1961, but his early involvement was purely in the realm of dance, he wasn’t a song collector and there is no evidence that he ever utilised the phonograph, consequently it can be assumed that at some point, probably in his administrative role, the box was entrusted to him and titled accordingly, but apart from this reference there is no suggestion that they were otherwise his recordings. It should also be remembered that not only was he present at the presentation of the Report but that he was also Karpeles’ brother-in-law, so had he any claim to these recordings it can be assumed that it would have been noted accordingly. That said, one other possible, though

remote, reason for the attribution is that the fourth cylinder in the box is noted in the Phonographs list as being the foxtrot “What do you do Sunday May” which I’m inclined to think is possibly the song “What do you do Sunday, Mary?” and thus a commercial recording, but bearing in mind Kennedy’s later work in American influenced folk-dance band music there is the slight possibility that it might be a recording of himself attempting this piece, hence the box attribution, but the fact that the recording isn’t noted in the later Report does argue against this theory.

That aside noted, and returning to the main list, it can be seen that we are given a total of 109 cylinders contained within 12 boxes, 2 of which are broken. Of these 59 are extant (56 as cylinders, 3 as dubbings to the TPX. 29-1 78 rpm record). And can be broken down as follows:

- 18 English recordings, including 2 trial recordings by Broadwood
- 20 Gaelic recordings made by Farquhar MacRae
- 20 Gaelic recordings made in London by Lucy Broadwood
- 1 Irish recording made by A. M. Freeman

Which are distributed in the boxes as follows -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Series</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4*</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>English [trials]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaelic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>London Gaelic</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Irish</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 3 of these from the 78

The two queries are for the possible trial recording in Box 9 and the London Gaelic ones in Box 2. The former is the most problematic, the Phonographs list notes “1 piano” for Box 9, and the only recording with piano accompaniment is the Lucy Broadwood recording of ‘The Trees’, but its number in the Report is 31, whereas if it were from Box 9 its number would have to fall between 124 and 132; one way of fitting this anomaly is to consider the possibility of a scribal error, namely that it was meant to be numbered 131 but misnumbered in error. The other option
is that, as the one English language recording in a batch of Gaelic recordings, it was renumbered so as to be in context with the other English cylinders. Bearing in mind the other renumbering that occurred in the collection this latter theory is the more probable, but neither option is conclusive, hence the query by it in the table.

The issue of Box provenance with regards to the London Gaelic recordings in Box 2 is complicated but has more clues for us and is worth looking at in depth, for, with one exception, none of the London Gaelic recordings were included in the final Report, and even that exception (C37/1540) was only included by accident. Consequently we are totally reliant on the Phonographs list for ascertaining the original context of these recordings.

The original ordering of the London Gaelic Recordings

As already noted, the only one of the London Gaelic recordings to be listed in the Report was done so by accident, so its Report number (103) tells us nothing about its original context in the 4 boxes. But a number of issues can be noted based on the MSS evidences.

Firstly, if we except the three “spoilt” cylinders between cylinder 3/4 and cylinder 8 we are left with 24 phonographs made between April 4th and July 27th, of which 20 are now extant, three of MacLennan’s being lost, and one of MacRae’s, but at the time of the survey it is probable that only one of these had been mislaid.

There are a number of reasons for believing this to be the case, firstly because as the collection that had been least played it was also in the best condition, secondly because Broadwood’s series was the most carefully noted of all of the collections, in the sense of cylinder box titling and credits, which meant that recordings were less likely to be become separated from their main series, for example, the Phonographs list clearly states that Box 10 consisted of “6 records Rv [sic]. MacRae. 5 recor[d]s Mr. John MacLennan (1 cracked)”, the fact that one of MacLennan’s recordings (cylinder 25 in Broadwood’s numbering) is noted as being “cracked” in the Broadwood-MacRae papers means that this damaged recording was still in the collection in 1950, so if that was still extant, it is probable that, with one possible exception, the other missing recordings, none of which were marked as being damaged, were also still present in 1950.

With regards to the exception, in my chapter on Broadwood I have already noted that due to the attention that cylinder 24 ‘The Dowie Dens of Yarrow’, had previously received, being one of the few London Gaelic recordings to be published in the JFSS in Broadwood’s life, there was the possibility of its having become separated from its companions early in its history: if this is the case then we have our 11 cylinders for Box 10, for as the only batch of 6 MacRae recordings are those from May 14th (numbers 14-19) it follows that these must have made up its first half, which logically then should have been followed by MacLennan’s recordings numbered 20-24, but the “cracked” description proves that cylinder 25, chronologically the last of the MacLennan

28. This cylinder of three recordings by Farquhar MacRae had originally been numbered 82 in the Report, but was moved after numbers 81 to 92 were allocated to Box 3 (a batch of MacRae’s recordings made in the Highlands) it was renumbered 103, but this confusingly put it amongst another batch of MacRae’s Highland recordings, this time from Box 6 (100-111), but that box had 11 cylinders, hence their being the space for the reallocated cylinder.

29 LEB-FM/1/2/9: title; and LEB-FM/1/3/5: title.
recordings, must have been present, consequently the sequence would have been MacRae: 14-19; MacLennan: 20-23, and 25.

Further evidence that the Broadwood London Gaelic collection was nearly complete in 1950 is given by the *Phonographs* list description of Box 5, which in only noting one Gaelic record suggests that the three that Broadwood described as “spoilt” and which would probably have made up the rest of the box, were also still extant at the time of the initial list.

The problem that faces one when ascertaining which recordings went into which original boxes is that if all bar one of the 24 cylinders were still extant in 1950, along with the three spoilt ones, and if one assumes that all of the recordings before “Tarry Trousers” in Box 2 were other “Experimental” cylinders (as suggested by the *Report* description) and not London Gaelic ones then one has 26 cylinders to fit into 25 available box places.

This issue isn’t as problematic as it initially seems, as one recording in the series is a strong contender for having become separated from its companions, though still present in the EFDSS collection: namely MacRae’s recording of ‘Ill uill agus ò; Oran le bàrd na h-Earadh’ (C37/1540; cylinder 12 in Broadwood’s numbering system) which must have been separately packaged from the rest of the series as Karpeles and Slocombe confused it with MacRae’s field recordings thus making it the only one of the London cylinders to be listed in the *Report*, as number 103.

To recap, here is a listing of the recordings that Lucy Broadwood made of Farquhar MacRae and John MacLennan in London in 1908 as compiled from the Broadwood-MacRae papers and the boxes of the cylinders themselves:

4th April: 2 [1 extant] (MacRae)

Between 4th-2nd May: 3 spoilt (MacRae)

2nd May: 6 [6 extant – though 1 broken] (MacRae)

14th May: 6 [6 extant] (MacRae)

23rd May: 6 [3 extant] (MacLennan)

27th June: 3 [3 extant] (MacRae)

18th July: 1 [1 extant] (MacRae)

Total: 27 [20 extant]

Based on the information in the *Phonographs* list, as already noted, the main certainty that we have regarding the original disposition of these recordings is the contents of Box 10, namely 5 of the 6 MacLennan recordings and 6 recordings from MacRae, as the session previous to the MacLennan one had been of 6 recordings this seems the obvious solution as to which batch accompanied the MacLennan ones in the box. Furthermore it also proves that the Box numbering wasn’t strictly chronological, for though Box 10 is the last one in the series to contain London Gaelic recordings there were to be two more recording sessions after the MacLennan one.

Box 5 provides the next clue in that the *Phonographs* list titles it, albeit ambiguously “Rv. [sic] MacRae (1 Gaelic record)”, ambiguous in that the previous box was titled “Rv. MacRae’s own voice records” (emphasis in the original) and the one after “Rv. MacRae’s own records, taken
by him” both of which clearly differentiate between whether they were ones that he made, or that were made of him, unfortunately the title does not specify what the other three cylinders in Box 4 were, other than that one was “mildewed”. Based on this admittedly slight evidence, it is probable that the MacRae recording was from one the days when he either only made one or two recordings (in the case of the latter with the companion recording being placed elsewhere), or a day for which only one recording has survived, thus leaving three options for this recording; either the solitary surviving recording from MacRae’s initial session on 4th April, its now lost companion, the first phonograph that he made, ‘Chuachag nan Craobh’ (cylinder 2), or his final one from the 18th July.

As the excellent condition of the recordings in this series precludes any of them having been culled, even (as noted above) the cracked one, the three anonymous recordings in this box suggest that they were probably the three “spoilt” phonographs (cylinders 5-7) that Broadwood noted in her MSS, which succeeded the 4th April recordings, and which would have been the only recordings from this series poor enough to have been rejected during the survey. This being so, I am inclined to assign the lost cylinder 2 to this box, as we know that 5-7 were rejected, it is not inconceivable that cylinder 2 was then discarded in error along with them.

This leaves 11 London cylinders to be allocated between two boxes that contained 16 cylinders in total. Box 2 is described in the Report as “L.E.B.’s. Noted or Experimental” whilst, as already noted, the Phonographs list titles Box 4 “Rv. MacRae’s own voice records”, consequently we know that 5 of the London recordings belonged in Box 4 whilst the remainder made up just over half of the contents of Box 2. The one clue for how these recordings may have originally been arranged lies in the fact that one of the recordings from Box 2, Broadwood’s own recordings of ‘Tarry Trousers’ and ‘Bushes and Briars’ was listed in the Report as cylinder number 75. As my final table of the Report makes clear [see Appendix V, 4] the cylinders 65-70 in this list were reallocated, whilst numbers 81-92 consist of recordings MacRae made in the Highlands, therefore we are left with a gap of 10 numbers, 71-80 to be allocated. We know that number 75 is ‘Tarry Trousers’ and ‘Bushes and Briars’, which means that the other recordings in Box 2 made up the rest of the numbers.

The problem that faces this allocation, namely that Box 2 should have contained 6 cylinders from May 2nd but the list only has space for 5, is easily solved when one recalls that the one London Gaelic recording to actually be listed in the Report (C37/1540), and which should by rights have been in Box 2, was erroneously numbered with MacRae’s Highland field recordings from Box 6, first as number 82 before being renumbered as 103. Apart from the fact that it is from a completely different series, its inclusion in Box 6 isn’t possible as the Phonographs list clearly states that Box 6 contained 11 cylinders all of which can be found in the Report between 100-102 and 104-111, but neither could it have come from Box 2 as after C37/1559 there is only room for 5 other cylinders, consequently it has to be assumed that this recording must have become separated from its relations early in its history thus leading to the later misattribution in the Report.

This leaves 5 cylinders unallocated, cylinder 3/4, the surviving recording from MacRae’s first session on April 4, 3 recordings from June 27 and the final recording from the month after, all of which neatly marry up with the number of spaces in Box 4, titled “Rv. MacRae’s own voice records”.

Of course, it could be that the London Gaelic recordings were scattered randomly within these last two boxes, but as the “Experimental” titling suggests more than one trial recording and that
allocating all the already unallocated London Gaelic cylinders after the ‘Bushes and Briars’ trial cylinder neatly fills all the gaps in Boxes 4 and 11, strongly suggests that this was the probable order of the recordings.

A summary of this theory is appended below –

Table 6: Summary Tables of London Gaelic Boxes based on the Karpeles / Slocombe Phonographs list

| Bold | Extant |
| No. = LEB numbering system |
| FM = recordings of Farquhar MacRae |
| JM = recordings of John MacLennan |
| K/S = Karpeles /Slocombe Number |
| ( ) = BLSA C37 Number |

**Box 2: 11 Cylinders**

| LB | LB | LB | LB | LB: Tarry Trousers/ Bushes and Briars K/S 75 |
| FM May 2 [No. 8] (1536) |
| FM May 2 [No. 9] (1537) |
| FM May 2 [No. 10] (1538) |
| FM May 2 [No. 11] (1539) |
| FM May 2 [No. 13] (1541) |

**Box 4: 5 Cylinders**

| FM April 4 [No. 3/4] (1535) |
| FM June 27 [No. 26] (1551) |
| FM June 27 [No. 27] (1552) |
| FM June 27 [No. 28] (1569) |
| FM July 18 [No. 29] (1553) |

**Box 5: 4 Cylinders**

| FM April 4 [No. 2] |
| [Spoilt? No. 5] |
| [Spoilt? No. 6] |
| [Spoilt? No. 7] |

**Box 10: 11 Cylinders [1 cracked]**

| FM May 14 [No. 15] (1542) |
| FM May 14 [No. 16] (1543) |
| FM May 14 [No. 17] (1544) |
| FM May 14 [No. 18] (1545) |
| FM May 14 [No. 19] (1546) |
| FM May 14 [No. 20] (1547) |
| FM May 23 [No. 21] (1548) |
| FM May 23 [No. 22] (1549) |
| FM May 23 [No. 23] (1550) |
| JM May 23 [No. 25] “cracked” |

**Omitted cylinders (i.e. not included in the Phonographs Box list**

| FM May 2 [No. 12] K/S 103 (1540) |
| JM May 23 [No. 24] |

loose, consequently listed with the Gaelic field recordings probably separated from the rest of the collection long before the 1949-1950 survey
Of course, there is no way of knowing if the cylinders were placed in their relevant boxes in strict numerical order (i.e. following the numbering Broadwood gave them) but, based on my evidence given above, it can be assumed that, for example, Box 4 contained cylinders 3/4 and 26-29, and that Box 11, cylinders 14-23 and 25, etc, regardless of whether they followed strict numerical order. Whilst I realise that such analysis of the minutiae of which cylinders were in which boxes might seem excessive, such identification is a necessary step if one wishes to cross reference the Karpeles / Slocombe list with their later Report, an essential task for ascertaining which recordings were extant in 1950.

As already noted, none of the London Gaelic recordings apart from C37/1540 (cylinder no. 12) are listed in the Report, consequently one is faced with the task of ascertaining where they were by looking at the lacunae in the Report and seeing which gaps marry up with which series of unattributed recordings in the Phonographs list, with clues being provided by either their original box provenance as given in the list or by the numbering given in the Report. Bearing these factors in mind, it is then possible to not only ascertain where these recordings were in the original numbering, but with these recordings allocated, it is then possible by noting number reallocations and cylinders that were subsequently omitted from the final survey, to come to a better understanding of just how many phonographs really were or weren’t destroyed in 1950.

**Compiling a list of the extant cylinders in 1950 based on the Phonographs list and the Report**

We are told in the Report that of the 138 cylinders examined, 80 cylinders were rejected and were destroyed, but even the most cursory consideration of the phonographs and the two lists that Karpeles and Slocombe made (Phonographs and Report) shows the situation to be much more complicated than suggested by the Report, with duplicate numbering, reallocations and unattributed numbers which can be matched to surviving recordings.

Firstly, there is the issue that two phonographs were numbered 61 and two 62, which would thus give an actual total of 140 cylinders, but when the 11 Gaelic recordings that these duplicate numbers were part of (61 x 2, 62 x 2, 63, & 65-70) were reallocated to other numbers (100, 110, 101, 111, 102, 104-109 respectively) the duplicate numbers weren’t reused, thus giving the total noted in the Report of 138, but, to complicate matters, at least two other numbers, 9 and 131 were also reallocated (to 49 and 31) without another recording taking their place, thus giving an actual total of 136. It is hard to ascertain precisely why there was this reallocation, but the source of individual recordings often offers a clue for why it happened, and furthermore it should be acknowledged that it is always difficult when surveying an archive for the first time, especially one with little associative contemporaneous written material, to ascertain its correct order and provenance on first analysis: one is often obliged to retrace one’s steps in order to match related artefacts, and this is very probably what happened when Karpeles and Slocombe set out on their task of cataloguing the recordings.
English reallocations in Boxes 1, 8 and 7

One major example of this is of the probable distribution of English recordings from Boxes 1 and 8 around the one cylinder amongst those originally numbered 61-70 that wasn’t reallocated, namely number 64, that of Ellen Powell singing ‘Pretty Caroline’, and the ‘Nobleman and the Thresher-man’ (C37/1586). It cannot be coincidence that this, the only non-Gaelic recording in that set of numbers was the only one that wasn’t moved to a different position in the Report, and obviously as they went through the recordings Karpeles and Slocombe matched them, where they could, with related ones, for their renumbering placed these cylinders with other MacRae Gaelic recordings whilst leaving the English one in situ. This cylinder was then followed by the six succeeding ones from Box 1 (cylinders b to g in the Phonographs list) which – though none of the originals have survived – would have been numbered 65-70, with cylinder h “Herefordshire 23.” not being allocated a number due to its being broken. This leaves the question of what would have been put in the now vacant numbers 61-63, the answer is found in one of the other boxes of English recordings noted in the list, Box 8, for here the first cylinder (listed as ‘a’), Esther Smith’s recording of ‘Fountain of Christ’s Blood’ is numbered 22 in the Report, whilst cylinder e, Mrs Etheridge’s ‘She was wringing of her tender hands’ is number 26, and consequently one would expect the three Vaughan Williams recordings between them to be numbers 23-25. However looking at the Report these have been replaced by one of Leather’s recordings, one of Sharp’s and – confusingly – another of Vaughan Williams’, so I think it likely that it was these three that were reallocated to the now empty positions at 61-63. If this seems rather arbitrary it should be noted that all of the recordings between 21 and 28 in the Report have survived, whereas of those numbered 61 to 70 only one original has been preserved, so the decision to reallocate numbers was probably also based on perceived sound quality. Further evidence for this is that if Slocombe and Karpeles had followed their original numbering of the recordings in Box 8 then the Etheridge recording would have been followed by two instrumentals but again, these were replaced in the Report by two more recordings that have survived, Daniel Wigg’s ‘Lord Nelson’ and the second part of Clements’ ‘Banks of Green Willow’: that there is then a gap of two places between the latter of these pieces and Broadwood’s ‘The Trees’ (number 31 in the Report) suggests where the two instrumentals were probably then reallocated. Further evidence for this is that had the instrumentals not been renumbered then 29 and 30 would have been allocated to two of David Penfold’s recordings but these were moved to 50 and 51 in the Report so that they would be contiguous to his recording of ‘The Trees’ (C37/1583) at number 49.

30. [64] and [65] have survived, but only on the TPX 29.1 78rpm record, consequently we have no boxes for these cylinders to prove their numbering.

31. The numbering identifies it as Mr. T. Evans ‘Dives and Lazarus’ [RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/33] – “(No XXIII a)”

32. Mrs Verrall ‘London Apprentice’; Mr Penfold ‘Salisbury Plain’ and Walter Debbage ‘Fishes Swim’.

33. Mr Davies ‘John Riley’ + ‘Bitter Withy’; Priscilla Cooper ‘American Stranger’ / ‘Indian lass’; and David Clements ‘Banks of Green Willow [I]’.

34 ‘A Joke’ and ‘Irish Jig’.

35 ‘Turtle Dove’ [I] and ‘The Miller on the Dee’.
One other problem faces the cataloguer when analysing the English recordings in Box 1, namely what was on the cylinder marked ‘Herefordshire VI’, cylinder g. in Box 1. Its immediate successor, ‘Herefordshire 23’ (cylinder h) was listed as broken in the Phonographs list, and so wouldn’t have been listed in the Report, but cylinder VI would have been. The problem we are faced with this recording is that there are three phonographs marked “VI” made by Leather in Vaughan Williams’ manuscripts: Mary Ann Smith’s recording of ‘Mollie Vaughan’, Mrs Harris’ recording of ‘Diverus & Lazarus and Mrs. Caroline Bridges recording of ‘The Sailor Boy’ but none of these are listed in either the Phonographs list or the Report. What I would like to tentatively suggest here is that the ‘Herefordshire VI’ cylinder box may have actually, by accident, contained a completely different recording, namely that of the unidentified recording of ‘The Bonny Labouring Boy’ found on the 1935 78 rpm record of dubbings (TPX 29.1). As already noted in the section on this record, we do not know who made this recording or who is on it, but the associative evidences strongly suggest that it was part of either Leather’s or Vaughan Williams’ collection, and as all bar one of the dubbings came from cylinders found in Box 1 (and the exception, Penfold’s recording of ‘The Trees’ is one of the English recordings that wasn’t from a grouped box) it is entirely possible that ‘The Bonny Labouring Boy’ also came from this source. If this is so, and as the Phonographs list gives individual titles for Box 1, it could only have been inside one of the cylinder cases that didn’t give a title, i.e. in either case g. or h., but as we know that the latter was broken, this only leaves g. as the source for this recording.

Another example of the problems facing the cataloguer, is that of the identity of the unidentified cylinder in Box 7 listed in the Phonographs inventory as being ‘cracked’, the problem here is that while most of these recordings, which make up numbers 44-51 in the Report are heavily damaged by mould, none are visibly cracked. There are two clues to explain this anomaly, firstly we know that Penfold’s ‘The Trees’ was originally numbered 9 in the survey, but was later moved to 49 in order to be contiguous with the majority of his other recordings, also three of the recordings have Broadwood’s original numbering system written on them, the first recording in the box ‘Lady Maisry’ is numbered 7/1, but the third ‘The Indian Lass’ (the C37/1589 copy) is numbered 7/4 and the fifth, also ‘The Indian Lass’ (the C37/1588 copy) 7/8. Had the original ordering of these recordings been maintained, then their positions in the Report should have been 44, 47 and 51, but they are actually numbered 44, 46 and 48, demonstrating that the Report doesn’t represent the correct ordering as originally found in Box 7. The final point to consider is that we know from the Report that Box 7 was marked “(Recorded by C. Sharp)” one of whose recordings, that of William Wooley’s ‘No John No’ is indeed badly cracked, but which has nothing on its packaging to suggest that it was one of Sharp’s recordings, making it likely that this was the ‘cracked’ recording mentioned in the list, subsequently moved, due to its anonymity, from its original sequence in favour of the Penfold recording. Such are just two extended examples of the complexities one faces when cross referencing the numbering between the Phonographs List and the Report.

The position of the absent London Gaelic recordings in the Report

As already noted in the section on the original box provenance of the London Gaelic recordings, none of these (other than C37/1540 which was only listed because it was accidentally conflated with MacRae’s own field recordings) were included in the Report, and yet 20 of the 24 recordings that Broadwood made have survived, and one would be inclined to think that such a high rate of extant recordings might suggest that they were only rediscovered after the Report. But their presence in the Phonographs list in Boxes 2, 4, 5, and 11 proves that Karpeles and Slocombe knew of them, so where did they go in the Report?

Here the cataloguer is faced with an extended jig-saw like task, in which the probable ordering of these recordings, box by box, has to be matched to the most suitable gaps in the Report. The major clue is Box 2 where Broadwood’s own recordings of ‘Tarry Trousers’ and ‘Bushes and Briars’ is number 75 in the Report. As already noted, C37/1540, the fifth of the recordings made on May 2nd, was accidentally separated from its companions when the Report was compiled, leaving 10 of Box 2’s cylinders to be accounted for, a quantity that not only matches the lacunae in the numbering (71 to 80) but, with the surviving trial recording at number 75 also creates a slot (76-80) for the four remaining May 2nd ones.

These matching factors could be considered coincidence if only one of them were the case, but with both factors marrying up exactly with the one cylinder from Box 2 that was numbered, it is highly probable that these phonographs were indeed allocated these positions. Furthermore, since Box 2 doesn’t contain the earliest recordings in this series it may be assumed that the Box numbering has no bearing on chronological order, being simply designations made by Karpeles and Slocombe, following a numbering system probably originated by Broadwood37, indicating that the earliest surviving recording in the series, C37/1535 (Broadwood number 3/4), was probably in Box 4, alongside the last recordings in the series, namely the three cylinders from June 27th and July 18th’s solitary offering, with Box 5 containing the now missing recording from the first session and the three “spoilt” cylinders.

Consequently, although not chronological, the position of these two boxes as contiguous in Karpeles and Slocombe’s Box numbering system means that they were probably subsequently listed in succession in the Report’s original, now lost, urtext38 and the one gap of 9 unallocated numbers is to be found at numbers 52-60, placed between a batch of English recordings and the bulk of the numbers that were to be subsequently reallocated.

This, if one includes the cracked record that must have made up the last recording in Box 10, leaves us with 11 cylinders to be allocated, the six recordings from May 14th and 5 of the 6 May 23rd recordings, the fifth in the series (no 24) being omitted because, as noted above, it had probably been mislaid long before the survey39, but here we encounter the problem that

37. The three cylinders in Box 7 with a 7/- numbering in Broadwood’s hand proves this.

38. In using this term I am not assuming that there ever was a neat complete list of all of the recordings from which Karpeles and Slocombe then wrote out their Report, but that that in order to do this there would have at least have been a rough list from which to work.

39. The retention of the “cracked” recording in the Report is problematic as Karpeles and Slocombe judged each case individually, for example the Phonographs list notes two recordings as being “broken”: ‘Herefordshire 23’ in Box 1 and the last phonograph (unidentified) in Box 9, neither of which were listed in the Report or have survived, but of the four recordings listed as being “cracked” we have different decisions for each case: As already noted above, I believe the damaged cylinder in Box 7 (later omitted from this Box’s set of numbers in the Report) to be ‘No John no’, which is listed in the Report and has
there are no suitable spaces in the Report for either 11 cylinders in a row or broken down into
groups of 6, and 5, so we are compelled to leave the allocation of these recording until all the
other recordings have been attributed. This leads us to the 14 recordings from MacRae’s
Scottish collection that are no longer extant and get no mention in the Report, namely the 3
missing cylinders from Box 3, and the 11 missing recordings that made up Box 11.

The Gaelic field recordings

Although the box provenance of MacRae’s Gaelic recordings is far less problematic than the
London Gaelic recordings, showing it in tabular summary makes it clearer. As can be seen in
Table 7 below, all 20 surviving recordings, all from Box 6 and 9 of the 12 cylinders in Box 2,
are listed in the Report, making it very simple to ascertain where each extant recording
originally went, for whilst the Report either has no titles given (Box 3) or the generic phrase
“Gaelic titles” (Box 6) the cylinder boxes all have their relevant Report numbers written on
them. This makes cross-referencing simple, but difficulties arise with the listing of the missing
recordings. Karpeles and Slocombe’s numbering system is only present in their Report and
written on the boxes themselves but not inserted into Broadwood’s own manuscripts, so in the
absence of the boxes it is obviously difficult to know where these missing recordings went.

Table 7: Summary Tables of Gaelic Boxes based on the Karpeles / Slocombe Phonographs list

| Bold = Extant |
| K/S = Karpeles/Slocombe Report Number | ( ) = BLSA C37 Number |

**Box 3: 12 Cylinders**

|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|

**Box 6: 11 Cylinders**

|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|

**Box 11: 11 Cylinders** [NB: provisional numbering]

|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|

survived (C37/1558), the Gaelic field recordings in Box 3 is probably one of the missing Ann McKay
ones, and although not listed in the Report has a suitable gap for it and its two associated recordings at
numbers 88-90, on the other hand ‘Jonah’ (Box 8, j) seems to have been omitted from the Report
altogether so must have been badly damaged, which leaves the one London Gaelic recording in Box 10,
and although there are no references to this series in the Report the attitude to MacRae’s Gaelic field
recordings was that although “not very note-able” it was “suggested these should be kept for expert
Gaelic advice”, consequently it is unlikely that any of the much clearer London Gaelic recordings, even a
cracked one, would have been disposed of.
To complicate matters, whilst there are a total of 14 cylinders missing from this series (3 from Box 3 and all 11 of Box 11), there are only MS descriptions for seven of these no longer extant cylinders: and of these, three are stated by Broadwood to have been kept by McRae himself, leaving only 4 possible candidates for the missing cylinders in the 1949/50 Report. Of these 4 three are recordings of Ann McKay of Crollista, Uig, Lewis, and since the gap in the cylinders listed in Box 3 in the Report is of three missing titles it is very probable that these phonographs were from that original Box. This leaves one remaining unaccounted for MS, that of Farquhar MacRae’s own self-recording of ‘Ciò Chinnt-Saile’ (The Kintale hut) which thus must have been one of the recordings in Box 11. For convenience I have listed it as the first cylinder in Box 11 but with no MS information about the other lost recordings, or indeed any references in the Report to them, it is impossible to say exactly where either this one named recording, or its 10 anonymous companions originally went in this box. As with Box 10 of the London Gaelic recordings (which were likewise not included in the Report), it is impossible to say exactly where they were placed in the final Report list, what we can say is that we have 11 London Gaelic recordings from Box 10 and 11 Gaelic field recordings from Box 11 to account for. But with no associated manuscripts for the latter it is impossible to know how those 11 recordings may have been divided into sessions or singers, and thus where they would have been placed in the Report.

One clue, however, is the general way in which recordings have been allocated in the Report, namely, with English recordings making up the bulk of the first half and Gaelic ones the majority of the second half, so it is reasonable to assume that these 22 cylinders were mainly allocated numbers from later in the sequence. What one actually finds is that if one takes ‘The Trees’ (C37/1555), which at number 31 in the Report is the lowest number to be allocated to one of Broadwood’s recordings and then counts upwards there are exactly 23 unassigned numbers in the Report. Of course, this isn’t an exact match, and even if it were it wouldn’t be proof positive that these recordings belonged in these places, but the coincidence of the number of gaps being so close to the number of unallocated cylinders is highly suggestive, even though it is impossible to say which recording went where. I have provisionally allocated numbers to these recordings based on the few likelihoods that the list presents us with so –

1. With the exception of cylinder 103 all of the recordings between 81-92 and 100-111 in the Report are of MacRae’s Gaelic field recordings, it is therefore highly likely that the gap of 93-99 also contained recordings from this series.

40. Namely: J. MacRae: ‘Deoch slaintte a Chamshronaich Bhoidich’ [“Box” 8: LEB-FM/2/2/1 & LEB-FM/2/3/8]; J. MacRae: ‘Gill’ Easbachan’ [+ 2 other titles, 1 by Mrs Cameron & Hugh MacCulloch, and 1 by Miss Mary MacRae ] [“Box” 11 + “Box” 5: LEB-FM/2/2/1, LEB-FM/2/3/11, LEB-FM/2/7, LEB-FM/2/3/11, LEB-FM/2/2/1, & LEB-FM/2/3/5] & Mrs MacRae: ‘Che sgur mis am biadh’n’ an ól’ [“Box” 4: LEB-FM/2/2/1, LEB-FM/2/3/4].


42. Farquhar MacRae: ‘Ciò Chinnt-Saile’ [“Box” 6: LEB-FM/1/6, LEB-FM/2/2/1, & LEB-FM/2/3/6].

2. This leaves four recordings from Box 11, but there are no gaps left for four recordings adjacent to the main batch of Gaelic recordings in the Report as this series is then followed (112-121) by A. Martin Freeman’s Irish recordings, after which there is a gap for two numbers (122-123); but as numbers 124-132 contained Broadwood’s recordings from Box 9 it is more likely that these two spaces went to her London Gaelic recordings, implying that the first position in which the remaining MacRae field recordings could be placed in a row is 132-135.

3. This leaves the 11 unallocated recordings from Broadwood’s collection from Box 10 and 12 gaps in the Report, at numbers 32, 34, 36, 41-43, 122-123, & 136-138. These recordings, in numerical order based on Broadwood’s numbering system, have been allocated these gaps starting at the last number and working down, this ordering is based on the recognition that the numbering of ‘The Trees’ at 31 and the two no longer extant recordings at 33 and 34 suggest that the unallocated positions amongst them were more likely to be English recordings whereas those at the end of the list were more likely to be Gaelic ones.

In doing this I am aware that final conclusions must remain tentative until we have further knowledge of the majority of the contents of Box 11, but the missing MacRae recordings in the Phonographs list must have gone somewhere in the Report’s ur-text and the solution posited in point 1 seems most probable, while point 2 would seem to be the most likely solution if point 1 is granted. The most problematic issue is that raised by point 3, namely that of the provenance of the London Gaelic recordings from Box 10, as here we are dealing with recordings that have survived, get no mention in the Report, but which by their presence in the Phonographs list were obviously known to Karpeles and Slocombe. Consequently, although, as extant recordings, I have allocated them positions in the Report, any one of these 11 recordings could have been in any one of the remaining unallocated places: it is, for example just as possible that cylinder No. 14 (C37/1542) was number 138 as that it was number 34. Nonetheless, whilst recognising that this is a highly provisional solution, it does at least place the remaining London Gaelic recordings in the Report, thus giving a proper idea of how many of the recordings are currently unaccounted for.

The Karpeles and Slocombe Report cross referenced with those mentioned in the Phonographs list

Taking all these factors into consideration, allows one to create a table (see Appendix V, 4) with much more information than was given in the final Report, by cross referencing those cylinders mentioned in the Report with ones in the Phonographs list, either given individually or purely by original Box context. Where individual phonographs were noted in the Phonographs list Report numbers provide clues as to the probable numbering of recordings that weren’t finally included in the Report, whilst further Report lacunae have been matched to unattributed cylinders that were mentioned in the earlier list. In the case of some of the London Gaelic and Gaelic field recordings there isn’t enough evidence to say exactly which recordings went where (this is especially so of the 10 field recordings from Box 11 for which we have no details) but it is nonetheless possible to suggest where the majority of these recordings originally were in the numbering of the Report as groups. Armed with these findings it is possible to look at each main series in the collection and note whether a recording falls into one of four categories –

- Listed recordings that are extant
- Unlisted recordings that are extant
- Listed recordings that are not extant
- Unlisted recordings that are not extant

The following table is a breakdown of the main series as they fall within these categories, for ease of reference all of the English collections bar the Broadwood trials have been placed together –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Listed Extant</th>
<th>Unlisted Extant</th>
<th>Listed Not Extant</th>
<th>Unlisted Not Extant</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English (LEB excepted)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26 extant; 23 listed, 3 unlisted (from the 78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 not extant; 2 listed, 8 unlisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEB English &amp; Trials</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>2 extant; listed</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 not extant, unlisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEB London Gaelic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20 extant; 1 listed, 19 unlisted</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 not extant (3 ‘spoilt’), all unlisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEB Gaelic - Highlands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>None extant, all listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FMR Gaelic - Highlands</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20 extant, all listed</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14 not extant, unlisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMF Irish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 extant, listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 not extant; 1 listed, 8 unlisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reallocated &amp; left blank</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(9, 61 [ii], 62 [ii], &amp; 131)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Remembering that the final total of cylinders was 136, and not 138\(^{44}\), looking at this table in conjunction with the full listing in Appendix V, a number of issues become apparent.

- Firstly, the number of phonographs that survived was greater than is suggested in the Report, 47 extant recordings are listed, along with 22 that have survived but which weren’t in the Report giving a total of 69. To this should also be added the 10 recordings that were listed (and were therefore preserved in 1950) in the Report but which are no longer extant, namely cylinders 33, 35, 112 and 124-130, thus giving a total of 79 cylinders.

- Deducting this from the total of 136 gives a total of 57 phonographs having been destroyed in 1950, but it should be remembered that three of the surviving recordings, numbers 65, 66 and 70\(^{45}\), have only survived because they were dubbed to 78 rpm in 1934, the originals being destroyed, so the total is 60, which while regrettable is still 20 less than the 80 as stated in the Report.

The fourth column above gives the totals for which series these destroyed cylinders came from –

- 8 were from A. M. Freeman’s Irish recordings.
- 14 from Farquhar MacRae’s Gaelic field recordings.
- 6 from Lucy Broadwood’s London Gaelic series, but of these three had already been noted by the collector as “spoilt”.
- 4 from Broadwood’s trail or experimental recordings.
- and 8 from the remaining English collections, but to this can be added the 17 numbers for which we have no information at all, and of these, all bar one fall between numbers 1-20, with the exception being 32, and thus, as all the surviving recordings up to number 31 are English, they can be assumed to fall within this series. This gives a total of 25, to which then can be added the 3 recordings that have survived as dubbings but for which no original has survived, thus a total of 28 must have been discarded in 1950.

The Welsh Folk Song Society recordings

With regards to the 28 discarded English recordings, one point should be noted with regards to these and their numbering but with regards to those made by the Welsh Folk Song Society. As explained in the Introduction to this thesis, these 40 recordings, though preserved as part of the EFDSS collection, were made by members of the separately constituted Welsh folksong Society, inaugurated 1906. Due to this provenance it is highly unlikely that the Welsh recordings were ever considered by Karpeles and Slocombe, which in retrospect must have decisively contributed to their preservation as the condition of the vast majority of the recordings in this series is so poor, generally being much worse than even the poorest of the English ones, that very few of them would have been considered worth keeping. But is it possible that they were originally part of the survey before being put aside as not falling within

\(^{44}\) There were two cylinders numbered 61 and two numbered 62, giving a total of 140 phonographs, but of these, four recordings that had originally been given numbers were reallocated different ones without the original numbers (9, 61 [ii], 62 [ii], & 131) being reused, hence 136 in total.

\(^{45}\) ‘Rolling in the Dew’, ‘Claudy Banks’ and ‘Bonny Labouring Boy’ on TPX 29.1.
the survey’s remit? One piece of evidence does suggest this, namely the bulk of the cylinder numbering when one considers the boxes that were noted in the *Phonographs* list.

As already noted, a number of cylinders were rearranged and reassigned new numbers during the process of the 1949/50 survey, mainly in order to assign individual recordings to their own series, but with the clues provided by the numbering system employed in the *Report*, it is possible to see what numbering was used for the individual Boxes in the *Phonographs* list. Appendix V, 3 lists these individually, but one thing becomes apparent: the bulk of the numbering would have originally started at number 44 in Box 7, with all the other Boxes, bar two, following on from that one. The two exceptions are the provisionally numbered London Gaelic recordings (Box 10) and an English series the bulk of which were reallocated during the survey (Box 8)46. The importance of this numbering is that all of the 40 recordings in the Welsh collection also have their own numbering system, but in an unmistakable yellow crayon that is only found in this series, numbered, with three gaps, from 1 to 4347, i.e. ending just where the bulk of the numbering of the rest of the collection begins. This suggests the possibility that Karpeles and Slocombe first numbered the Welsh recordings (or found them already numbered) prior to moving onto the English recordings in Box 7, only to then realise that the first series was from a different Society, omitting it from their survey and then, as they attempted to make sense of the remaining cylinders, started to reallocate numbers from 1-43 to other, mainly English, recordings.

Assuming that this was the case, we are left with two options, either, as already suggested, the 17 blank spaces in the *Report* were allocated to English recordings which were later destroyed, or, those spaces, formally allocated to the Welsh series were never refilled. This would mean that only 11 English cylinders were discarded, and not 28, thus reducing the final total from 60 to 4348.

Consequently we are left with two options as to how many recordings were extant in 1950 and how many have subsequently been discarded or lost, namely –

1. That there were 136 FSS cylinders, plus the 40 WFSS recordings which weren’t included in the survey. A total 176 cylinders in 1950, of which 60 were discarded and 10 subsequently lost.

2. Or that the 17 blank entries in the *Report* were not reserved for subsequently discarded English recordings, but were numbers originally allocated to the WFSS collection, and then

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46. Namely, Box 1 = 64-70; Box 2 = 71-80; Box 3 = 81-92; Box 4 = 52-56; Box 5 = 57-60; Box 6 = 100-111 (originally 61-70 plus the two duplicate numbers); Box 7 = 44-51; Box 8 = 124-131; Box 11 = 93-99, 132-135; Box 12 = 112-121. I have given the cylinders in Box 10 the provisional numbering of 34, 36, 41-43, 122-123, 136-138, whilst the reallocations present in Box 8 are clearly represented by its series of 22, 61-63, 26, 29-30, 50-51.

47. The yellow crayon numbering goes: 1, 3-32, 34-38, 40-43.

48 Against this idea is the simple point that had the Welsh recordings at some point been included in the survey then the total cylinders accessed would have been not 136, but 159 but as the Welsh recordings were no longer part of the survey by the time of the *Report* it is understandable that they weren’t included in the total, less so is the fact that the 17 numbers that possibly weren’t refilled by other cylinders were still numbered in the final total, as had they been omitted then that total should have been 119, not 136. As already noted, Karpeles and Slocombe talk of 138 cylinders, but the total was actually 136 (138 + 2 duplicates, – 4 numbers that were reallocated without being refilled), so 136, – the 17 unfilled numbers in the *Report*, + the 40 Welsh recordings gives the new total of 159.
not reallocated. This would equate to 119 FSS cylinders, plus the 40 WFSS recordings, giving a total of 159 cylinders of which 43 were discarded, with 10 being subsequently lost.\footnote{49}

With the present evidence available it is impossible to say for certain which of these two options is correct, either that 60 cylinders were discarded, or 43, but even if we assume the worst, it means that 20 fewer cylinders were destroyed than were noted in the Report.

Conclusions

Why should there be this discrepancy between the surviving recordings and what was written in the Report? As already noted, other than stating that a final selection was to be made from the collection for dubbing to “permanent record, preference being given to English song”\footnote{50} according to the Society minutes the executive committee accepted the Report without comment\footnote{51}, but it is obvious that someone there must have disagreed with Karpeles’ and Slocombe’s discarding of so many of the phonographs – as strongly suggested by the survival of more recordings than those noted in the Report. However it is probable that by the time of the meeting, much of the damage had been done with the bulk of those cylinders marked for destruction having already been disposed of. Furthermore, although not listed in the Report, at least one of the boxes that contained London Gaelic recordings (Box 2) can be unequivocally placed within it and the survival of the majority of this series proves that recordings not listed in the Report for preservation did indeed survive, with these cylinders it was probably due to a combination of their good sound quality, respect for Broadwood’s work and – fortunately – uncertainty over the cultural and aesthetic merits of the recordings themselves – this was certainly so with the sonically inferior Gaelic recordings: as the report notes, “Suggest these should be kept for expert advice on value of songs”\footnote{52} and this doubt was probably what saved them.

What is harder to understand is why other recordings were destroyed which were also obviously still playable, the three examples that come to mind are the recordings preserved on the 1935 78 rpm record (TPX 29.1) for which no original cylinders have survived, as all three recordings, ‘Rolling in the Dew’, ‘Claudy Banks’ and ‘The Bonny Labouring Boy’\footnote{53}, are no poorer than any of the other English recordings that we have, and in some cases are much better; of course, it could be they had been contaminated by mould in the intervening 15 years but as the two recordings on the 78 that have survived sound no worse than their 78 dubbings, this is very unlikely. One can only hypothesise that fatigue had set in when Karpeles and Slocombe got

\footnote{49. A third option would be if all 43 of the Welsh recordings were extant in 1950, not the 40 that have survived, but the quality of the surviving recordings is generally so poor that I consider it highly unlikely that just three would have been discarded at this date, had Karpeles and Slocombe been so minded, consequently I believe that the three missing numbers were long gone before the Report was made.}

\footnote{50. \textit{EFDSS: Minutes Vol. 20: L.S.C. April 27, 1950 [for E.C. May 17, 1950], [i].}}

\footnote{51. \textit{EFDSS: Minutes Vol. 20: E.C. May 17, 1950}, p. 3.}

\footnote{52. VWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder. Karpeles and Slocombe, \textit{Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society} [5pp, unpublished], p. 4. re. cylinders numbers 100-111.}

\footnote{53. I have placed these as numbers 65, 66 and 70 in the Report as the extant ‘Pretty Caroline’, which preceded them in Box 1 is number 64.}
round to these two recordings, and that, as the judging of sound quality is an imprecise science, they didn’t give the recordings the attention that they deserved and wrote them off as unsalvageable. The 78 dubbing tells us otherwise, and leaves one wondering as to how many of the other “practically inaudible” phonographs were needlessly discarded and should have been preserved.

Another issue concerns those recordings listed in the Report, and thus meant to be preserved, but haven’t survived. Two of these are individual cylinders54 which obviously had minimal supporting documentation, for example ‘Isle of?’, number 33 in the report, and the untitled song that followed it at number 35, the latter was noted as being in “Good condition. Voice quite clear.” and was even noted by Karpeles as being one of nine cylinders that might benefit from being dubbed55. The former, though afflicted by mould and sonically faint was “clearly audible, for tune”, whilst the other single lost cylinder, number 112, the first in A. M. Freeman’s series of Irish recordings made in London was noted (along with its companion, which has survived) as being “[…] in good condition; some “bloom” but quite clear”. There was thus no reason why these three cylinders should have been discarded.56

More problematic is the question of what happened to Broadwood’s series of Garramor recordings from 1907. These are clearly noted in the Phonographs list as being 7 of the 9 cylinders in Box 957, with the 8th cylinder probably being Broadwood’s own recording of ‘The Trees’ whilst the 9th cylinder was cracked so not included in the final Report. Consequently, the remaining 8 cylinders were listed – without titles – as numbers 124-131, being described as “Good condition, but faint. Only just distinguishable.” ‘The Trees’ was subsequently reallocated to number 31 so as to be with the other English recordings but none of the Garramor recordings are now extant. Despite the faint signal it is highly unlikely that these recordings would have been destroyed, because had Karpeles and Slocombe rejected them they wouldn’t have been listed in the Report, and as a series it is unlikely that they would have been destroyed by accident, implying that the set was borrowed at a later date, the most likely occasion being when Ethel Bassin wrote her paper on Broadwood’s Gaelic materiel in the mid 1960s58. To facilitate this work Broadwood’s manuscript papers were leant to the School of Scottish Studies, and it is therefore not inconceivable that these recordings were supplied along with the manuscripts. If this is indeed the case, why weren’t the other Gaelic recordings sent as well?

54. By which I mean obviously not part of a series of recordings of the same performer.

55. She recommended: 3, 23, 35, 44, 47, 64 and 75. WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder: Maud Karpeles to Marie Slocombe, April 29 1950.

56. Possibly they were later borrowed and became separated from the rest of the collection, or possibly they were discarded in error when the poorer cylinders were destroyed. This might be possible with regards to the first two due to their minimal information, but the one surviving A. M. Freeman recording is unmistakably packaged and inscribed, being in a red ‘Blank Cylinder’ box with black label and detailed track listings written upon it, its companion therefore couldn’t have been mistaken for anything else, which only leaves the borrowing theory as a viable option.

57. All the Broadwood MSS evidence suggests that there were only 6 Garramor phonographs, see VWML: ‘Songs Scotland, Phonographic Records’, MPS/10 (21), pp. 1-3, the 7th cylinder was probably one of the now lost London Gaelic recordings or possibly another of Broadwood’s experimental recordings, but with no other evidence it is impossible to say.

The answer to this might be because of all of the Gaelic recordings, it was only the Garramor ones that Bassin didn’t have the MSS of. These were overlooked, and thus not sent to Edinburgh, only being rediscovered a few years ago when I identified them in one of the MPS/10 files at the VWML, consequently, with no MSS to hand, and as Broadwood invariably wrote clear titles on the boxes of her Gaelic phonographs, it is possible that this batch was sent to Bassin, which does raise the slight possibility that these recordings may one day be rediscovered.

The same cannot be said for one other major gap in the collection, namely the Ella Leather collection. As my chapter (Part II, Chapter I) on Leather argued, she made a minimum of 63 phonographs, containing in excess of 111 recordings, and even if all of the 16 gaps in the Report represent recordings from Leather’s collection, those, added to the two that we know were destroyed\(^ {59} \), would only have made up less than a third of her recordings. This is highly unlikely, firstly because it is highly improbable that all of those empty numbers in the Report were solely from her collection, but more importantly because, being English recordings, those recordings of Leather’s that were noted in the Phonographs list were done so individually, thus we know that four of her recordings were in Box 1 (a, c, g, and h) two of which have survived, a. ‘Pretty Caroline’, as a cylinder and c. ‘Claudy Banks’ as one of the 1935 78 rpm dubbings, whilst one recording in Box 8 ‘Fountain of Christ’s blood’ (a) and has also survived.

Essentially had there been more of Leather’s recordings in the FSS collection at the time of the Report, they would have at least been noted in the Phonographs list, even if they hadn’t then been subsequently preserved: that they weren’t means that only those six cylinders were known in 1950. This, like Broadwood’s Garramor recordings of course suggests that they may be lying uncatalogued in another collection, but the reality is probably much more sobering: cylinder blanks were expensive, and Leather was making the recordings for Vaughan Williams to transcribe. It is probable that after making his transcriptions Vaughan Williams would then return the cylinders to Leather who would then reuse them. Karpeles and Slocombe couldn’t have discarded Leather’s phonograph collection because the manuscripts prove that the vast majority of it had never been in the FSS collection in the first place.

In conclusion, cylinders were destroyed when Karpeles and Slocombe went about their process of making the Report, but not all lost cylinders can be attributed to them: some, such as Leather’s, were already long gone whilst others, such as the Garramor series were to disappear at a later date. Furthermore, many that weren’t listed in the Report as being preserved, such as all bar 1 of the London Gaelic recordings weren’t subsequently preserved. Consequently whilst we can lament the error of judgement that led to such valuable source recordings being destroyed, we can at least be glad that this decision was not implemented thoroughly.

\(^ {59} \) Mr. T. Evans ‘Dives and Lazarus’ [RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/33], titled ‘Herefordshire 23’, and which was Box 1, h, in the Phonographs list, and already broken by 1950; and Box 1, g, ‘Herefordshire VI’ which could have been one of three recordings given that number by Leather, namely: Mrs. Mary Ann Smith ‘Mollie Vaughan / Molly Vaughan’ [RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/32] – “VI” or Mrs Harris: ‘Diverus & Lazarus’ [RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [84[a]] – “VI”, or Mrs. Caroline Bridges: ‘The Sailor Boy’ & ‘The Deserter’ [RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]] – “Cylinder VI. a.” and “Cylinder VI. b.”.
The concluding history of the FSS phonograph collection

This can be briefly told. Neither Karpeles’ recommendations regarding making transfers of what were considered the best of the English recordings, nor the decision noted in the Society minutes of acting upon this recommendation were followed\(^60\), reading the subsequent minutes over the next few years it is clear that other concerns were seen as more pressing, such as rebuilding Cecil Sharp House and defining the Society’s post-War Artistic policy, for whilst there had been a slow movement towards the recognition of the primacy of the importance of the source singer, of which the 1949-50 Report can be seen as a component, this still sat very uneasily with the Society’s pedagogical (mainly Folk Dance) wing and those that preferred their songs arranged. Frank Howes’ exasperated comment in the society’s confidential Memorandum on Artistic Policy that “Folk songs should not be made the exclusive preserve of those who cannot sing”\(^61\) gives a good idea of the attitudes still held by many at that time towards field recordings and source singers, but this issue soon became swept away by the more pressing one of deciding on the Society’s position on the square dance craze, favoured by some as a potentially lucrative activity that the Society could also use as a means for increasing its membership, and deplored by others as not only an alien, but also a commercial genre\(^62\). From now on the phonographs disappear from the Society’s minutes, and there is no evidence that the Gaelic recordings were subsequently checked, as minuted they should be, as to which hadn’t been transcribed; work on these wasn’t to recommence until Bassin’s study in the mid 1960s.

**Leader Sound**

The first systematic attempt to make sense of the phonographs wasn’t until the early 1970s when Bill Leader and Dave Bland made a series of dubbings of the EFDSS cylinder collection. In 1972 Leader Sound had issued the album *Unto Brigg Fair* which consisted of transfers of the 12 surviving Joseph Taylor recordings that the Gramophone Company had made in 1908 along with 9 of Grainger’s phonographs of Lincolnshire singers\(^63\). These dubbings were intended for a further selection which was unfortunately never released. In 1975, Barbara Newlin, librarian at the VWML contacted Leader enquiring about the possibility of copies being made for the library due to the deteriorating state of the originals\(^64\), but this was delayed because Leader didn’t have the necessary equipment for making copies of the dubbings and as Newlin left her position soon after this initial correspondence. It was her successor, Jo Dixon, who arranged the

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\(^60\) WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder: Maud Karpeles to Marie Slocombe, April 29 1950, and EFDSS: Minutes Vol. 20: L.S.C. April 27, 1950 [for E.C. May 17, 1950], [i].

\(^61\) Howes, Frank, Memorandum on Artistic Policy, found in Minutes Vol. 20: E.C. July 12, 1950, marked in bold “CONFEDENTIAL”. Though no longer the editor of the JEFFDSS, having stepped down in 1945, Howes was still the Chairman of the Editorial Board.

\(^62\) Not surprisingly Vaughan Williams took exception to the society adopting the new fad, as his dignified (undated) open letter to the Rev. P. D. Fox asked “What has this to do with the people of England?”, Minutes Vol. 21: E.C. January 17 [CSH], 1952: p. 147.


\(^64\) WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder: Barbara Newlin to Bill Leader, 14/02/1975. This letter also confirms Dave Bland’s involvement in the transfers.
final details, Leader made the copies of the dubbings in February 1977 and one reel to reel tape was deposited at the VWML Sound Archive containing 14 of the cylinders, mainly from the English series, constituting the probable intended selection for the projected LP, and which were subsequently listed in Michael Yates’ important article ‘Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph’. The rest of the copies never got to the library; unfortunately they had been made just as the final commercial batch of Leader Sound releases were issued prior to the company’s sudden financial collapse, and the eventual buying of the rights to the back catalogue by the company Celtic Music. Consequently it was assumed that the copies had become lost in the transfer of stock and masters to the new owner.

In fact what had happened was that Leader had gifted all of the unpublished material to Dr. Reg Hall to prevent its being taken with the material for which the rights had been sold. Reg Hall was one of the first collectors to donate his collection to the NSA as part of their Traditional Music in England Project (2001–2003). Giving the first half of it in 2001, but such was the extent of the collection that not only was it rechristened the “Reg Hall Archive”, in that it contained materiel from other collectors as well as Hall’s, but it also became increasingly apparent that if both project workers concentrated on only this collection then there would be no time to catalogue and digitise any of the other collections. As a result, only the first half of what had been donated was worked on, with the understanding that digitisation priority would be given to any of the un-catalogued material if the collector had a pressing need for a copy of it. This material did contain some of the Bill Leader cylinder dubbings, eight reel to reel tapes, but all from Grainger phonographs and the Joseph Taylor materiel from the published album. Despite the inability of the British Library to guarantee the digitisation of the second batch before the end of the project, Hall went on to donate the remainder of his collection in 2005. By this time the present writer was in the final weeks of his position at the British Library, in 2003 the TME project having finished, and all subsequent external funding had ceased. Whilst I was not in a position to catalogue these last recordings I did make certain that I was present to check them when they came in and was delighted to discover that no less than 10 reel to reel tapes of Bill Leader’s dubbings of the EFDSS collection were present in this final batch. Of these only the first two had track listings, two volumes weren’t even properly titled, and one volume “Cylinders VII” was missing, though there is always the possibility that this is an untitled tape

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65. WWML/Correspondence/Sound Library Folder: Jo Dixon to Bill Leader, 12/10/76, and Bill Leader to Jo Dixon, 22/10/76.

66. The two dated tapes, both in the BLSA are HX 2185 and 2186, both dated 10/03/77.

67. VWML/Tape Library Reference 267, the exception is cylinder 10, three fiddle tunes, which is actually from the Welsh Folk Song Society collection, but at that date it wasn’t yet known that the yellow crayon numbering system denoted provenance from this series.


69. Namely: C903/222, Joseph Taylor I; C903/223, Joseph Taylor II; C903/337, Percy Grainger (Cylinders); C903/338, Cylinders I; C903/339, Cylinders II; C903/340, Cylinders III; C903/341, Cylinders IV; C903/342, Cylinders V; although all have been assigned collection numbers it appears – if the catalogue entries on the Sound & Moving Image Catalogue aka cadenza are to be trusted – that only the first two, consisting of the Joseph Taylor Gramophone recordings have been digitised and catalogued.
and could still yet be in the collection, but there was enough information present to know their provenance and recognise them as his 1977 set of copies.\footnote{70}{The first two recordings, both with the Leader Sound Tape Nos. are dated 10/3/77.}

From the perspective of 2015, looking at the entries for Hall’s collection on the Sound Archive’s online Sound & Moving Image Catalogue none of these tapes are listed, meaning that they still have neither been catalogued nor digitised. Hopefully these recordings have at least been allocated collection numbers even if the British Library hasn’t yet put up product entries online for each tape. In the event that this has not occurred, to facilitate reference and enquiries I append below my basic list of tape titles with the numbering that Reg Hall gave them (not to be confused with the C903/ collection numbers) as I compiled them on that day when the tapes were donated to the library –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tape Title</th>
<th>Leader Sound Tape No.</th>
<th>Reg Hall No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder I</td>
<td>HX 2185</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Cylinder II]</td>
<td>HX 2186</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder III</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder IV</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder [V]</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder VI</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder VII</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder IX</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder X</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylinder XI</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The British Library digitisation of the EFDSS collection

Of course, one reason for these copies not having been catalogued or digitised is because the originals were presented by EFDSS on permanent loan to the British Library in May 1982.

Two sets of digitations exist. The collection was originally dubbed to reel to reel tapes in 1982 by Michael Clayton with a second set of dubbings made to DAT tape by Will Prentice in 2001. It was this latter series which was then transferred to CD-R by Clare Gilliam in 2003. Two sets were made at this time: the 2CDR (archive) copies, which were straight copies of the DAT tapes without any restoration processes applied; and the 1CDR (playback) copies, which employed audio restoration processing. The following year I was employed for a few weeks to correct the library’s on-line cadenza database entries for the collection based on my own research. Finally, over the last few years 32 cylinders from the EFDSS collection have been made available online as part of the British Library Sounds ‘Ethnographic wax cylinders’ series. This brings us to the present.

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71. His unpublished notes on this work reside at the BLSA as ‘C37 National Sound Archive dubbing notes’, 1982 (BLSA), and his later write up as: Clayton, Michael, ‘C37edit’, 1995, (BLSA, in 2005 held as a Word document at G:\World & Trad Music\Collects\Cylinder\C37edit).

Conclusion

This thesis has conclusively shown that far from ignoring it, the members of the FSS went a long way towards embracing the utilisation of the phonograph in the ten years leading up to the Great War. In saying this I am not suggesting that the FSS had a specific policy on phonographing song performance, since each collector had his or her own reasons for experimenting with recording technology.

Sharp was prepared to use the phonograph as an adjunct to pen and paper collecting if the equipment was to hand, the informant seemed receptive to the technology, and he was based in one location for a few days, for otherwise the equipment was too cumbersome for him as his usual means of transport was the bicycle.

Leather used the phonograph for the simple pragmatic reason that she didn’t trust her own ability at making transcriptions, and in that sense her recordings are, after Grainger’s, probably the closest in intent to what are now thought of as field recordings, but because they were merely a means to an end, namely to allow Vaughan Williams to make transcriptions, they weren’t seen in this way, the cylinders being subsequently shaved and used again. To a degree, this was also Broadwood’s attitude, though not because of any difficulty over musical transcriptions, something which she wouldn’t have had any problems with, but because her basic knowledge of Gaelic made textual transcription impossible. This explains why nearly all of her phonographs are of Gaelic material, as she didn’t need the equipment for transcribing English songs. The same is true with Vaughan Williams: of all the collectors, he had the least need for recording equipment, but even he could see its use, especially with regards to checking against previous transcriptions that were of uncertain quality, and thus he was to make the best part of thirty recordings.

MacRae’s collecting was of course done on behalf of Broadwood, but I don’t think it too fanciful to suggest that for him there were also matters of family, clan and national pride which made the idea of permanent recordings of his friends and relatives appealing to him. By 1915 A. M. Freeman had conducted his major collecting work in Ballyvourney so it can be assumed that it was the fact that the FSS had the equipment to hand that spurred him on to attempt his series of London recordings. Gardiner’s short set of recordings was made at the very end of his collecting life, so it is impossible to say how he may have utilised the technology had he lived longer, likewise, with regards to Peel, Ford, and Wyatt-Edgell no recordings and too few MSS have survived to generalise as to their intentions.

After the war, priorities in the FSS changed, the idea taking root that all of the old songs of consequence had now been collected, leading to less field work by the new generation of the Society’s members. Moreover, most of the collectors who had experimented with the technology were either no longer collecting (e.g., Vaughan Williams, Leather), deceased (Gardiner) or too busy with their FSS duties to wish to take up where they had previously left off in using the technology (Broadwood and Sharp), and to compound this, the phonograph was becoming increasingly obsolete as a recording medium, and the potential availability of home recording equipment, such as the Edwardian collectors had known, was not to become common again until after the Second World War.
Although the years in which the FSS utilised the phonograph amounts to little over a decade, in that time, adding up all of the known recordings, it is apparent that a minimum of 185 cylinder recordings were made by those members between the years 1905-1915, the final proof, if any were needed that the FSS was accepting of the phonograph as a collecting tool.

By 1950 this total had been reduced to either 119 or 136 cylinders, with the bulk of the missing recordings being from Leather’s collection. From these totals either 43 or 60 cylinders respectively were destroyed after the Karpeles and Slocombe survey, with at some point after this a further 10 cylinders disappearing too, thus giving us the present total of 66 still extant cylinders from the FSS collection: consisting of 25 English, 40 Gaelic and 1 Irish recording, which along with the 3 phonographs recordings that were destroyed but which have survived on the 1935 78 rpm dubbing brings the total to 69 surviving recordings.

Even if we take the minimum total of 185 cylinders, this means that only just over a third of the collection has survived, with the vast majority missing being from Leather’s collection, these being probably reused after they had been transcribed, and thus having never been housed with the other cylinders in the first place, so their loss though regrettable is understandable. However, the destruction of at least 43 cylinders in 1950 is harder to fathom and the fact that it was implemented by two major figures in the world of conservation must be seen as a terribly short-sighted and unfortunate error of judgement.

Nonetheless, what survives does give a representative cross-section of the materials that inspired the Edwardian collectors and are our most tangible artefacts to those early days of Folk-song scholarship, enthusiasm and evangelism. As such they deserve to be much better known, and it is my hope that all of the recordings and their associated documentation will be made properly available, ideally with the recordings based on the best combinations as found in the three previous complete sets of dubblings, for only in this way will it be possible to properly evaluate the work of these collectors, the legacy of the singers whom they collected, and the storehouse of songs that they treasured.

i-viii-mmxx

1. The difference depending on whether or not the 17 blank entries in the Karpeles/Slocombe Report were of FSS material or recordings by the WFSS that were subsequently removed from their survey without the numbers being reallocated.

2. For convenience I have included Broadwood’s two trial recordings in the English series.

3. If one adds the 40 WFSS recordings, we have the final total of the 106 cylinders that make up the EFDSS collection, plus the 3 78 dubbings, so a total of 109 recordings.

4. 69 as a percentage of 185 = 37.29

5. A new set made utilising a laser would be ideal.
The Folk-Song Society wax cylinder recordings in the English Folk Dance and Song Society wax cylinder collection. Context, History, and Reappraisal

Andrew Stewart King

Appendices
Appendix I

The Folk-Song Society phonographs in the EFDSS Collection
Argument & Column Explanations

My purpose in the following two lists is to catalogue the *extant* phonographs, made by members of the FSS that reside in the EFDSS collection. The column explanations are as follows –

**C37 no.:** For ease of reference I have followed the accession collection numbering that the recordings were given when deposited on loan with the BL (C37/---). These numbers were simply given to each recording when the collection was initially sorted and simply reflect the order in which the phonographs were inspected and numbered; they have no bearing on date, sequence or collector, nonetheless they are the reference numbers by which these recordings are now known and I have consequently retained them for the purposes of these lists.

**Orig. C37 no.:** These were the original numbers given to the cylinders at the time when C37 only consisted of this collection, when the BL decided to include *all* phonograph collections under this collection number the EFDSS cylinders were renumbered. I have included them here only for ease of reference to earlier – unpublished – catalogues of these recordings and to prevent confusion with the later numbers.

**LEB no.:** Numbers given by Lucy Broadwood to recordings in the collection, mainly from her own recordings

**K/S Nos.:** Numbers given to the cylinders during the Karpeles and Slocombe survey, 1949-50.

**NIC:** Numbers in cylinder – numbers written in chalk inside the cylinders themselves, as they are written in the Welsh Folk Song Society cylinders as well as the FSS ones, and as the numbering system is unbroken, going from 1-105 (with one cylinder – from the Welsh collection – being unnumbered), it can be assumed that these were done after the 1949-50 survey; possibly when Bill Leader made his dubbings or at the BL prior to C37 number allocation, either way, I have noted them here to prevent confusion with other numbering systems found on the cylinders or their packaging.

**Speed:** playback speeds based on the most recent BL transfers.
**Make:** Make of cylinder based on packaging, see illustrations below.

**Wax:** Most of the cylinders are made from a soft brown wax, but a few are in a harder black wax.

**Culture:** Source culture of the performer, whether English, Scottish Gaelic or Irish.

**Performer:** Square brackets are used when the identity of the performer is known form material separate from the cylinders.

**Titles/Inscriptions on boxes:** Written in bold = ink; written in regular = pencil. These are set out to represent what is on the packaging as closely as possible, with notes and explanations added. For ease of reference straight song titles are given before the transcripts.

**Date:** Where known.

**Place:** Location, where known.

**Coll:** Collector.

**Condition:** This is included purely as a rough guide and is not an exact science.

**Dubbing / Notes:** Dubbing references and technical notes about the phonographs.
KEY

General
NIC = number in cylinder
written in bold = ink
written in regular = pencil
written in italic = editorial comment
highlighted in grey = section of text on the cylinder that was incorrectly spelt by the collector
----- = sections of unreadable text
______ = lines dividing text on the cylinders, but not emphasising text
[names in square brackets] = used when the identity of the performer is known
(form material separate from the cylinders)
(title translations) = as given on the cylinders cases, MSS or previous listings
{} = titles or sections of titles in Gaelic that correct those given on the cylinders
[?] = any problematic attribution or section of text
[c] = preceding number or letter within circle
[b] = preceding number or letter within box
[yc] = yellow crayon
[rc] = red crayon

General Condition Classification
G = Good
F = Fair
P = Poor
V = Very Poor

Cylinder Types [see illustrations below]
BC = brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box
mBC = mildewed brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box
BCrb = red ‘Blank Cylinder’ box with black label
BL = plain blue box
BR = plain brown box
BT = plain cardboard box, with blue top & bottom
EBgb = grey Edison Bell box with blue lid
fEBgb = faded grey Edison Bell box with blue lid
fEBgbr = faded grey Edison Bell box with brown lid
EBbr = brown Edison Bell ‘Popular’ box
EBbl = blue Edison Bell ‘Gold Moulded’ box

Wax
br = brown
bk = black

Collectors
AF = A. M. Freeman
CS = Cecil Sharp
EL = Eliza Leather
FMR = Farquhar MacRae
GB = George Butterworth
GG = George Gardiner
JG = J. F. Guyer
LB = Lucy Broadwood
RVW = Ralph Vaughan Williams

[K/S] = Karpeles/Slocombe numbering
Cylinder Types
The Five main types

1. BC: brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box.

Title from the inscription on the lid: used for the first batch of the London Gaelic recordings and also for Broadwood’s own recording of ‘Tarry trousers’ & ‘Bushes and briars’ (C37/1559).

above, C37/1536: Farquhar MacRae ‘The Kintail dirge’.

2. mBC: mildewed brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box.

Same make as before but ‘mildewed’ with discoloured lid: found on 1 of Broadwood’s, 1 of Vaughan Williams’ and 2 of Sharp’s cylinders.

above, C37/1557: George Lovett ‘Fare ye well, lovely Nancy’.

3. EBgbl: grey Edison Bell box with blue lid.

Generic Edison Bell Blank Cylinder issue: used for the remainder of the London Gaelic and some of the Gaelic field recordings.

above, C37/1543: Farquhar MacRae ‘Oran gaol le Ciobair; Gu bheil d’oran a’.

4. fEBgbl: faded grey Edison Bell box with blue lid

As previous but faded and aged packaging. Found with 5 of Vaughan Williams’, 1 of Gardiner’s and 2 of Sharp’s cylinders.

above, C37/1632: David Clements ‘Banks of Green Willow [I]’.
5. **BT**: plain cardboard box, with blue top & bottom.
Found with 4 of Vaughan Williams’ cylinders and 2 of Leather’s.

*above, C37/1580*: David Penfold ‘The Miller on the Dee’.

6. **EBbr**: brown Edison Bell ‘Popular’ box.
Found with 3 of Sharp’s recordings of Priscilla Cooper.

*above, C37/1588*: Priscilla Cooper ‘Indian Lass’.

7. **EBbl**: blue Edison Bell ‘Gold Moulded’ box.
Found with one recording from Leather’s collection.

*above, C37/1587*: Mr Davies ‘John Riley’ and ‘The Bitter withy’

8. **BL**: plain blue box.
Found with one recording that was probably made by Vaughan Williams in Herefordshire.

*above, C37/1590*: Mr Jones ‘There is an ale house’ and ‘hornpipes’ by Locke.
9. BR: plain brown box.
Found with Gardiner’s recording of Mrs. Maria Etheridge
above, C37/1627: Mrs. Maria Etheridge ‘She was wringing her tender hands’.

10. BCr: red ‘Blank Cylinder’ box with black label.
Found with A. M. Freeman’s recording of Frank Brewe.

11. fEBgbr: faded grey Edison Bell box with brown lid.
As types 3 & 4 but with a brown lid. Though present in the EFDSS collection these boxes are only found in the recordings made by the Welsh Folk Song Society and thus fall outside the subject of this thesis.
above, C37/1597: Benjamin Davies ‘Can y Coach faier’.
### I, 1. English recordings made by the Folk-Song Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Coll. no.</th>
<th>LEB no.</th>
<th>KS No.</th>
<th>Nic</th>
<th>make</th>
<th>Wax</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Titles/inscriptions on boxes</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll</th>
<th>condition</th>
<th>Dubbing / Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1553 to 1554</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gaelic recordings made by the Folk-Song Society [see Appendix I, 2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>mBC</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>[Lucy Broadwood, w. piano acc.]</td>
<td>1. [The Trees they do grow high] lid: mildewed / un-noted / 31[c] box &amp; base: [blank]</td>
<td>00/00/07</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1CDR0015625 C5 CRACKED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>mBC</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>[Alfred Edghill]</td>
<td>1. [All among the new mown hay] lid: mildewed / un-noted / 38[c] box &amp; base: [blank]</td>
<td>26/12/07</td>
<td>Chew Stoke, Somerset</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1CDR0015625 C6 notes: male voice [recordist?] heard speaking at one point in the background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1558</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>mBC</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>[William Wooley]</td>
<td>1. No John no lid: broken / mildewed / No John / un-noted / 40[c] box &amp; base: [blank]</td>
<td>06/01/08</td>
<td>Bincombe, Somerset</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1CDR0015625 C8 CRACKED.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560-1579</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>box hii: Tarry Trousers [underlined twice] notes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>BT²</td>
<td>bk²</td>
<td>David Penfold</td>
<td>1. The Miller on the Dee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lid: I / Mole Catcher / II / Morning in May / Acle 51 [c]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>box label h: Man / parts fair / The Miller on the Dee / 51 [c] Penfold.</td>
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<td>box label v: Mildewed</td>
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<td>box v: Mr Penfold</td>
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<td>notes: Lid, see note 4</td>
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<td></td>
<td>02 &amp; 04/05/07</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1CDR0015627 C1</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>EBbr²</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>[Priscilla Cooper]</td>
<td>1. [The Basket of eggs]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[35]</td>
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<td>lid: 35 [c] / [space] / un-noted / 35 box: [no information, other than the Edison Bell label]</td>
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<td>notes: Lid, see note 6</td>
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<td></td>
<td>01/01/08</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1CDR0015627 C2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1582</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>BT</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>Mr Attwater / David Penfold</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Lowlands low [Golden Vanity]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. Turtle Dove [I]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lid: 1 / Lowlands Low / Part II / 50 [c] Atwater / ______ / Turtle Dove / 1 Verse / Penfold</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>box label: 50 [c] / Lowlands Low / Atwater / Turtle Dove / Penfold</td>
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<td></td>
<td>02 or 04/05/07</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1CDR0015627 C3</td>
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<td>2. only 1 verse, continued on 1584</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49 / 9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>BT</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>David Penfold</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. The Trees [they do grow high]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>02 or 04/05/07</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>1CDR0015627 C5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Numbering and titles in ink added in a later hand, originally this cylinder would only have had the title in pencil and Lucy Broadwoods initials on it.
2. This cylinder originally had the incorrectly matched ‘mildewed’ brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ top of 1581.
3. Or very dark brown.
4. The lid for this cylinder was previously on 1581, the titles on this lid match neither 1581 nor 1580, but it has the correct K/S matching number (51) and is the right make of ‘blue cover’ for 1580, whilst the lid that was on this cylinder was one of the ‘mildewed’ brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ covers & had nothing in common with the 1580 box or cylinder.
5. This cylinder originally had the blue cover of 1580 on it by mistake with the text: I Mole Catcher II Morning in May Acle – but recordings obviously not these.
6. The lid for this cylinder was previously on 1580, as it is a BC as opposed to an EBbr lid this might not be the correct lid for this cylinder, and more importantly its K/S number is 35 whereas the list numbers this recording 47, but as it was on the adjacent cylinder to 1581 in the box, & 1581 definitely had the lid of 1580 on it in error these lids have been exchanged.
7. Lid states ‘Atwater’, but it should be noted that the only RVW MSS ver. of this is from Mr Muggeridge, at Kingsfold, Sussex on 20/09/06.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Shelf</th>
<th>Call</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Lid</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>BT bk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>BT br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1586</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>BT br</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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8. This is incorrect.

9. Song was noted by Sharp as either ‘American Stranger’ or ‘Indian Lass’; song is predominantly the former with a concluding verse from the latter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Box</th>
<th>Lid</th>
<th>Box Label</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Box Label</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1589</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46/24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>EBbr</td>
<td>Priscilla Cooper</td>
<td>Indian lass [American Stranger]</td>
<td>Edison Bell label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>BL</td>
<td>[Mr. Jones] John Locke</td>
<td>There is an ale house [A bold young farmer]</td>
<td>Edison Bell label</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Frank Brewe</td>
<td>Mauryeen nea Gibbirlan (really Máirín ní Chúil….cannáin); Key G</td>
<td>Edison Bell label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Box: [no information, other than the Edison Bell label]
- Lid: Indian Lass / 46 [over 7/4 in c]
- Box label h: good for / 30 sec [space] 8 [c] / There is an Ale house / Dance Tunes / played by Locke
- Box label v: Cracked
- Base: There is / an ale house / Gipsy / Locke / Shvee[akkins] / Hornpipes
- Box h: Whistled by / Frank Brue / Ruan, West Clare / in London / Oct 2. 1915 / recorded by / A M. Freeman
- NB: I have only included this recording in this table for convenience sake; I am aware that it is a recording of an Irish musician, albeit one recorded in London.

---

10 This is a hard black wax, more like Bakelite.
11 From Ruan, West Clare, listed on the box lid as Frank Brue.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Catalog</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Recording No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1592</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>160 tEygbl</td>
<td>[Henry Day]</td>
<td>1. On the banks of the Nile</td>
<td>Basingstoke, Hampshire</td>
<td>prob. RVW</td>
<td>1CDR0015627 C14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1593-</td>
<td>1626</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1627</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>247 26</td>
<td>BR bk</td>
<td>[Mrs. Maria Etheridge]</td>
<td>Southampton, Hampshire</td>
<td>GG F</td>
<td>1CDR0015631 C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>24 19 135</td>
<td>tEygbl</td>
<td>lid: LID / LOOSE / HANDLE / WITH / CARE label on box hr: faint [space] 26 [c] / She was wringing / 247 / Gardiner? base: 247 / She was / wringing etched in the rim of the wax cylinder: 247 She was wringing of her tender hands</td>
<td>01/01/08</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>CS V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1629</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>484 27</td>
<td>tEygbl</td>
<td>lid: mildewed / 24 [c] / Good / Sept 1909 box: no information base: 41 base batch stamp: O notes: Lid, see note 12</td>
<td>00/01/09</td>
<td>Preston, Candover, by Alresford, Hants</td>
<td>prob. RVW [GG?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>213 21 13 160</td>
<td>tEygbl</td>
<td>lid: mildewed / Lord Nelson / 27 [c] / Sept 1909 box: 484 base batch stamp: A / X</td>
<td>02/05/07</td>
<td>Monks Gate, Horsham,</td>
<td>RVW G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 NB though the K/S no. proves that this lid was on this cylinder in 1949 this lid doesn’t belong to this recording; it’s likely that it is was either the lid to a GG or RVW cylinder or to the Welsh FSS recording 1636, the latter supposition is based on the surprisingly good condition of this recordings when compared with the other Welsh cylinders, but with no track details listed or matching numbers this cannot be proven
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Cylinder Reference</th>
<th>Lid Information</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Speed</th>
<th>Catalogue Reference</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1632</td>
<td>98 227 16 15 170</td>
<td><em>if</em> Ebgbl</td>
<td>1. Claudy Banks</td>
<td>00/01/09</td>
<td>Southampton, Hampshire</td>
<td>GG &amp; JG [?] G 1CDR0015631 C6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1637</td>
<td>10 3 44 / 2L</td>
<td><em>if</em> Ebgbl</td>
<td>1. Lady Maisry [I]</td>
<td>07/01/08</td>
<td>Bridgwater, Somerset</td>
<td>CS P 1CDR0015631 C9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638</td>
<td>10 4 149 B 28 16 160</td>
<td><em>if</em> Ebgbl</td>
<td>1. Banks of Green Willow [II]</td>
<td>00/01/09</td>
<td>Basingstoke, Hampshire</td>
<td>RVW G 1CDR0015631 C5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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13 Date is obviously incorrect, applied at a later time
14 NB the lid for this cylinder was originally on 1638 (part II of this recording) & the lid on this cylinder was the one for 1638, this error has been corrected & the lids replaced
15 NB the lid for this cylinder was originally on 1631 (part I of this recording) & the lid on this cylinder was the one for 1631, this error has been corrected & the lids replaced.
### I, 2. Gaelic recordings made by the Folk-Song Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C37 no.</th>
<th>Part no.</th>
<th>LEB no.</th>
<th>Other no.</th>
<th>NC no.</th>
<th>mode</th>
<th>Wax</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Titles/inscriptions on boxes</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll</th>
<th>condition</th>
<th>Dubbing / References / Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1535</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>[52?]</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>BC</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae 1. Biodh an deoch 's an lāimh mo rùn (The drink would be in my love's hand) 2. Coille Mhuiraidh: O 's tu gura tu th’ air m’ aire (When Summer came) lid: 3 [c] - [c] / Noted / Dr MacRae. box h: 3 [c] / Dr MacRae box v: A [c with 3 written over it] Biodh an deoch 's an lāimh / mo rùn / Chorus. / Verse' / Chorus, / Verse / Chorus, / Verse / Chorus', ? / __________ / B. [c with 4 written over it] Coille Mhuiraidh / Chorus O 's tu gura tu th’ air m’ aire / Verse. Mair thig a samhradh (Mar thig an samhradh) / Chorus (only ½ as record came to an end) /</td>
<td>04/04/08</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LB</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1CDR0015624 C1 CRACKED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1536</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>[76]</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>BC</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae 1. {Chaidh mo Dhonnachadh [no] bheinn} (My Duncan went to the hill, and he has not come home); version 1 2. as above; version 2 3. {Tha fras air taobh mo ghrualadain} (A shower is at the side of my maiden) lid: 8 [c] / Noted / Dr MacRae. box h: Dr MacRae. May 2. 1908. 8 [c] / Noted box hii: A [b] The Kintail dirge, “Chaidh / Donnachadh ‘a bheinn.” / version 1. Donald Paterson’s, 2 verses, / version 2 James MacRae’s 2 verses / B [b] “The fras air Taobh / mo ghradalaidh” chorus, verse / and coda chorus.</td>
<td>02/05/08</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LB</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>BROKEN – NOT DUBBED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>BC</td>
<td>br</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1537</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>[77]</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. (Triall Chlann 'ic Rath bho Shleabh an t-Siorraim, no Crodh Chinn [an] t-Sàile) (The departure [march] of Clan MacRae from Sherifmuir, or The Cattle of Kintale) 2. ‘Bangor’ to the 23rd Psalm [presenting of two lines of metrical psalm] 02/05/08 London LB G 1CDR0015624 C2</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1538</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>[78]</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Oran goail; Air failirin [illirin o] [vocables] 2. A nochd gur faoin mo chadal dhomh (Tonight I shall sleep lightly) 3. Cuir a chinn {dileis, dileis, dileis} (Put, faithful head) 02/05/08 London LB G 1CDR0015624 C3</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1539</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>[79]</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Ochon a Rìgh! Gur e mi tha muladach (Alas! I am so sad) [by Domhnall Drochair (Donald the Drover), Lochalsh] 2. (Oran goail: Màiri Bhoidich) (Lovely Mary) [introduced as ‘do mhaighdin uasail] 02/05/08 London LB G 1CDR0015624 C4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- Other options for ‘no’ in the first title: {i. neoo; ii. ‘s a’; iii. do ‘n'}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Script</th>
<th>Signature</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1540</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>[82]</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>BC</td>
<td>br</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1541</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>[80]</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>BC</td>
<td>br</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**bho ’n Eilein [Asainn?]’** (a song to a young lady from the Island of [Asainn?] ) [by Alasdair Stewart, North Uist, early 19th Century]

**lid:** 11 [c] / Dr. MacRae
**box hi:** Dr MacRae. / May 2. 1908
**box hii:** 11 [c] A [b] “Ochon a Righ gur e mi tha / Muladach” chorus, and / a verse of another song sung by / James MacRae. [chorus and / verse repeated to get better record] / B [b] “Mairi Bhoidheach.” / [Sar Obair 414] chorus & verse. / (with a break so the pitch will alter)

**1540 6 12 103 / 82 87 160 BC br Farquhar MacRae**

1. Ill uill agus ò; O ran le bàrd na h-Earadh
   
   (mostly vocables); Song by a bard of Harris
2. Fàilte dhubh is slàinte leat (Welcome to you and health to you) [adds the word ‘luinnceag’ (ditty)]
3. [Oran Calum Sgàire [i]]; Air faill o rò u [vocables]

**lid:** 12 [c] 103 [c written over 82] / Dr. MacRae.
**box hi:** XXXXX / Dr. F. MacRae. / May 2. 1908. / [space] / DLO / 26827

**1541 7 13 [80] 88 160 BC br Farquhar MacRae**

1. Oran Calum Sgàire [ii], Bearanara, [Leodhais] (Song by Calum Sgàire [Malcolm MacAulay], Bernera, Lewis [mid 19th Century]); Air faill o rò-u

**lid:** 13 [c] / Dr. F. MacRae
**box hi:** Dr. F. MacRae. / May 2. 1908
**box hii:** 13 [c] A [b] “Air faill o rò u, Oran / le Calum Sgàire, Bearanara / Leoghais,” / [chorus & verse thrice]
<table>
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<th>Base</th>
<th>Base Batch Stamp</th>
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<td>14/05/08</td>
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<td>LB</td>
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<td>Farquhar MacRae</td>
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<td>14/05/08</td>
<td>Lid: 17 [c] / Dr. MacRae. / May 14. 08</td>
<td>B) <em>Faill le thogainn form mo leannan</em> 4. <em>Faill le thogainn form mo leannan</em> 1. <em>Lament of Miss Campbell for her lover; Obhan, obhan</em> 2. <em>Griogal Cridhe</em> 3. Attribution may or may not be genuine.</td>
<td>notes: 1. end section lost</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Caimbeul a’ caoidh a leanain MacGriogail</td>
<td>Dr. MacRae. / 19 [c] / May 14. 08</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Far mo mhulad (’s a’ bheann) (The Sea-longing) [Where my sorrow is in the mountain]</td>
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<td>lid:</td>
<td>Dr. MacRae. / 19 [c] / May 14. 08</td>
<td></td>
<td>note by previous cataloguer: 2. A Choisir-chiùil, p93 [NB Incorrect]</td>
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<td>1548</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>123?</td>
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<td>1.</td>
<td>The Massacre of Glencoe (Mort Ghlinne a’ Chomhainn [The Glenn of the Shrine]) [based on a Piobaireachd, but not the one with that name]</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>The Macintoshs’ Lament (Macintosh – of Moy Hill, Inverness – Lament [Cumha ’ic an Toisich]) [based on the Piobaireachd of the same name]</td>
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<td>1549</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>136?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Gun chrodh gun aighean (The tocherless lass [the lass without a dowry])</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Oran do Bhoiniparte (Song to Bonaparte)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Oran le Domhnull Fraiseal Fannich, Rosshire (Song by Donald Fraser of Fannich, Rosshire)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>lid:</td>
<td>22 [c] / Mr John MacLennan / X</td>
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<td>box h:</td>
<td>22 [c]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>“Gun chrodh gun Aighean” (w’th in most collect’ns.) / peculiar Ross shire air. Chorus, verse, chorus. / noted B</td>
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<tr>
<td>notes by previous cataloguer: 1. (was in most collections). A Choisir-chiùil, p15; Minstrelsy, p12.</td>
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<td>1550</td>
<td>16/23</td>
<td>&quot;Lullaby &quot;Duanag&quot;, from Applecross; [Màiri bheag bhòidheach] (Pretty little Mary)</td>
<td>XX base: 7 or 9? base batch stamp: W 23/05/08 London LB G 1CDR0015624 C15</td>
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<td>1551</td>
<td>17/26</td>
<td>Lament by Miss MacLeod of Raasay for her brother drowned</td>
<td>27/06/08 London LB G 1CDR0015625 C1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1552</td>
<td>18/27</td>
<td>&quot;Oran le Iain MacRae, Thuinsgearraidh, Leoidhais dhan sgaley Ian Mac Iobhar [Song of John MacRae of Thuinsgearraidh Innisgaraidh] Lewis to the farm servant Ian Mac Iobhar]</td>
<td>27/06/08 London LB G 1CDR0015625 C2</td>
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</table>
box h: 27 [c] A. [c] Oran le Íain MacRath / (John MacRae / chorus, verse, chorus) / B [c] Oran le Íain MacRath / do gheòbha Bhrinis [2 verses]
base: 14
base batch stamp: K [with accent [?]line above]

1553 19 29 [56] 10 0 160 Ebgb bl br Farquhar MacRae
  1. Oran; Tha m’inntinn tròm (Song; My mind is heavy)
  2. [Ma [or Muair]] phòsas mi cha ghabh mi ach Mòr (If [when] I marry, I will only take Sarah)
  3. Waulking song; Hi ràill, Anna bheag (Hi ràill, little Anna)

lid: Dr MacRae / 29
base: 18
base batch stamp: K [with accent [?]line above]
notes: Lid, see 1

18/07/08 London LB V 1CDR0015625 C3 BADLY CRACKED

1554 20 100 / 64 71 144 Ebgb bl br [Mr. James MacRae]
  1. [Nuair thug mi’n ghleann mu Nollaig orm] [When I went to the glen at Christmas]
  2. Oran do Sheumais Alasdair [mhàs?]
  3. (“S ann an Àimearaga tha sinn an dràsd’) [announced as Oran le Íain MacMhurchaidh ann an Àimearaga]
  4. O Ho paillo ho

lid: 1 / Nuair Thug / mi’n gle-nn mu / nollaig orm 100 [over 61 in c] / 2 / Oran di Sheumas / Alasdair [mhàs?] / 3 / [‘S e an eadglan?] / [S – gh-ch?] / 4 O Ho paillo ho
box h: very indifferent / intonation

00/00/08 Pait, Monar, Ross-shire FMR G 1CDR0015625 C4

1. Originally the lid for 1553 was on 1554, the lid for 1554 was on 1569, and the lid for 1569 was on 1553, these have been corrected with the collection numbers written on the lids altered accordingly.
| Date | Cylinder | Cylinder Number | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | 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Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | Cylinder | 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2. The lid for this cylinder was originally on 1569 & the lid on this cylinder was the one for 1553, this error has been corrected.
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<td>84</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>EBg</td>
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<td>[Miss Mary MacRae]</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Mrs MacRae]</td>
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</table>
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | 1. Luinneag: O hro ghaoil nach fhuirich thu
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | [O ho, my love, wilt thou not stay] |        |                      |
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | 2. 'S toigh leam fear donn na feils [I love the brown-haired generous Host] |        |                      |
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | 3. Nalach na fis a Braigh Sharaidl |        |                      |
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | lid: 84 [c] / 1 / N Luinneag LEB / [asterisk/star symbol] O hro ghaoil / Nach [huirich]?
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | [symbol] / N [space] thu 2 / S toil leam fur don / na feile / / Nalach na fis / a Braigh Shar[aj]idl / (Craigdhu) |        |                      |
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | box hi: 84 [c] [space] BOX [asterisk/star symbol] box hii: BOX [asterisk/star symbol] / noted LEB
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | base: 10 [or 0'?]; base batch stamp: J. |        |                      |
| 1564 | 30 | 85  | 66    | 144   | EBg   | br    | [Mr. Neil McKay] | 00/00/08 | Lewis |
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | 1. 'Illean bithibh sundach [Lads, be cheerful!] |        | FMR G 1CDR0015625 C14 |
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | 2. Oran pòsaidh: Hai hai thogarain bhi falbh leat [Oh, oh I desire to go with thee] |        |                      |
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | lid: clear / N. 1 [space] LEB / Illean bithibh / sundach / N [space] 2 [space] 85 [c] [down facing spade emblem] / x Hu, hu; thogarainn [']
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | / x) incomplete in / 2nd verse. 1
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | box hi: noted LEB. / 85 [c] box hii: Both records good / & clear. box hii: Box [emblem]
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | base: 5 [']; base batch stamp: C |        |                      |
| 1565 | 31 | 86  | 67    | 144   | EBg   | br    | Miss Mary MacRae | 00/00/08 | Pait, Monar, Ross-shire |
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | 1. Banarach dhonn a chruidh [The brown haired Milkmaid] |        | FMR G 1CDR0015625 C15 |
|      |    |     |       |       |       |       | lid: Banarach / dhonn a chruidh / M. MacRae, / Pait, / [cross with pellets on end of arms symbol] |        |                      |

Notes: Possibly too fast at the beginning of 1, remainder barely audible.
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<th>Item</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td></td>
<td>[Mr. James MacRae]</td>
<td>[Dr. Farquhar MacRae]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1. Cumha Uisdean Friseal [Lament on Hugh Fraser]</td>
<td>2. Leig dhiot an Cadal, le Domhnul Mór Geadan-an-t-Saile (Lewt go thy sleep, by Big Donald, from/of Kintail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lid:</em> 87 [c] / N. 1 / Cumha uisdean / Friseal (hoarse) [heart emblem] / 2 ___ / Leig dhiot an Cadal / N [space] le uy / Domhnul Mór / Ged an t-Saile / <em>very interesting</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1566</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Noted. Clear, but intonation rather untrue.</td>
<td>87 [heart emblem]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>base: 11 [?]; base batch stamp: A / I</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1567</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Mr. John McKay]</td>
<td>[Mr. John Macdonald]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Iomraich Chuain Muinntir Charnis [The Emigration of the People of Carnish (in Uig)]</td>
<td>2. Oran an t-Seana Ghille [The Bachelor’s Song]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Mairi mhin mheall-shùileach [Gentle Mary of the winning eyes]</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Noted L. EB 91 [c] [heart emblem]</td>
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<td>notes by previous cataloguer: 3. Minstrelsy, p46; A’ Choisir chiùil, p5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1568</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>144</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1569 | 35 | 28 | [55] | 10 | 1 | 160 | EBg | br | Farquhar MacRae | 1. | Oran do’n Reiseamaid (Song to the Regiment)  
2. | Oran le Seòladair (The Sailor’s song)  
3. | Oran a linneadh le fear[? ] (Shooter of his sweetheart)[?] | 27/06/08 | London | LB | P F F | 1CDR0015626 C4 CRACKED |
| 1570 | 36 | | 101/62 | 72 | 80° | 160 | EBg | br | unident [m] unident [m] | 1. | Bha mi’n raoir gu sunndach sunndach [last night I was very happy]  
2. | Dùn Chalum mhic Dhonnchaidh [The castle of Malcolm son of Duncan[?]]  
3. | Aor a’p[h]odan [NB: this would be the spelling but it’s meaningless][?] | 00/00/08 | Scotland | FMR | G F | 1CDR0015626 C5 note: 2 ends abruptly |

3. The lid for this cylinder was originally on 1553 & the lid on this cylinder was the one for 1554, this error has been corrected.
4. BLNSA introduction incorrectly states speed at 180.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1571/37</th>
<th>102/62</th>
<th>73</th>
<th>144</th>
<th>Eb</th>
<th>br</th>
<th>Miss Mary MacRae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Cuaidh [?] Prionsa Tearlach le Floraith Dhomhnullach [Waulking song [?] for Prince Charles by Flora MacDonald]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Oran le bean a Ceann t-Sàile aig am a’ Chogaidh [Song by a woman of Kintail at the time of the War]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lid: 1 / Cuaidh [?] [asterisk/star symbol in pencil] / Prionsa Tearlach / le Floraith Dhomhnullach / 2. [struck through in pencil] / Oran le Beàin de Cean / -T-saile aig am 102 [over 65 in c] / Cogandh / M. MacRae / Spoilt. [struck through in pencil]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>box hi: Fair. / worth noting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>box hii: worth noting</td>
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<td>base: 11</td>
<td>base batch stamp: A / A</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<th>104/65</th>
<th>74</th>
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<th>EBg</th>
<th>br</th>
<th>[Mr. James MacRae]</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Tha mi tinn, tinn, tinn. Oran le Iain MacMhurchaidh [I am ill, ill, ill. Song by John son of Murdo MacRae] [puirt na beul – mouth music, reel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Ho! far a null am Bodach. Oran le Iain MacMhurchaidh [Whither went the old man?] [puirt na beul – mouth music, reel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Thogainn fonn fonn, fonn. Oran le Iain MacMhurchaidh [I would raise the tune] [puirt na beul – mouth music, reel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lid: 1 / Tha mi / tinn, tinn, tinn / Oran le / Iain MacMhurashaid / ______ / 2. / Ho. far a null am / Bodach. 104 [over 65 in c] / 3. / Thogainn fonn / fonn, fonn</td>
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<tr>
<td>box: Intonation very / uncertain [rhythm in 1 &amp; 3 uncertain, rhythm in 2 good]</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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<th>105/66</th>
<th>75</th>
<th>144</th>
<th>EBg</th>
<th>br</th>
<th>[Mr. James MacRae]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Oran le Floraith Dhomhnullach do’n [a] Prionsa [Song by Flora MacDonald to the Prince]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Thogaimid fonn do na fearaibh. MacMhurchaidh [Let us sing a song to the Prince]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>1CDR0015626 C8 slight variable speed</td>
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| 00/00/08 | Pait, Monar, Ross-shire | FMR | F | 1CDR0015626 C7 note: gap during 3 |

<p>| 00/00/08 | Pait, Monar, Ross-shire | FMR | G | 1CDR0015626 C8 |</p>
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<th>Code</th>
<th>Lid</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1574</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>106/62</td>
<td>Mo roghainn ’s mo rùn a chunna mi’n dé [O my choice, my love, who I saw yesterday. Waulking song]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>He mo leannan, hò mo leannan [He my love, ho my love]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ma theid thu a [?] buachailleach [If you go ---]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bhean an Tighe fàg a [-----?] [Woman of the house, leave ---]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1575</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>107/68</td>
<td>Moladh an uisge-beatha [In praise of whisky]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>oran dealaich [Parting song]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Oran a’ Bhotuil, le Iain MacMhurchadh [Song of the bottle by John MacRae]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lid Details**

- Lid 1: Oran le Floraidh Domhnull / don a Phream 105 [over 66 in c] / 2 / Thogamaid fonn / ì d na flour / MacMhurchadh / 3 / Oran mulad / le ghis dian Cuish? |

**Box Details**

- Bad intonation / Good rhythm
- Base: 7: base batch stamp: O
- Some fair
- Base: 1 [?]
- Base batch stamp: A

**Additional Information**

- Note by previous cataloguer: 2. Coisir a’ Mhòid, i, p21.
| 1576 | 42 | 108/64 | 78 | 140 | EBg bl | br | Mr. James MacRae | 1. Oran Gaoil le Iain Ban Mac a Mhinisdeir; Cha chadal, cha chadal (Love song by fair-haired John son of the minister (John MacRae))  
\[lid: Oran Gaoil / le Iain Ban / Mac a Mhinisteair / (J. MacRae. Pait) / Cha chadal, cha / chadal / 108 [over 69 in c] 
\[box: Distinct - / intonation possible / [space] / worth noting 
base: 4 [?] 
base batch stamp: A / M  
| 1577 | 43 | 109/20 | 79 | 135 | EBg bl | br | [Ann McKay] [*] | 1. Luinneag gaol: ˈS e nighean mo ghaoil [The brown haired girl is the girl I love]  
2. Luinneag gaol: An té air am beil mi’n seall [The woman I am looking at]  
3. Mo nighean dubh [My dark-haired girl]  
\[lid: 1 / Lunuiag Geol / Se nyhean mo / ghaoil / 109 [over 70 in c] / 2 / Lunuiag gaol. / An tè run [?] air am beil / mi’n seall / Lunuiag gaol. / Mo xxx [obscured text, scored out in ink] nyhean dubh 
\[box: Distinct / intonation very fair / [space] / worth noting base: 41: base batch stamp: I | 00/00/08 | Crowlista, Uig, Lewis | FMR | G | 1CDR0015626 C12 |
| 1578 | 44 | 110/64 | 80 | 140 | EBg bl | br | [Mr. James MacRae] | 1. Hi ri ri ˈs na hiu o (vocables): Oran de Dhomhnull Chailein le Seumas Bhàn [Song of Donald son of Malcolm by fair-haired James]  
\[lid: 110 [over 71 in c] Hi ri ri s na hiu o / Oran de Dhomhnull / Chailein le / Seumas Ban 
\[box: very bad intonation. 
base: 47: base batch stamp: C | 00/00/08 | Pait, Monar, Ross-shire | FMR | G | 1CDR0015626 C13 |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>1579</th>
<th>45</th>
<th>111/62</th>
<th>81</th>
<th>135</th>
<th>EBg</th>
<th>Mrs MacRae [?]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. [Luinneag gaoil] An gille dubh cha treig mi [The dark-haired boy will not deceive me]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. [Luinneag gaoil] Mo dhuine a’s [or na’s] thearr a’ chul cheathaich [Love song]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. [Luinneag gaoil] Mo chrhidhe tröm [My heavy heart]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. [Luinneag] Tha Thu suarch mirean [?] an diugh [You are stupid playing today]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*lid*: 1. / An gille dubh / cha trieg mi / ___2___ / Mo chivu a’s fear / a chul cheutaich / _____ 111 [over 62 [?] in c] / 3 / Mo chrhidhe tröm / 4 / Tha Thu suariaich / mirean au diugh / “Craigdhu” box: all very uncertain intonation

*base*: 40: base batch stamp: S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1580-1592</th>
<th>English recordings made by the Folk Song Society [see Appendix I, 1]</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1593-1626</td>
<td>Phonograph Recordings made by the Welsh Folk Song Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>1627-1632</td>
<td>English recordings made by the Folk Song Society [see Appendix I, 1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>1633-1636</td>
<td>Phonograph Recordings made by the Welsh Folk Song Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>1637-1638</td>
<td>English recordings made by the Folk Song Society [see Appendix I, 1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1639-1640</td>
<td>Phonograph Recordings made by the Welsh Folk Song Society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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00/00/08
Craigdhu, Strathglass, Inverness
FMR
G
ICDR0015626 C14
Appendix II

Phonograph recordings made by members of the Folk-Song Society
**Introduction**

Unlike the previous appendix which concentrated on the extant collection, the purpose of the following catalogues is to list *all the phonograph recordings* that were made by members of the Folk-Song Society in so far as this can be ascertained from their manuscripts, publications and extant recordings.

Two principles have been followed, extant recordings are listed in bold, and each entry is for an individual cylinder, consequently any cylinder with more than one recording on it will have all the compositions given in the same place, this has been done in order to better facilitate understanding of the number of phonographs that were made, but also to show how songs were grouped together on individual cylinders.

The column headings are mainly self explanatory but a few points should be noted: In the *References* column I have indicated, where possible, what form the source text takes, whether of music [m], words [w], words of first verse only [w1], title only [t], composite text [ct], or composite music [cm]. In most cases the source will be obvious from the reference but in the case of Leather’s collection abbreviated titles have been given in key at the beginning. Where there is more than one recording on a cylinder references have been spaced accordingly so that it should be obvious which track they are referring to, the exception to this is Broadwood’s collection, where the extended references to printed versions of the Gaelic songs has necessitated numbering the references for ease of identification. Also, If there is more than one recording on a cylinder, but there are no line spaces between the references then it can be assumed that the reference cited applies to all of the recordings on that cylinder.

The *Notes* column is to give additional information from any of the already mentioned sources, especially when one composition is cited in multiple sources, but also to note internal numbering systems (from cylinder to cylinder) as utilised by the collectors’ or any other factors that will aid in identification or understanding of their individual methodologies. I have occasionally added observations from the sources if they contribute to our knowledge of the composition cited, likewise, Roud numbers have been added for English language songs for ease of reference.
II, 1. Recordings made by Graham Peel

Two series of recordings made in Skye and Sutherland, only known from associative sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
<th>Roud</th>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Before 18 May</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>Isle of Skye</td>
<td>GP</td>
<td>Diary of Lucy Broadwood, 6782/19: Thurs 18/05/05.</td>
<td>No other information, other than that it was more than one recording</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907-1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>Sutherland</td>
<td>GP</td>
<td>Annual Report. June, 1907-8</td>
<td>No other information other than that Peel was making recordings in Sutherland in the year June 1907-June 1908</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>
II, 2. Recordings made by Ella Mary Leather

A minimum of 63 phonographs, containing some 111 recordings, made in Herefordshire between 1906 & 1913. As the recordings were sent to Ralph Vaughan Williams for transcription a large percentage of the relevant MSS are to be found in his papers. It is uncertain though how many of these were collaborative recordings; Two phonographs were probably made in collaboration with Cecil Sharp. Only three phonographs and one later dubbing of a fourth recording to 78 have survived. As most references are from MSS sources a key has been appended below, please also see Appendix III ‘The Ella Mary Leather Collection’.

Key

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript sources</th>
<th>Published sources</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EML/1/ Ella Leather Notebook</td>
<td>FLoH: The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EML/2/ Ella Leather loose papers</td>
<td>JFSS: Journal of the Folk-Song Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EML/3/ Miscellaneous Herefordshire papers</td>
<td>MOH: Memorials of Old Herefordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSBW/ Frank Sidgwick, ‘Bitter Withy’ folder</td>
<td>12TCiH: Twelve Traditional Carols from Herefordshire</td>
</tr>
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<td>GB/ George Butterworth Collection</td>
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<tr>
<td>LEB/ Lucy Broadwood Manuscript Collection</td>
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<td>RVW MSS Collection/ Vaughan Williams notebooks, BL</td>
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<tr>
<td>RVW/BL ADD MS/ Vaughan Williams notebooks, BL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Performer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 1 Dec 1906 | Probert, Mr. John | 1. In a manger laid so lowly
2. Riches are but vanity
3. Abroad as I was walking
4. Down by the shining water, there runs a clear stream | Weobley       | EML    | RVW/ Scrapbook/1/46 [61]: w1
RVW/ Scrapbook/1/46 [61]: w1
RVW/ Scrapbook/1/46 [61]: w1 | “Edison “Home” Phonograph record” I 2 3 4 | 1906          |
<p>| Jan 1907    | Evans, Mr. John | 1. Dives and Lazarus | Dilwyn        | EML    | RVW                        | Phono. 12TC/H ver., words: Sylvester’s / Harris / Evans; music: Evans. Tunes book: “Dives – as in F. S. Journal” [NB: Virtually identical to the version from Mr. T. Evans in the RVW Tunes book]/33: marked cylinder “(No XXIII a)” – but due to the numbering that version is probably from 1909 | 477  |
| March 1907  | Vaughan, Mr. G. | 1. The Moon shines bright, and the stars give their light | Dilwyn        | EML    | RVW                        | Phono.                                                                 | 702  |
| 1907        | Powell, Mrs Ellen | 1. Milkmaid’s song | Westhope, Canon Pyon | EML    | RVW                        | Phono. “14 verses / but not / nice” EML/2/10/n: titled “The Milkmaid’s fair” | 298  |
| Sep 1908    | Whatton, Angelina &amp; Mrs. | 1. The Seven Virgins ; or, Under the Leaves | The Homme farm, near Weobley | EML    | RVW                        | Phono.                                                                 | 127  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
<th>Title 1</th>
<th>Location 1</th>
<th>Source 1</th>
<th>Source 2</th>
<th>Source 3</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 1908</td>
<td>Loveridge, Mrs</td>
<td>There lived a lady in merry Scotland</td>
<td>Dilwyn, at the Homme farm</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>Phono. 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1908</td>
<td>Jones, Mrs Mary Ann</td>
<td>There is an alehouse</td>
<td>[Ledgemoor, near Weobley]</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>Tunes book: III 60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 1908</td>
<td>Smith, Mrs Mary Ann</td>
<td>In Carlock town</td>
<td>Chadnor, near Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>“Gipsy” 22280</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 1908</td>
<td>Smith, Mrs Mary Ann</td>
<td>Christ made a Trance</td>
<td>Chadnor, near Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>Tunes book: V a [only source that it is a phono] 2112</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 1908</td>
<td>Smith, Mrs Mary Ann</td>
<td>Mollie Vaughan / Molly Vaughan</td>
<td>Chadnor, near Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>Tunes book: VI [only source that it is a phono] 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1908</td>
<td>Whatton, Angelina &amp; Mrs. Whatton</td>
<td>Christ made a trance one Sunday at noon</td>
<td>Dilwyn, The Homme</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>Phono. RVW/Scrapbook ver. is incorrectly titled: The moon shines bright. 12TCfH ver., words: Colcombe / Sandsys / Whattons’; music: Whattons’ 2112</td>
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<td>Sep 1908</td>
<td>Herbert,</td>
<td>Cherry Tree Carol</td>
<td>Thinghill, near</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>Cylinder X. 453</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Mrs Withington</td>
<td>Withington</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/82 &amp; 82a [72]: w</td>
<td>Tunes book: Cherry Tree</td>
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<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 &amp; 119 [84]: t</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>1. Old Garden Gate</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>[No other info. other than that it is a trans. Of one of EML’s phonos.]</td>
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<td>Oct. 1908</td>
<td>Hancocks, Mr. W.</td>
<td>Monnington</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 21-22: w m</td>
<td>Phono. “Labourer, aged 70”</td>
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<td>FLoH, 197-198: w m</td>
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<td>Oct. 1908</td>
<td>Smith, Mrs. [Esther]</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 21-22: w m</td>
<td>Incorrectly named: Eliza</td>
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<td>FLoH, 197-198: w m</td>
<td>Phono. 12TCCH, ver., words: Sandys; music: Smith.</td>
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<td>12TCCH, 10-11: ct m [titled: Joseph and Mary]</td>
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<td>RVW MSS Collection (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p.309(1) [credited: Gipsy]</td>
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<td>RevFW EML</td>
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<td>Oct. 1908</td>
<td>Hancocks, Mr. John</td>
<td>Monnington-on-Wye</td>
<td>RevFW EML</td>
<td>Cylinder V.</td>
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<td>FLoH, 186-187: w m</td>
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<td>12TCCH, 6-7: w m</td>
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<tr>
<td>Before 3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>Mrs. Mary Whatton</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 &amp; 119 [84]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder VII a/</td>
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<td>Before 3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>Prosser, [Mr.]</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 &amp; 119 [84]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder VIII</td>
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<tr>
<td>Before 3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>Vaughan [Mr. G.]</td>
<td>1. Rosemary Lane</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 &amp; 119 [84]: t EML/1/46/b: m EML/2/10/m: w [?] RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/36: m RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 &amp; 119 [84]</td>
<td>Cylinder Xia EML/1/46/b: “2nd verse (incomplete)” [Re: Tunes book, this might be a trans. of the later “Apprentice in Rosemary Lane” (see: RVW/ [Tunes book]/61] but the only other identifiable piece on the same page was Mrs. Herbert’s Cherry Tree Carol from Sept 1908]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Before 3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>Herbert, Mrs. Colcombe, [William]</td>
<td>1. As I walked out</td>
<td>Thinghill, near Withington</td>
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<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 &amp; 119 [84]: t</td>
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<td>Before 9 Nov. 1908</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs.</td>
<td>1. Pretty Caroline</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84]: t RVW/Scrapbook/1/41 [57]: w RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/37:</td>
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<td>Title</td>
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<td>Before 9 Nov 1908</td>
<td>Harris, Mrs Richards, Noah</td>
<td>1. Diverus &amp; Lazarus Eardisley [Herefordshire]</td>
<td>EML RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder IV: 1 verse cylinder IV titled: Dives Cylinder IV: Tunes book: “True Lovers downfall no good” poss. 1700 or 182</td>
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<td>Before 9 Nov 1908</td>
<td>Harris, Mrs Richards, Noah</td>
<td>2. True Lovers Downfall Eardisley [Herefordshire]</td>
<td>EML RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [84[a]]: t EML/2/10/j: t</td>
<td>Cylinder IV: 1 verse cylinder IV titled: Dives</td>
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<td>1909</td>
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<td>1. Diverus &amp; Lazarus Eardisley [Herefordshire]</td>
<td>EML RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84]: t RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [84[a]]: t EML/2/10/j: t</td>
<td>Cylinder IV: 1 verse cylinder IV titled: Dives</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<td>Before Feb 11 1909</td>
<td>Tristram, Mrs.</td>
<td>1. Joys of Mary</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/124 [87]: t</td>
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<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/124 [87]: t</td>
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<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/62: w m</td>
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<td>Before Feb 11 1909</td>
<td>Tristram, Mrs.</td>
<td>1. Down in the fields of Bilberry</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/124 [87]: t</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>Vaughan [Mr.] G</td>
<td>1. The Gypsy Bride</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>2. Apprentice in Rosemary Lane</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
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<td>Preece, J</td>
<td>2. The Outlandish Knight</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder II a.</td>
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<td>Tunes book: (No II a) [called “Rosemary Lane”]</td>
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<td>Preece, J</td>
<td>1. Hunting Song</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Vaughan</td>
<td>2. Polly Oliver</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Bridges, Mrs. Caroline</td>
<td>2. In Sheffield Park</td>
<td>Pembridge</td>
<td>EML/1/44/a: t</td>
<td>EML/1/44/b: w</td>
<td>RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 293: m</td>
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<td>Bridges, Mrs. Caroline</td>
<td>1. In a hospital garden</td>
<td>Pembridge</td>
<td>EML/1/44/a: t</td>
<td>EML/1/44/b: w</td>
<td>RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 293: m</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
<td>Cylinder IV a. “(v. 2 [et]c)”</td>
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<td>Goodwin, Mrs. E.</td>
<td>1. The Prickly Bush Ledgemoor EML RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder VIII. a. “(58?)” 144</td>
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<td>2. Dilly Dove Ledgemoor EML RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Goodwin, Mrs. E.</td>
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<td>2. There was a Lord in Lancashire Ledgemoor EML RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Tunes book: (No IX a) Cylinder IX. b. “v. 2 &amp; 3” 93 [?]</td>
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<td>1. Leanthony [?] nr. Broxwood EML RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Morgan, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>2. Skipper &amp; his boy nr. Broxwood EML RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder X. b. 1427</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>3. Erin’s lovely home [i] nr. Broxwood EML RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder X. c. “tune” 1427</td>
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<td>Morgan, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>1. The Irish girl near Broxwood EML EML/1/3/a: m EML/2/10/d: t RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m EML/1/3/b: m EML/2/10/f: t RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
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<td>Morgan, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>2. Its of a pretty ploughboy near Broxwood EML EML/2/10/o: w RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
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<td>Lloyd, Mr. John</td>
<td>3. The Tailor &amp; the Crow</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>EML/1/4: w m RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m Cylinder XI. c. “60” 891</td>
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<td>1909 Morgan, Mr. T.</td>
<td>1. Erin’s lovely home [ii]</td>
<td>nr. Broxwood Broxwood</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t Cylinder XII. a. “end of” “(56)” 1427</td>
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<td>2. Bunch of watercress</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t Cylinder XII. b. 1653</td>
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<td>3. The Besom maker</td>
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<td>Napoleon [i]</td>
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<td>1909 Taylor, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>1. Napoleon [ii]</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t Cylinder XIII. a. “v. 2 etc.” “(See Journal I[))” 1626</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | 2. Waterloo | | RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t Cylinder XIII. b. [?]
| | 3. Undaunted female | | RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t Cylinder XIII. c. “verse of” 289 |
| 1909 Lloyd, Mr. John | 1. Hunting Song | Broxwood | RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t Cylinder XIV. a “about 60” [?]
| | 2. The Almeley Census | | RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t Cylinder XIV. B 22544 |
| Richards, Mr. Noah | 3. Little Grey Horse | Moorhampton | RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t Cylinder XIV. c. 393 |
| | 4. The Banks of Boyne [i] | | RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t Cylinder XIV. d. “65” “(blacksmith[)]” 2891 |
| 1909 Richards, Mr. Noah | 1. The Banks of Boyne [ii] | Moorhampton | RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t Cylinder XV. a. 2891 |
| | 2. Pride of Dundee | | RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t Cylinder XV. b. [?]
| | 3. True Lovers Downfall | | RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t Cylinder XV. c. 1700 or 182 22545 |
| | 4. Tom Sayers | | RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t Cylinder XV. d. Tunes book: (No XV c) [this is in Tunes book: (No XI c)]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Collection</th>
<th>Additional Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Eckley, Mr. [George]</td>
<td>1. The mantle of green</td>
<td>Dilwyn, Pitch</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>EML/1/26/b: w m EML/2/10/g: t [?] RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m Phono. Tunes book: (No XVII a) [For Eckley see Kelly's Directory of Herefordshire – 1913 Dilwyn.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hirons, Mr. W.</td>
<td>2. [?]</td>
<td>Haven</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>EML/1/40/c: w m EML/2/10/i: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m Phono. Tune book: (No XVII c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1909]</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs Ellen</td>
<td>1. [?]</td>
<td>Westhope, Canon Pyon</td>
<td>EML RVW</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m Tunes book: (No XVIII c) [this was also recorded in 1907, but the numbering of this cylinder strongly suggests that it was recorded twice]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. [?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[-]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Milkmaid’s song</td>
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<td>[-]</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Hirons,</td>
<td>1. Carnal &amp; the Crane</td>
<td>Dilwyn, Haven</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 22-28: w m Age 60.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29 July 1909</td>
<td>Richards, Mr. Noah</td>
<td>Moorhampton</td>
<td>RVW [EML]</td>
<td>RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 278: m [Uncertain that this was recorded on this date, only included as same date as other phono. (see above). Same song also found in RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95] and RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61 as “Cylinder XV. d.” but this was probably a separate occasion these ref. are part of a batch, whereas as none of the contiguous songs in bk 7 are of phonos. EML poss. not involved on 29 July]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. John</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>EML RVW</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/33: m EML/1/48/a: m RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84 ul]: t Tunes book/33: XXII c [in pencil over crossed out (XVII d) in ink] Mr. John Morgan [in pencil, with Mrs. Ellen Powell in ink crossed out] Tunes book/61: “end of tune missing” [with same crossed out incorrect numbering, viz: “also (XVIII d)”] RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84 ul]: EML to RVW, 09/11/08 “I almost despair of getting the other Claudy Banks, &amp; doubt if one can get a good record, as poor old John Morgan is always in bed now.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. [?]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. [?]</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Claudy Banks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22545
266
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Collector</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>MSS</th>
<th>Recordings</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Evans, Mr. T.</td>
<td>Dives and Lazarus</td>
<td>[Dilwyn?]</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/33: m</td>
<td>Tunes book: (No XXIII a) [Tune virtually identical to Mr. John Evans version from Jan 1907]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sept</td>
<td>Jones, Alfred</td>
<td>The Claudy Banks</td>
<td>Monkland, Herefordshire</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>EML/2/13/b: w K&amp;S: Phonographs, List: Box 1c:b t 78 rpm record TPX 29.1 / March 35: Track 3</td>
<td>“Gypsy” [NB: Provisional identification with the recording as some slight differences in text]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Mr Davies</td>
<td>John Riley</td>
<td>Aylton</td>
<td>RVW [EML]</td>
<td>EML/1/6/a: w EML/3/2/a: w RVW/BL ADD MS 59535 bk E, 5r: w m EML/1/6/c: w EML/3/2/c: w</td>
<td>[Recording probably by EML, but most MSS from RVW sources, so given in both lists, Related MSS found at RVW/BL ADD MS 54187 bk D, 50r (The Holy Well) (Gypsies, Sept 1912) and its rough transcript at 270/452/1697]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 1913</td>
<td>Stephens, Charlotte</td>
<td>1. The bitter withy</td>
<td>[Herefordshire]</td>
<td>EML/1/23: w</td>
<td>RVW/BL ADD MS 54187 bk E, 76v: m [Holy Well]: m</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1587 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015627 BD8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
II, 3. Recordings made by Lucy Broadwood

A minimum of 36 phonographs. Two trial recordings (both extant), 7 Gaelic recordings made in 1907 (none extant) and 27 Gaelic recordings made in London in 1908, of these 3 were spoilt at the time and 4 have subsequently disappeared but 20 have survived – though 1 of these is broken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
“Mould”. Noisy, but voice quite loud. First third of cylinder cracked.” |
| 27 June 1907 | [?]               | 1. lament on Colonel John Cameron of Fassifern                          | Garramor, Arisaig | LEB   | VWML MPS/10 (21) p. 1. 1. 21. See JEFDS 1.1 (1932), 43-44: 1w m [phono.]  
2. 4. Lament on a famous Cameron, see JFSS 8.5 (no. 35, 1931), 285-288: w m [no ref. to phono., from previous year]  
2. LEB-FM/[1/8/2]: m [Cameron of Letterfinney]  
3. 22. See JEFDS 1.1 | Box No. 1.  
K/S Report number: 124  
1. the 2nd verse (twice over)  
2. whistled once. (1st few notes faulty) [M’ McLean Knows the words.] |
| 11 July 1907 | Kate McLean       | 1. lament on Colonel John Cameron of Fassifern                          | Garramor, Arisaig | LEB   | VWML MPS/10 (21) p. 1. 1. 21. See JEFDS 1.1 (1932), 43-44: 1w m [phono.]  
2. 4. Lament on a famous Cameron, see JFSS 8.5 (no. 35, 1931), 285-288: w m [no ref. to phono., from previous year]  
2. LEB-FM/[1/8/2]: m [Cameron of Letterfinney]  
3. 22. See JEFDS 1.1 | Box No. 1.  
K/S Report number: 124  
1. the 2nd verse (twice over)  
2. whistled once. (1st few notes faulty) [M’ McLean Knows the words.] |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 July 1907</td>
<td>Kate McLean</td>
<td>Laird's Lament</td>
<td>Learnt by M' McLean from a lady in Badenoch abt 50 y² ago, when he was a shepherd there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 July 1907</td>
<td>Kate McLean</td>
<td>Coire-Cheathaich [or, the Glen of the Mist]</td>
<td>Learnt by M' McLean from a lady in Badenoch abt 50 y² ago, when he was a shepherd there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oran do’n Ghunna (song ab’ the gun)</td>
<td>Learnt by M' McLean from a lady in Badenoch abt 50 y² ago, when he was a shepherd there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cead Deireannach (The Poet’s Farewell to the Bens near Ciranlarich)</td>
<td>Learnt by M' McLean from a lady in Badenoch abt 50 y² ago, when he was a shepherd there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oran Seacharan Seilg</td>
<td>Learnt by M' McLean from a lady in Badenoch abt 50 y² ago, when he was a shepherd there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brughaichean Ghlinn’-Braon (The Birds of Glen Broan)</td>
<td>Learnt by M' McLean from a lady in Badenoch abt 50 y² ago, when he was a shepherd there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Learnt by M' McLean from a lady in Badenoch abt 50 y² ago, when he was a shepherd there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Singer</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 July</td>
<td>Kate McLean</td>
<td>1. Oran Leannanachd, Victory song, sung with excitement and passion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 July</td>
<td>Kate McLean</td>
<td>2. Duanag Do’ N Uisge-Bhetha (in praise of whiskey)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 July</td>
<td>Kate McLean</td>
<td>3. Mairi-Laghach [Bonnie Mary]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 July</td>
<td>Kate McLean</td>
<td>4. Hi-ri’s Ho ra-III-O (Luinneag)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 July</td>
<td>Kate McLean</td>
<td>5. An Gille Dubh Ciar-Dhubh (The Dark Haired Youth)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 July</td>
<td>Kate McLean</td>
<td>6. Feasgar Luain (Monday Evening)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 July</td>
<td>Kate McLean</td>
<td>7. Am Feile-Phreasach (The plaited kilt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Box No. 4.
- K/S Report number: 127
- (verse twice over)
- (verse & chorus once)
- (chorus & verse once)
- Box No. 5.
- K/S Report number: 128
- (verse, once only.)
- (twice over)
- (chorus and verse once)
- (chorus & verse hummed) / once.
- Box No. 6.
- K/S Report number: 129
- (verse twice over)
- (see L. E. B’s notation) / (two verses)
- (chorus & verse, once)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>[?</th>
<th>[?]</th>
<th>Garramor, Arisaig</th>
<th>LEB</th>
<th>K&amp;S: Report: 130</th>
<th>K/S Report number: 130</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Air “Cuir a chin dileas” is directed to be used, in book (words by Donald Macintyre) comic, “(verse once through)”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Chorus, verse, chorus, verse, chorus. [chorus unpublished; verses 2, 9 &amp; 5 of Sar Obain p 318]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 April 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Chuachag nan Craobh (the Cuckoo of the Groves)</td>
<td>London LEB</td>
<td>LEB-FM/1/2/2: t LEB-FM/1/4/1-2: m LEB-FM/1/7: t [1911 copy]</td>
<td>Box 2 chorus, verse, chorus, verse, chorus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4 April 1908 | Dr. Farquhar MacRae | 1. Biodh an deoch ’s an láimh mo rùn [The drink would be in my love’s hand] 2. Coille Mhùraidh: O ’s tu gura tu th’ air m’aire [When Summer came] | London LEB | LEB-FM/1/2/2: t LEB-FM/1/4/2-3: m LEB-FM/1/7: t [1911 copy] | CRACKED Box 3 / Box 4 lid nos.: 3, 4 1. Chorus. Verse’ Chorus, Verse Chorus, Verse Chorus’.
2. Chorus of 2 “(only ½ as record came to an end)” Opening “Coille Mhùraidh” section not recorded. |
<p>| 1908 | [Dr. Farquhar MacRae] [?] | [London] LEB | LEB-FM/1/2/3: t | [Box 5] [Boxes following 3 [sic]. Spoilt Records, till No. 8.] |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Box/Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[Dr. Farquhar MacRae]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[London]</td>
<td>LEB FM/1/2/3: t</td>
<td>[Box 6] [Boxes following 3 [sic], Spoilt Records, till No. 8.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[Dr. Farquhar MacRae]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[London]</td>
<td>LEB FM/1/2/3: t</td>
<td>[Box 7] [Boxes following 3 [sic], Spoilt Records, till No. 8.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. The Kintail dirge: Chaidh Donnachadh ‘a bhainn. [Chaidh mo Dhonnchadh [no] bheinn] [My Duncan went to the hill, and he has not come home]: version 1 2. as above, version 2 3. The frás air Taobh mo gruaedheim {Tha fras air taobh mo ghrudhain} [A shower is at the side of my maiden]</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB FM/1/2/3: t</td>
<td>BROKEN – NOT DUBBED Box 8 1. Donald Paterson’s, 2 verses. 2. James MacRae’s, 2 verses. 3. chorus, verse and coda chorus.; LEB-FM/1/2/3: learnt from his mother – (Ross shire) LEB-FM/1/4/7: [score numbered: Box 8. No. 1 &amp; Box 8. No. 2, but seemingly different tunes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. The MacRae March from Sheriffmuir: Triall Chlann ‘ic Rath bho shealbh an t Siorramh no Cro Chunn t-cúile [Triall Chlann ‘ic Rath bho Shliabh an t-Siorraim, no Cro Chinn an t-Sàile] [The departure [march] of Clan MacRae from Sheriffmuir, or The Cattle of Kintale] 2. ‘Bangor’ to the 23rd Psalm</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB FM/1/2/3: t</td>
<td>Box 9 1. 2 verses. 1. LEB-FM/1/4/8: Dr. MacRea’s adaptation to words of his own composition 2. 1 verse; LEB-FM/1/4/8: for other tune see Gesto Coll: pp. 30 &amp; 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Oran gaoil; Air faillirin [illirin o] [vocables] 2. A nochd furaoin mo chadal dhomh [Tonight I shall sleep lightly] 3. Cuir a chinn {dileis, dileis, dileis} [Put,</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB FM/1/2/3: t</td>
<td>Box 10 1. chorus &amp; verse 2. verse 1. 3. verse &amp; chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Song Title</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>2 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Ochon a Righ! Gur e mi tha muladach [Alas! I am so sad] 2. {Oran gooil: Màiri Bhoidhich} [Lovely Mary]</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB-LEB-LEB/1/2/4: t “See Choisir-chiùil, p37” “Sar Obair p. 414” EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1539 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C3 Type: BC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Ill uill agus ò; Oran le bàrd na h-Earadh [mostly vocables; Song by a bard of Harris] 2. Fàilte dhut is slàinte leat [Welcome to you and health to you] 3. {Oran Calum Sgàire [i]}; Air faill o rò u [vocables]</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB-LEB-LEB/1/2/5: t “Choisir-chiùil, p61” “[Sar Obair p 424]” EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1540 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C5 Type: BC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>Oran Calum Sgàire [ii], Bearnara, [Leodhais] (Song by Calum Sgàire [Malcolm MacAulay]; Air faill o rò-u</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB-LEB-LEB/1/2/5: t EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1541 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C6 Type: BC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Oran gooil; Tha fras air taobh mo [ghruaidhean] [A shower is at the side of my maiden] 2. Tha m’ìntinn fo mhulad [My mind is sad]</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB-LEB-LEB/1/2/5: t LEB-LEB/1/3/1: t EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1542 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C7</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Box 11
1. a verse of another song sung by James MacRae. [chorus and verse repeated to get better record] 2. chorus & verse. (with a break so the pitch will alter)

Box 12
K/S no. 103 [written over 82]
1. chorus, 1st verse and chorus.
2. chorus, verse [?] chorus. Adds the word ‘iuinneag’ (ditty).
3. Part of “Air faill o rò-u” etc, (See A Box 13)

Box 13
[chorus & verse thrice.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Oran gaoil le Ciobair; Gu bheil d’oran a [m’innitinn] [Love song by a shepherd; Your song is in my mind]</td>
<td>London LEB LEB-FM/1/2/6: t EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1543 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C8 Type: EBgb1 Box 15 1. [3 lines of verse] LEB-FM: “This is a sort of composition of Dr. MacRae’s [a “Dream Tune”] He can supply the words 2. [1 verse] 3. [chorus, verse]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>2. Lord Ronald my son</td>
<td>London LEB LEB-FM/1/2/6: t EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1544 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C9 Type: EBgb1 Box 16 1. Chorus, verse, &amp; 1st line &amp; chorus. LEB-FM/1/2/6: (Drinking–song on an illicit whisky-stall.); LEB-FM/1/3/1: (phonograph repeats 1st line of chorus by mistake) 2. LEB-FM: as sung by Dr. MacRae’s mother whilst spinning. (1st verse forgotten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>3. Oran Saighdear (Soldier's song); {Hirighoro air M’eudail} [Hiri horo my darling]</td>
<td>London LEB LEB-FM/1/2/6: t EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1545 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C8 Type: BC 3. chorus, verse, &amp; coda chorus; LEB-FM/1/3/1: (learnt from Mr James MacRae) [the singer’s father] 4. [chorus, verse, chorus]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 14 May 1908| Dr. Farquhar MacRae | 4. {Oran gaoil; Mu dh’fhàg thu mi ‘s mulad orm} [If you have left me, I am sad] | London LEB LEB-FM/1/2/6: t EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1544 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C9 Type: EBgb1 Box 17 1. double verse in 1 tune; LEB-FM: to a tune evolved by himself 2. (1 verse) 3. 1 verse.; LEB-FM/1/2/6: to the same tune as the dance-tune “Flowers of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Oran gaoil; Faill i l o agus horo eile [vocables]</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB: FM/1/2/7: t</td>
<td>Box 18</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Oran gaoil; Faill i thogainn fonn mo leannan</td>
<td></td>
<td>LEB: FM/1/3/3: t</td>
<td>1. [chorus &amp; verse]</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>{Oran Phrionnsa Thearlaich}; A fhleasaich ùr [leanainn thu] [Song of Prince Charles; Fresh young man, I would follow you]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Words from Sinclair's Oraniche</td>
<td>2. [chorus, verse, chorus]</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>{Oran gaoil; Càit' an caidil an nighneag} [Where will the lassie sleep tonight?]</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Attribution may or may not be genuine.</td>
<td>3. [chorus, verse, chorus]</td>
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<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1546 BLSA call no:</td>
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<td>1CDR0015624 C10</td>
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<td>Type: EBgbl</td>
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<td>Edinburgh”; LEB-FM/1/3/2: by John MacRae, the Kintail poet.</td>
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<td>Box 18</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 May 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Lament of Miss Campbell for her lover; Obhan, obhan usidh [vocables]; [Griogal Cridhe]</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB: FM/1/2/7: t</td>
<td>Box 19</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Far mo mhulad ['s a’ bheann] (The Sea-longing) [Where my sorrow is in the mountain]</td>
<td></td>
<td>LEB: FM/1/3/3: t</td>
<td>1. introduced as: “Oran l---- Caimbeul a’ caoidh a leanain MacGriogail’; (Chorus, verse, chorus); LEB-FM/1/2/7: Lament of Miss Campbell for her lover Macgregor, Killed by her father 2. chorus, verse, chorus [ - pause (part of chorus repeated / by mistake) Griogal Cridhe [see 1562]</td>
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<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1547 BLSA call no:</td>
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<td>Box 19</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 May 1908</td>
<td>John MacLennan</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Song on Iseabil Nic-Aoidh</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB: FM/1/2/7: t</td>
<td>Box 20</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Am Bòbero B’eibhin; Old Clan-Song (March tune) of the MacKenzies of Brahan</td>
<td></td>
<td>LEB: FM/1/3/4: t</td>
<td>1. a piobroch air. (1 verse) [later recorded by James C.M. Campbell ]; LEB-FM/1/3/4: (Dr MacRae’s Gaelic (Lewis)</td>
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<td>“(words Sar-Obair p. 208)”</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>LEB Notes</td>
<td>Coll. Notes</td>
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</table>
| 23 May 1908| John MacLennan     | 1. The Massacre of Glencoe (Mort Ghlinne a’ Chomhainn [The Glenn of the Shrine])
2. The Macintoshs’ Lament (Macintosh - of Moy Hill, Inverness – Lament [Cumha ‘ic an Toisich]) |
London      | LEB                | EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1548 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C13 Type: EBgl |
|            |                    | Box 21 1. based on a Piobaireachd, but not the one with that name. 1 verse.
LEB-FM: learnt by Mr. MacLennan’s mother at Invergarry, Inverness shire. |
|            |                    | 2. based on the Piobaireachd of the same name, Lament. / chorus, verse, chorus verse.
LEB-FM: (The burden means: They laid thee, they raised thee.) |
| 23 May 1908| John MacLennan     | 1. Gun chrodh gun aighean [The tocherless lass [the lass without a dowry]]
2. Oran do Bhoiniparte (Song to Bonaparte)
3. Oran le Domhnul Friseal Fannaich, Rosshire [Song by Donald Fraser of Fannich, Rosshire] |
London      | LEB                | EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1549 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C14 Type: EBgl |
|            |                    | Box 22 1. Chorus, verse, chorus.
LEB-FM: A peculiar Ross-shire tune to these words. |
|            |                    | 2. 2 verses.                                                            |
|            |                    | 3. chorus & part of verse which is same tune as chorus. LEB-FM/1/2/8: (gamekeeper on the Fannich estate […] Fraser’s family being very religious objected to their father’s poems being published. Mr MacLennon has tried to persuade those living to allow publication & hopes shortly that a few poems will be printed. LEB-FM/1/3/4: chorus with a part of the same tune to a verse by Mr M’s |

is especially pure.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Songs</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</table>
| 23 May 1908 | John MacLennan      | 1. Lullaby “Duanag”, from Applecross; [Màiri bheag bhòidheach] [Pretty little Mary]  
2. Morag (Jacobite song [luadh]) [waulking song] | London   | LEB   | LEB-FM/1/2/8: t  
LEB-FM/1/3/5: t  
EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1550  
BLSA call no: 1CDR0015624 C15  
Type: EBgbl  
Box 23  
1. chorus, verse, chorus.  
LEB-FM/1/2/8: words written by a crofter, Macdonald, of Applecross, Ross shire.  
2. Ross shire version  
LEB-FM/1/3/5: “Mary” meaning “Prince Charlie” |
| 23 May 1908 | John MacLennan      | 1. The Dowie Dens of Yarrow  
2. Oran ne Drobhairan (The Drover’s Song)  
3. (The Sheep stealer) | London   | LEB   | LEB-FM/1/5/1: 1w m  
LEB-FM/1/2/9: t  
LEB-FM/1/3/5: t  
1. 6 JFSS 5.2 (no. 19, 1915), 111-113: w m [phono.]  
Box 24  
1. as sung at the fairs in Ross-shire. I verse hummed.  
2. by the afore mentioned Applecross bard. not in any book.  
1st verse – pause – and 2nd verse  
3. chorus, verse, chorus |
| 23 May 1908 | John MacLennan      | 1. Iorram (rowing song): Mhairi Dhu, na Hu a ho  
2. Iorram: Iorram Chuain (Sea Song)  
3. Iorram: Corry Kraeckan {Corryvreckan} | London   | LEB   | LEB-FM/1/2/9: t  
LEB-FM/1/3/5: t  
CRACKED  
Box 25  
1. chorus, verse, chorus  
2. chorus, verse, chorus  
3. (a whirl-pool not far from Oban)  
chorus and verse & chorus, not quite complete, to finish. |
| 27 June 1908 | Dr. Farquhar MacRae | 1. Lament by Miss MacLeod of Raasay for her brother drowned  
2. An teid thu leam a Mhàiri (Will you come with me, Mary)  
3. Oran le Iain Mac Mhurchaidh (MacMurdock) (Song by John MacRae) | London   | LEB   | LEB-FM/1/2/10: t  
EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1551  
BLSA call no: 1CDR0015625 C1  
Type: EBgbl  
No. 26  
1. [2 verses]; LEB-FM: her brother “Ian Garbh” (John the Giant-framed,) Mac ‘Ille Chellun (or Malcolm’s lad) of Raasay. He was drowned in the Minch probably 200 yrs ago or more. [MacLeod of Raasay, who drowned in 1671].  
2. “[chorus & verse]”; LEB-FM: words by John Munro Sutherland bard.  
3. [verse, chorus, / verse, chorus,] |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Item Code</th>
<th>Call Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 June 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Oran le Iain MacRath, Thuinsgearraidh, Leoidhais dhan sgaley Ian Mac Iobhar [Song of John MacRae of Thuinsgearraidh [Innisgaraidh] Lewis to the farm servant Ian Mac Iobhar]</td>
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<td>2. Oran le Iain MacRath do gobha Bhrinis [Song by John MacRae to a smith of Brinish]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>LEB-FM/1/2/11: t</td>
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<td>EFDS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1552</td>
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<td>No. 27.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. chorus, verse, chorus</td>
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<td>LEB-FM, full title: Oran le Iain MacRath (John MacRae) of Thuinsgearraidh (Innisgaraidh) Lewis to the (farm servant) Ian Mac Iobhar. The words composed by Dr. MacRae’s brother</td>
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<td>2. [2 verses] LEB-FM, full title: Oran le Iain MacRath (John MacRae, same as above) Thuinsgearraidh, do gobha Bhrinis (blacksmith), Mr John MacRae’s various songs were well known locally</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 June 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Oran do’n Reiseamaid (Song to the Regiment)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB-FM/1/2/11-12: t</td>
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<td>EFDS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1569</td>
<td>BLSA</td>
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<td>1. [chorus, verse, chorus]; LEB-FM: bard unknown to Dr MacRae.</td>
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<td>2. [chorus &amp; verse]; LEB-FM: heard in Lewis</td>
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<td>3. [2 verses]</td>
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<td>18 July 1908</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>1. Oran; Tha m’inninn tròm [Song; My mind is heavy]</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LEB-FM/1/2/12: t</td>
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<td>EFDS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1553</td>
<td>BLSA</td>
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<td>Box 29 BADLY CRACKED</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. [chorus &amp; verse]; LEB-FM: Lewis</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. [chorus &amp; verse] ; LEB-FM: Lewis</td>
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<td>3. ch, v, ch. V, chorus.; LEB-FM: Lewis</td>
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II, 4. Recordings made by Farquhar MacRae

A minimum of 27 phonographs, but possibly as many as 36, made in Inverness-shire, West Ross-shire and Lewis. 20 extant, 9 of which are listed in the Broadwood-MacRae papers, 11 not being so listed. As well as these the MSS contain a further 7 cylinders that are not in the collection, so a total of 27 cylinders, but according to the Karpeles/Slocombe Report there were 34 in total, meaning that a further 7 are totally unaccounted for, as well as these, 2 in the MSS were listed as being retained by MacRae and thus could never have been in Broadwood’s collection, and thus wouldn’t have been in the Report’s total, hence a provisional total of 36 phonographs made by MacRae. Due to their being no dates in this series phonograph speeds (Sp) have also been noted as they can be indicative of sessions or related series.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>1. Hi ri ri ’s na hiu o [vocables]: Oran de Dhomhnull Chailein le Seumas Bhàn [Song of Donald son of Malcolm by fair-haired James]</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>NOT in LEB-FM papers</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1578 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C13 Sp 140 List &amp; Report: Box 6 box: very bad intonation. [Seumas Bhàn was Farquhar MacRae's father]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 00/00/08 | J. MacRae | 1. Moladh an uisge-beatha [In praise of whisky]  
2. Oran dealaich [Parting song]  
3. Oran a’ Bhotuil, le Iain MacMhurchadh [Song of the bottle by John MacRae] | Pait, Monar, Ross-shire | FMR    | NOT in LEB-FM papers            | EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1575 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C10 Sp 140 List & Report: Box 6 Box lid: J. MacRae box: Intonation hopeless / in 1st . Latter one better [John MacRae was Farquhar MacRae's brother] |
| 00/00/08 | J. MacRae | 1. Oran Gaoil le Iain Ban Mac a Mhinisdeir; Cha chadail, cha chadail [Love song by fair- | Pait, Monar, | FMR    | NOT in LEB-FM papers            | Sp 140 List & Report: Box 6                                                                 |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>1. Moladh fear Farabruinn le Iain MacMhurchaidh; (Na ho ro gu’m b’eirinn domh [vocables]) [Praise of the Laird of Fara bruinn by John MacRae]</td>
<td>[Scottish]</td>
<td>Ross-shire</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1576 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C11</td>
<td>box: Distinct - / intonation possible. / [space] / worth noting</td>
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<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>2. Ho! far a null am Bodach. Oran le Iain MacMhurchaidh [Wither went the old man?]</td>
<td>[Scottish]</td>
<td>Ross-shire</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1560 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015625 C10</td>
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<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>3. Thogaimh fonn fonn, fonn. Oran le Iain MacMhurchaidh [I would raise the tune]</td>
<td>[Scottish]</td>
<td>Ross-shire</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1572 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C7</td>
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<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>1. Oran le Floraí Dhomhnullach do’n [a] Phrionnsa [Song by Flora MacDonald to the Prince]</td>
<td>[Scottish]</td>
<td>Ross-shire</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1573 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C8</td>
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<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>2. Thogamhaid fonn do na fearaibh. MacMhurchaidh [Let us sing a song to the men]</td>
<td>[Scottish]</td>
<td>Ross-shire</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1554 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015625 C4</td>
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<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>3. ‘S ann an Aimearaga tha sinn an dràsd’</td>
<td>[Scottish]</td>
<td>Ross-shire</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1554 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015625 C4</td>
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Sp 144
List & Report: Box 3
Broadwood: James MacRae
Box 21
LEB-FM/2/3/21: In Praise of Mackenzie of Fairbairn by John MacRae (Mundo's Son)

Sp 144
List & Report: Box 6
box: Intonation very / uncertain [rhythm in 1 & 3 uncertain, rhythm in 2 good].
[puirt na beul – mouth music, reels]
[gap during 3]

Sp 144
List & Report: Box 6
box: Bad intonation / Good rhythm
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Collection Details</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>1. Cumha Uisdean Friseal (Lament on Hugh Fraser)</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1: t LEB-FM/2/3/7: m LEB-FM/2/4/1: m</td>
<td>Box 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Leig dhioit an Cadal, le Domhnull Mór Gead-an-t-Sailean (Let go thy sleep, by Big Donald, from/of Kintail)</td>
<td>West Ross-shire</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1: t LEB-FM/2/3/18: m LEB-FM/2/4/1: m LEB-FM/2/7: t EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1566 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C1</td>
<td>Lid: hoarse Bo 18 opening line: ‘Leig dhiot an cadal’ in the sense of ‘Wake up, and turn to me’, introduced as Oran do bhàs[?]Domhnull Mór Ceann an t-Saile. Lid: very interesting Box: Noted. Clear, but intonation rather untrue. LEB-FM/2/3/18: slow &amp; very expressive. sforzandos much marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>Deoch slainte a Chamshronaich Bhoidhich (A health to the Bonny Cameron)</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1: t LEB-FM/2/3/8: m</td>
<td>Broadwood: James MacRae Box 8 LEB-FM/2/3/8: Dr. MacRae takes the cylinder LEB-FM/2/3/8: […] 5 times over, the 6th time the record ceases after a few notes. [NB would not have been one of the missing phonographs noted as being in Box 11 in the List as Broadwood never owned this cylinder]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/08</td>
<td>J. MacRae</td>
<td>1. Gill’ Easbachan (Little Gillespie or Archibald)</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1: t LEB-FM/2/3/11: m LEB-FM/2/7: t</td>
<td>Broadwood: James MacRae Box 11 LEB-FM/2/3/11: Dr MacRae has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Miss Mary MacRae</td>
<td>Banarach dhonn a chruidh (The brown haired Milkmaid)</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1:  t &lt;br&gt; LEB-FM/2/3/1:  m &lt;br&gt; LEB-FM/2/4/4:  m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1565</td>
<td>BLSA call no: 1CDR0015625 C15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sp 144 List &amp; Report: Box 3</td>
<td>very unrhythmical</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/3/16: quasi [?] recitation. almost impossible to note.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Miss Mary MacRae</td>
<td>Cuaidh [?] Prionnsa Tearlach le Floraidh Dhomhnullach [Waulking song] for Prince Charles by Flora MacDonald</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>NOT in LEB-FM papers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1571 &lt;br&gt; BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C6</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Sp 144 List &amp; Report: Box 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>on box: Fair. / worth noting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>on lid: Spoilt. [struck through in pencil]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[slight variable speed]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Miss Mary MacRae</td>
<td>Luinneag; O horo ghaoil nach fhuirich thu (O ho, my love, wilt thou not stay)</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/2:  t &lt;br&gt; LEB-FM/2/3/24/1:  m [1 line]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Sp 144 List &amp; Report: Box 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Box 24</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**
- LEB-FM/2/3/11: Impromptu by Mrs Cameron [...].
- LEB-FM/2/3/5: “Cruch Allan” [...].
- [Das alte Sechseläutenlied](https://swissarchiv.ch) (Swiss May Song) in Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde [...].
- [NB would not have been one of the missing phonographs noted as being in Box 11 in the List as Broadwood never owned this cylinder](https://swissarchiv.ch).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Mrs MacRae</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td>1. Dovian Pòsaidhe (The Vexations of Marriage)</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass, Inverness</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1: t</td>
<td>Sp 144 List &amp; Report: Box 3 Box 9 [first line: Cha’n eil fada o’n phòs mi (?)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td>2. Luinneag dha fear a leadan bhàn (Ditty to the fair-haired Gallant)</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass, Inverness</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1: t</td>
<td>Box 19 [first line: Fhir an leadan bhàn LEB-FM/2/3/19/2: The above is impossible for anyone not a Gaelic scholar to bar. The above represents as nearly as possible the barring according to accent. The phrasing could be made homogeneous by ignoring the inequalities of rhythm in each verse, but I have preferred to go by the effect &amp; note-value recorded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td>1. Griogal Cridhe [Beloved Gregor]</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1: t</td>
<td>Sp 135 List &amp; Report: Box 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td>[Luinneag gaoil] An gille dubh cha treig mi [The dark-haired boy will not deceive me]</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass, Inverness</td>
<td>NOT in LEB-FM papers</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1579 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td>Che sguir mis am bliadh<code>n an </code>ol (I will not stop drinking this year)</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass, Inverness</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1: t LEB-FM/2/3/2: m LEB-FM/2/2/2: t LEB-FM/2/3/3: m EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1562 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015625 C12</td>
<td>Box 12 LEB-FM/2/3/12: Lament on Gregor, my heart’s love Box 2 LEB-FM/2/3/2: c.f tune of Dorran Posaidhe […] &amp; “Cumha Maclean”. Box 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td>Mo roghainn `s mo rùn a chunna mi’n dé [O my choice, my love, who I saw yesterday. Waulking song]</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass, Inverness</td>
<td>NOT in LEB-FM papers</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1579 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>unident</td>
<td>Mo roghainn `s mo rùn a chunna mi’n dé [O my choice, my love, who I saw yesterday. Waulking song]</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass, Inverness</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/1: t LEB-FM/2/3/4: m</td>
<td>Sp 110 List &amp; Report: Box 6 Box 4 LEB-FM/2/3/4: Dr. MacRae has taken that cylinder [NB would not have been one of the missing phonographs noted as being in Box 11 in the List as Broadwood never owned this cylinder]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hé mo leannan, hò mo leannan [He my love, ho my love]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ma theid thu a [?] buachailleach [If you go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Collector</td>
<td>Recording Details</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>LEB-FM/1/6: w LEB-FM/2/2/1: t LEB-FM/2/3/6: m</td>
<td>West Ross-shire</td>
<td>poss. one of the missing cylinders from List Box 11. Box 6 LEB-FM/2/2/1: Sung by Dr. Farquhar MacRae. LEB-FM/2/3/6: (brown) Box LEB-FM/2/3/6: Cylinder taken by Dr. MacRae [crossed out]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Mr. John McKay</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/1: t LEB-FM/2/3/17: m</td>
<td>Crowlista, Uig, Lewis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. John Macdonald</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/2: t LEB-FM/2/3/25: m</td>
<td>Mr. John Macdonald</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/2: t LEB-FM/2/3/20: m</td>
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<td></td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1567 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015626 C2</td>
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<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Mr John Macdonald</td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/2: t LEB-FM/2/3/28: m</td>
<td>Crowlista, Uig, Lewis</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/4/7: m</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LEB-FM/2/2/2: t LEB-FM/2/3/30: m</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Sp 160 List &amp; Report: Box 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Box 17 LEB-FM/2/3/17: words by Hector Macleod, the Crowlista poet. (ab1, 1850)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Box 25 LEB-FM/2/3/25: words by Kenneth Maclean. [Literal title trans.: Song of the old young man]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Box 20 LEB-FM/2/3/20: The above phonographed version is very free in rhythm &amp; almost impossible to bar quite satisfactorily without a Knowledge of Gaelic. [transcript set against version in A Choisir-chiùil, p.5]</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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4. Bhean an Tighe fàg a [------?] [Woman of the house, leave ---]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Song 1</th>
<th>Song 2</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Box</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Mr. Neil McKay</td>
<td>1. 'Illean bithibh sunndach (Lads, be cheerful!)</td>
<td>2. Oran pòsaidh: Hai hai thagarain bhi falbh leat (Oh, oh I desire to go with thee)</td>
<td>The phonographed version is highly ornamented &amp; so tempo rubato as to be almost impossible to bar satisfactorily. [transcript set against version in A Choisir-chiūil, p.23]</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Ann McKay</td>
<td>1. Fleasgach an fhuilt chraoibhich chas (The Gallant of the wavy hair)</td>
<td>2. Nuair ’bha mi òg ’smi maille ribh (When I was young &amp; along with you)</td>
<td>poss. one of the missing cylinders from List Box 3. Box 10 LEB-FM/2/3/10: The 2 first verses are very bad indistinct records. The 3rd (last) verse is here noted entire. Box 23 LEB-FM/2/3/23: [one section of four bars has the comment: this part of record later became defaced &amp; changed.]</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Ann McKay</td>
<td>1. Mo nighean dubh (My blackhaired maiden)</td>
<td></td>
<td>poss. one of the missing cylinders from List Box 3. Box 22 LEB-FM/2/3/22: I have barred as</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Hi, horo, mo Mhari lurach (Heigh, ho, my neat little Mary)

3. Hi ri ri o rail o

much as possible as sung, but one can see that the air is most probably common time throughout, & it can easily be so altered. The record is from an obviously old voice – The F#s are distinctly # The B is flattened only where marked ♭. The F natural is distinctly natural. i.e. a very much sharpened F taking the F as probably natural originally.

Box 15

LEB-FM/2/3/13: very slow, exactly like bagpipe-playing of pibrochs / […] singer’s F’# distinctly, at those places marked B # at all places except those marked B ♭, & at those places very intentional & strong B ♭.

00/00/08

Ann McKay

Mary McKay

1. Oran don sibhinn mhaiseach (A song to the beautiful Maiden)

2. Oran do Leodhas (Song to Lewis)

3. Seinn an dnan so (Sing this Song)

possible one of the missing cylinders from List Box 3.

Box 27

LEB-FM/2/3/26: very shaky record. old voice & wobbling reproduction from Phono:

Box 29

LEB-FM/2/3/29: c.f. John Macdonald’s ornate version noted from phonograph record taken by Dr. MacRae. [see C37/1561]

00/00/08

[Ann McKay] [?]

1. Luinneag gaoil: ‘S e nighean mo ghaoil [The brown haired girl is the girl I love]

2. Luinneag gaoil; An té air am bheil mi’n

NOT in LEB-FM papers

EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1577

Sp 135

List & Report: Box 6 box: Distinct / intonation very fair / [space] / worth noting
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Song 1</th>
<th>Song 2</th>
<th>Song 3</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Additional Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>unident [m]</td>
<td>{Bha mi’n} raoir gu sunndach sunndach [last night I was very happy]</td>
<td>Dun Chaulim mhic Dhonnchaidh [?] [The castle of Malcolm son of Duncan]</td>
<td>Aor a’p[hat]dan [?]</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>NOT in LEB-FM papers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unident [m]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>1 of 9 recordings for which no information has survived other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by Rv. [sic] MacRae</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>2 of 9 recordings for which no information has survived other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by Rv. [sic] MacRae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>3 of 9 recordings for which no information has survived other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by Rv. [sic] MacRae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>4 of 9 recordings for which no information has survived other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by Rv. [sic] MacRae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>5 of 9 recordings for which no information has survived other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by Rv. [sic] MacRae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>6 of 9 recordings for which no information has survived other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by Rv. [sic] MacRae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>K&amp;S: Phonographs, List: Box 11.</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>7 of 9 recordings for which no information has survived other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by Rv. [sic] MacRae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>8 of 9 recordings for which no information has survived other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by Rv. [sic] MacRae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>9 of 9 recordings for which no information has survived other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by Rv. [sic] MacRae</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
II, 5. Recordings made by Cecil Sharp

6 phonographs made over a couple of weeks over Christmas and New Year 1907-1908. Of these 5 are extant one being pantographically copied twice, thus 7 cylinders extant. Also 1 recording (not extant) that may have been made in Hampshire in 1910.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
<th>Roud</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26 Dec. 1907</td>
<td>Alfred Edgell</td>
<td>1. All among the new mown hay</td>
<td>Chew Stoke, Somerset</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>CS song tunes: 1527: t CS song tunes: 1163 [11/01/08]: w1 m CS song words: 1160 [11/01/08]: w EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1556 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015625 C6</td>
<td>1527 is a blank page – as with Cooper: 1548 – NB: the recording is much more extensive (even with a false start and the second verse repeated) than that noted at 1160 and 1163, which are both for Jan 11 1908. Male voice [recordist?] heard speaking at one point in the background.</td>
<td>2941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jan. 1908</td>
<td>Priscilla Cooper</td>
<td>1. The Basket of eggs</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>CS song tunes: 1549: t CS song tunes: 1459 [02/08/07]: m</td>
<td>1549: no music or text but noted as ‘(Phonograph)’. For an earlier rendition on 02/08/07, at Stafford Common (prob. Stafford Barton) Devon, see CS song tunes: 1459.</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jan. 1908</td>
<td>Priscilla Cooper</td>
<td>1. Indian lass</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>CS song tunes: 1548: t CS song tunes: 1456 [02/08/07]: m CS song words: 1335-1336 [02/08/07]: w</td>
<td>1548: No music or text but noted as ‘The Indian Lass / (Phonograph)’.</td>
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<td>Title</td>
<td>Location, County</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Jan. 1908</td>
<td>Priscilla Cooper</td>
<td>1. Indian lass</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>CS</td>
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<td>SOURCE RECORDING FOR C37/1588 &amp; C37/1589</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Jan. 1908</td>
<td>Priscilla Cooper</td>
<td>1. Indian lass</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>As above</td>
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<td>PANTOGRAPHIC COPY OF C37/1628</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 6 Jan. 1908| William Wooley  | 1. No John No         | Bincombe, Somerset   | CS     | CS song tunes: 1398 [12/08/07]: m CS song words: 1285-1286 [12/08/07]: w  
Folk Songs from Somerset, 4th series, 1908: 46-47, 83 [edited].  
EFSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1558 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015625 C8  
CRACKED. NB both MS sources 12th August 1907; Dating for this recording from Chris Bearman’s findings.                                                                                                         |
|            |                 |                      |                      |        | CS song words: 986 [18/04/06]: w1, m  
CS song words: 1010 [06/08/06]: w  
CS to PG 23/05/08 [in Yates pp. 267-270]  
EFSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1637 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015631 C9  
Sharp initially noted this on 18/04/06 but he took down three additional verses from Barnard which though undated are with a series of other texts from the same singer dated 06/08/06, see Sharp song words: 1010. Dating for this recording from Chris Bearman’s findings. Sharp was in Bridgwater on 04/01/08 and 07/01/08  
existence of a part II implies a part I                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 7 Jan. 1908| Jack Barnard    | 1. Lady Maisry [I]    | Bridgwater, Somerset | CS     | [no sources other than by association]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 7 Jan. 1908| Jack Barnard    | 1. Lady Maisry [II]   | Bridgwater, Somerset | CS     | CS song tunes: 912 [18/04/06]: w1, m CS song words: 986 [18/04/06]: w CS song words: 1010 [06/08/06]: w CS to PG 23/05/08 [in Yates pp. 267-270]  
EFSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1637 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015631 C9  
Sharp initially noted this on 18/04/06 but he took down three additional verses from Barnard which though undated are with a series of other texts from the same singer dated 06/08/06, see Sharp song words: 1010. Dating for this recording from Chris Bearman’s findings. Sharp was in Bridgwater on 04/01/08 and 07/01/08  
existence of a part II implies a part I                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1909</th>
<th>Henry Day</th>
<th>1. The Dear Irish Boy</th>
<th>Basingstoke, Hampshire</th>
<th>CS [RVW] [GG] [CG]</th>
<th>JFSS No. 13 p.311-313 [notes GG]. GG/1/9/518: w m [1906]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1909</td>
<td>Possibly phonographed twice</td>
<td>“Noted (and corrected from a phonograph record) by C. J. Sharp &amp; R. Vaughan Williams, Jan. &amp; Feb., 1909” &amp; “NOTE. - The song was sung very freely throughout, like an improvisation. An earlier phonographic record gives still other variants.”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>G. B. Gardiner &amp; Charles Gamblin collected the same song (titled: My Conner) in 1906.</td>
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</table>
II, 6. Recordings made by Ralph Vaughan Williams

30 phonographs listed, of which at least 24 were made by Vaughan Williams: 10 in 1907 (Sussex); 6 in 1908 (4 from Sussex and 2 from Norfolk); 5 in 1909 (2 from Hampshire and 3 from Herefordshire); 2 in 1910, made with George Butterworth (1 in Suffolk and 1 in Norfolk) and 1 made in Herefordshire in 1911. To this can be added 5 recordings from Hampshire from 1909 and 1 from Herefordshire from 1913, the final recording provenance of which are still undecided: Of the Hampshire recordings 3 were probably made by Vaughan Williams but may have been made by George Gardiner, whilst 1 may have been made by Cecil Sharp, and 1 has no evidence of having been recorded to phonograph other than the nature of its printed transcript. The 1913 Herefordshire recording was probably made by Ella Leather but appears in so many of Vaughan Williams’ MSS that it has been listed here as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
<th>Roud</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 May 1907</td>
<td>Peter Verrall</td>
<td>1. Rambling Sailor</td>
<td>Monks Gate, Horsham, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>RVW MSS Vol.3, MS bk 10, p.423: m Palmer p167: w m</td>
<td>EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1630 BLSA call no: BLSA call no: 1CDR0015631 C3</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<td>Tune/Verse</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 or 4 May 1907</td>
<td>Mr Atwater</td>
<td>1. Lowlands Low [I]</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>[no sources other than by association]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David Penfold</td>
<td>1. Lowlands Low [II]</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2. Turtle Dove [I]</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 or 4 May 1907</td>
<td>David Penfold</td>
<td>1. Turtle Dove [II]</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
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<td>3 May 1907</td>
<td>David Penfold</td>
<td>1. The Trees</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Henry Burstow</td>
<td>Bristol Town, Horsham, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW English Traditional Songs and Carols, 1908, 6-9, [113-115] [transcription on last two pages]: w m RVW MSS Collection (British Library 54188) 4to 1 MS bk, p.16: m</td>
<td>not in Kennedy</td>
<td>1058</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Henry Burstow</td>
<td>Through Moorfields, Horsham, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW English Traditional Songs and Carols, 1908, 10-15, [113]: w m Kennedy p. 681: t RVW MSS Collection (British Library 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 10, p.403 :w1 m</td>
<td>listed in Kennedy as: Moorfields (last verse) &amp; “Phonographic reproduction (probably 1907)” RVW MSS: Previous catalogues incorrectly date it to 31 Dec 1904, but actually no date</td>
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<td>15-18 Apr 1908</td>
<td>Christopher Jay</td>
<td>Mole Catcher, Bridge Inn, Acle, Norfolk</td>
<td>RVW C37/1580 box lid. JFSS 4 (1910) p.87, version b: m RVW MSS bk ii, 37(1): m w</td>
<td>K/S number on lid matches C37/1580, (though titles don’t), this had later ended up on C37/1581, lid has been subsequently been returned to “original” box.</td>
<td>1052</td>
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<td>18 Apr 1908</td>
<td>Mrs Verrall</td>
<td>Rolling in the Dew, Horsham, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW K&amp;S: Phonographs, List: Box 1.b: t RVW MSS Vol.1, MS bk 6, p.236: w m JFSS 4 (1913) pp.282-286 (version c): w m 78 rpm record TPX 29.1 / March 35: Track 1 “Mrs. Venall” JFSS: “Mr. and Mrs. Verrall”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Recording Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug-Sept</td>
<td>Mrs Verrall</td>
<td>1. Covent Garden</td>
<td>Horsham, Sussex</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>RVW MSS Vol.1, MS bk 10, p.401/2 JFSS 2 (1906) pp.195-196: w m RVW MSS Vol.2, MS bk 4, p.146: w m [both 24/04/04] “Phonograph Reproductions” [usually dated 31/12/04 but obviously incorrect – see main text]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan 1909</td>
<td>Henry Day</td>
<td>1. The Dear Irish Boy</td>
<td>Basingstoke, Hampshire</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan 1909</td>
<td>Henry Day</td>
<td>1. A Sailor Courted a Farmers Daughter</td>
<td>Basingstoke, Hampshire</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<td>JFSS No. 13 p.294-295: w m</td>
<td>NB: NO mention of a phonograph but transcription has four sets of variants and the lyrics for the last verse are missing all bar the last line, the former point doesn't prove the use of a phonograph, but the latter, which suggests an unclear recording, does.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan or Sept 1909</td>
<td>Henry Day</td>
<td>1. The Banks of the Nile</td>
<td>Basingstoke, Hampshire</td>
<td>prob. RVW [GG?]</td>
<td>“Sept 1909” on box lid, but poss. error</td>
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<td>GG/1/9/520: w m [GG]</td>
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77
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Tune/Verse</th>
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<th>References</th>
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<tr>
<td>1909[?]</td>
<td>John Locke</td>
<td>1. Dance tune: allegro</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>Kennedy p. 676: t</td>
<td>First line: O Job he was a patient man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug-Sept 1909</td>
<td>Mr. Jones</td>
<td>1. A bold young farmer [I wish I wish that my babe was born]</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>RVW Vol.1, MS bk 7, p.313(2): m</td>
<td>RVW MSS: “Herefordshire phonographs”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Locke</td>
<td>2. Hornpipes</td>
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<td>Kennedy p. 676: t</td>
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<td>[no MSS extant]</td>
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<td>1CDR0015627 B12 NSA</td>
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<td>23 &amp; 25 Oct</td>
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<td>RVW MSS Vol.1, MS bk 9, pp.369-370: w m</td>
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<tr>
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<td>GB/7c/30: m</td>
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<td>K&amp;S: Phonographs, List: Box 1. f: t</td>
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<td>Additional verse noted on the 22/12/11, see: RVW MSS 8vo C MS bk, p.25</td>
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<td>GB/7b/13: m</td>
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<td>RVW MSS Vol.1, MS bk 12, p.455: m</td>
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<td>KVSS: “Noted, and corrected from a phonograph record, by R. Vaughan Williams and George Butterworth.” GB/7b/13: Gives both the tune as collected in April [by Butterworth &amp; Jekyll] and from the phonograph in October “the same, from phonograph record (X. 10)”. RVW MSS: “(also phonograph)”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
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<td>Song</td>
<td>Source Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Mr. Dykes</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>1. One oh</td>
<td>RVW MSS Vol.1, MS bk 7, p.314: w m Kennedy p. 676: t</td>
<td>“(Phonograph.)”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Mr Davies</td>
<td>Aylton</td>
<td>1. John Riley</td>
<td>EML/1/6/a: w EML/3/2/a: w RVW/BL ADD MS 59535 bk E, 5r: w m EML/1/6/c: w EML/3/2/c: w RVW/BL ADD MS 59535 bk E, 5v: m RVW/BL ADD MS 54187 bk E, p.12: m [Holy Well] [16/09/13] EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1587 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015627 BD8</td>
<td>[Recording probably by EML, but most MSS from RVW sources, so given in both lists. Related MSS found at RVW/BL ADD MS 54187 bk D, 50r [The Holy Well] (Gypsies, Sept 1912) and its rough transcript at RVW/BL ADD MS 59535 (I) 10r [Holy Well]] [Mr. Davies was from Stourport, Worcestershire, he was hop-picking at Aylton near Hereford]</td>
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<td>2. Bitter Withy [Holy Well]</td>
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</table>
## II, 7. Recordings made by George Gardiner

1 batch of recordings made in January 1909, 2 of which are extant. Of these 1 was definitely made by Gardiner, the other probably so, in both cases possibly with J. F. Guyer. The other two may have been made by Vaughan Williams or possibly Gardiner with Charles Gamblin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
<th>Roud</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jan 1909</td>
<td>Frederick White</td>
<td>1. Claudy Banks</td>
<td>Southampton, Hampshire</td>
<td>GG</td>
<td>FFSS No. 13 p.287 GG/1/7/388 [p.1]: w1 m [21/06/06, noted JG] GG/1/7/388 [p.2]: m [21/06/06, noted JG] GG/1/7/388 [pp.3-4]: w1 m [RVW] GG/1/7/388 [pp.5-6]: w [21/06/06, noted JG] GG/2/7/1: [pp.5-6]: w EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll., C37/1632 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015631 C6</td>
<td>JFSS: not cited as phonograph [pp3-4]: “Revised by R. V. W.” GG/2/7/1: GG Noteook 7</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1909</td>
<td>Mrs. Maria Etheridge</td>
<td>1. She was wringing of her tender hands</td>
<td>Southampton, Hampshire</td>
<td>GG</td>
<td>GG/1/8/426 [p1]: w1 m [27/06/06, noted JG] GG/1/8/426 [p3]: w [27/06/06] GG/2/7/1: [pp.39-40]: w EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll., C37/1627 BLSA call no: 1CDR0015631 C1</td>
<td>GG/2/7/1: GG Notebook 7</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## II, 8. Recordings made by Walter Ford

5 recordings made in Surrey in 1907, also some possible recordings made in Sussex & County Mayo, Ireland. None extant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
<th>Roud</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>County Mayo, Ireland</td>
<td>WF</td>
<td>[Annual Report. June, 1907-8], iii-v.</td>
<td>Report notes County Mayo and Sussex as the two places where Ford “used a phonograph, either as a substitute for, or supplementing ordinary methods.” The one transcript of Ford’s Irish collection, Michael Carolan’s “Summer comes and the grass grows green” [Roud 2350], was noted in Corklieve, Co. Mayo in 1906, this didn’t use a phonograph, but it is still possible that his Irish phonographs predate the Surrey ones.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>Sussex</td>
<td>WF</td>
<td>[Annual Report. June, 1907-8], iii-v.</td>
<td>No information known</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Mr Bodding</td>
<td>1. Abroad as I was walking [The Lowlands of Holland]</td>
<td>Elstead, Surrey</td>
<td>WF</td>
<td>JFSS 5 (1915) pp.170-171: Songs of Sailor Life</td>
<td>“Noted, from phonograph record, by Walter Ford.”</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Mr Budd</td>
<td>1. First I loved Thomas,</td>
<td>Elstead, Surrey</td>
<td>WF</td>
<td>JFSS 5 (1915) pp.174-175: Songs of Love and Country Life</td>
<td>“Noted, from phonograph record, by Walter Ford.”</td>
<td>954</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II, 9. Recordings made by L. P. Wyatt-Edgell

1 recording made in Devon over two cylinders in 1912, not extant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
<th>Roud</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
II, 10. Recordings made by A. M. Freeman

At least 2 but possibly as many as 10 recordings of Irish musicians made in London, 1915. 1 extant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1st list: Box 12 consisted of 10 cylinders, [a]-[j], no information other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by A. Martin Freeman 2nd list: FOLLOWING FROM BOX LABELLED “BOX 12”: A. Martin Freeman’s Irish Records, October 1915.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1st list: Box 12 consisted of 10 cylinders, [a]-[j], no information other than: L. E. B.’s Recorded by A. Martin Freeman 2nd list: FOLLOWING FROM BOX LABELLED “BOX 12”: A. Martin Freeman’s Irish Records, October 1915.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Ruan, West Clare, see JFSS No.35 p.258 for correct spelling of Brewe’s name.
### II, 11. Unidentified Phonographs

6 other recordings, 5 lost, 1 extant on a 1935 78 rpm record.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Numbering &amp; Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>unident [m]</td>
<td>1. [Bonny Labouring Boy]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[Bonny Labouring Boy] 78 rpm record TPX 29.1 / March 35: Track 2</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>1. Isle of ?</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>K&amp;S: Report: 33</td>
<td>“Mould”. Rather faint but clearly audible, for tune.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>1. “A Joke”</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>K&amp;S: Phonographs, List: Box 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>1. Irish Jig</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>K&amp;S: Phonographs, List: Box 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>1. Jonah</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>K&amp;S: Phonographs, List: Box 8</td>
<td>“(cracked)”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recorded by A. Martin Freeman

1st list: No details other than: L. E. B.’s
Appendix III

The Ella Mary Leather Collection
Introduction

In compiling this catalogue I have worked with the premise of attempting to give as transparent an overview of Ella Mary Leather’s collecting work as is currently possible. Due to the dispersed nature of her collection, with the same song appearing in anything up to seven different sources, it seemed neither practicable nor desirable to give an entry by entry description of each manuscript. Consequently, I decided upon a single chronological table that would incorporate entries from all of the collections, because it offers the possibility of presenting related citations contiguously and thus does away with the necessity of cross-referencing separate tables.

This method has provided two further benefits. First, by compiling the information from so many separate sources into single entries, it has been possible to combine pieces of information that, while individually adding little, collectively give a much more complete picture. For example, one entry for a song might provide its title but not its singer, while a companion transcription in a separate manuscript might give the reverse, while a third source might reproduce the first stanza, and a fourth give information about the collector. Slowly it has become possible to put tunes to words, to identify collectors with locations and dates, to assign handwriting to collectors and informants, and to ascribe singers to songs.

The second benefit of this method of cataloguing is that it gives a much more concrete representation of the collection’s development, something that the paucity of surviving correspondence could not do. Thus Leather’s day-by-day collecting work with Vaughan Williams in July 1909 becomes much more apparent when ones sees the songs in order. Likewise, by adopting the simple expedient of noting phonograph recordings in bold, the series of cylinders that Leather concerned herself with in the latter half of 1908 and early 1909 becomes clearly visible as the adventurous and great work that it was (sadly, unlike the other catalogues, bold doesn’t mean extant).

Regarding attribution, I have only marked a song as being collected by Leather if we possess either a manuscript in her hand, or in another hand to which she has provided a gloss, or where a source has cited her as providing the material. For example, in the case of envelopes in the Lucy Broadwood collection (such as LEB/5/239), where none of the above criteria pertain, I am still inclined to assume Leather’s involvement in some form or other in the collection of the songs, especially if they were among those that she pasted into her Notebook, but I have not taken the liberty of marking them as having been ‘collected by’ Leather – although, as we have seen in my chapter on her, the term ‘collected by’ is much more flexible in relation to this collection than many others.

In a few instances material that is included in the Leather manuscripts also exists independently of Leather’s collection, as is the case with Francis Jekyll’s material. Here one would assume that Leather’s role was purely an overseeing one (if that), except that the rougher state of the transcriptions in the Notebook, compared with the neat copies in the Broadwood collection, suggests that the former are the primary versions and
thus argues Leather’s initial involvement, at some level, in their collection. Consequently, I have retained these in the catalogue, but have not credited them to Leather. Another problematic inclusion is that of the four songs that Ralph Vaughan Williams collected in Herefordshire in September 1913, which were published in the *JFSS*, 5.1 (no. 18) (1914). I had initially assumed that the dating of Esther Smith’s ‘Christmas Day’, published in Folk-Lore, 37 (1926), to September 1913 was an error for 1912; but the realization that Vaughan Williams’ main collecting work for 1913 was indeed carried out in September in Herefordshire now suggests otherwise. More work on the Vaughan Williams manuscript collection will be necessary before conclusions can be drawn on whether these songs were actually the product of a joint collecting tour. For the time being, I have included them in the catalogue but identified as the work of Vaughan Williams alone.

I have not included in the catalogue manuscript copies of previously printed material from other collections, such as the copies of carols from the publications of Sandys, Sylvester, and Bramley and Stainer that make up the entries at EML/3/23–31. I have, however, made an exception where there is either uncertainty as to the published origin of a text, such as Walter Pilley’s version of ‘Dives and Lazarus’ (EML/1/21), or where the printed source is of such obscurity that Leather’s copy is one of the few known sources for the text, such as the ‘Cyder Tax’ ballad found in *Memorials of Old Herefordshire*.

Of course, a chronological catalogue has its own problems, not least the fact that for the earlier years very few of the songs are dated. For these entries I have had to rely to a large extent on the internal evidence of the manuscripts to provide approximate dates: where a song is placed in relation to related, dated songs; when a collector was known to have been working with Leather; whether the paper is from the same batch as that used for another song; and so on. Inevitably, I have been unable to ascertain specific dates for many entries, and in these cases I have resorted to the expedient of listing the singers alphabetically. With regard to other lacunae – where I have been unable to prove something directly from the texts themselves and have instead had to rely on other manuscripts in the collection to fill in the gaps – I have utilized square brackets to denote editorial interpolations.

My initial findings regarding Leather and the original version of this catalogue were published in 2010 in my paper, ‘Resources in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: The Ella Mary Leather Manuscript Collection’ *Folk Music Journal*, 9 (2010), pp. 749-812. Since then I have added and cross-referenced a further eighty-five entries to this work – mainly from Vaughan Williams’ Scrapbooks [Tunes Books] – hence my adding the enhanced catalogue here as an Appendix. The Key is appended below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Collector</th>
<th>Roud</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>There is a fountain of Christ’s blood</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>AMW</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>JFSS 2.2 (no. 7), 133: w m</td>
<td>FLoH, p. 197-198: w1 m EML/2/1/b: w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>The North Country damsel</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>AMW</td>
<td>2638</td>
<td>EML/1/10/b: w m LEB/5/290: t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Eggs in her basket / Basket of eggs</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>AMW EML</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>JFSS 2.2 (no. 7), 102-103: w m EML/1/16/a: m EML/1/16/b: w m LEB/5/277: t LEB/5/290: t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Christmas now is drawing near at hand / Carol – Xmas now is drawing</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>AMW EML</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>JFSS 2.2 (no. 7), 134: w m LEB/5/290: t 12TCfH, 8-9: ct cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1904]</td>
<td>The Sally Twigs or The Bitter Withy [Colcombe, William]</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>JFSS 4.2 (no. 9), 300-304: w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Composer(s)</td>
<td>Sheet Music</td>
<td>Words</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1904 | Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor              | Galleiss [?] near Weobley           | AMW EML     | 4     | EML/1/14: ct [ w. Wheeler] m  
words: Galleiss [?] / Wheeler; music: Wheeler |
| 1904 | Come all ye faithful Christians           | Wheeler, Mrs. F near Weobley        | AMW EML     | 815   | "(aged about 70) Charwoman" |
| 1904 | Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor              | Wheeler, F near Weobley             | AMW EML     | 4     | FLoh, 200-202: ct [ w. Rowsell] m  
JFSS 2.2 (no. 7) p. 105-109: w m  
LEB/5/286: w m  
EML/1/14: ct [ w. Galleiss [?]] m  
CFMIGH, 62: t  
FloH ver. composite with ver. from Hammond collection.  
EML/1/14 ver., words: Galleiss [?] / Wheeler; tune: Wheeler |
| Dec 1904 | Young Edwin in the Lowlands Low | Bebb, W. near Weobley | FG EML | 182 | EML/1/18: w m  
LEB/5/245: w  
LEB/5/239: t |
| 1905 | Carol [Shepherds on their flocks attending]| ni ni | AMW | 9680 | EML/3/17: w m  
LEB/5/290: t  
EML/1/21: w m |
| nd | The Highway Robber                         | ni ni | AMW | 289 | LEB/5/286: w m  
LEB/5/290: t |
| nd | Bold Dragoon                              | ni ni | AMW | 321[?] | LEB/5/290: t |
| nd | Come all you jolly ploughmen              | ni ni | AMW | 202 | LEB/5/290: t |
| nd | The Widow [? ]                            | ni ni | AMW | [?] | LEB/5/290: t |
| [ca. 1905] | Tick children Herefordshire               | ni ni | EML | 19355 | MoOH, 163-164: w  
MoOH, 163-164: w |
| [ca. 1905] | Tick children Herefordshire               | ni ni | EML | 13610 | MoOH, 163-164: w  
MoOH, 163-164: w |
| nd | The Fox hunting chase                     | [unnamed descendent] [Richard Matthew’s] | [Herefordshire, Upper Hill] [Smith, Miss Nellie] | 22252 | EML/1/19: w m  
FLoh, 265-266: w  
"composed…by Richard Matthews, of Upper Hill, in the reign of George III." |
| nd | The Fox-hunt / The Herefordshire fox-chase| Richards, Mr. Noah Moorhampton     | AMW EML     | 22251 | EML/1/21: w m  
FLoh, 264-5: w  
LEB/5/245: w  
LEB/5/239: t |
<p>| nd | [Dives and Lazarus] broadside?]           | Barton Mr. Walter Pilley            | EML EML     | 477   | EML/1/21: w | Possibly noted from Pilley’s broadside collection |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1905 | Two affectionate lovers | Bebb, Mr W. | near Weobley | FG | EML | 539 | JFSS 2.2 (no. 7), 97-98: w m EML/1/25/a: w m EML/1/25/b: w LEB/5/244: w1 m LEB/5/239: t LEB/5/290: t [Young Servant Man] | “Roadman” |
| 1905 | The King &amp; the Keeper | Brace, Mrs | Weobley | Miss Nona Swire | EML | 853 | EML/1/43/a: m EML/1/43/b: w m LEB/5/239: t | “aged 68” |
| 1905 | Oh, have you heard and seen our saviour’s love? | Bridges, Mrs Caroline | Pembridge | William T. B.Burnett | EML | 2116 | JFSS 2.2 (no. 7), 136: w m 12TCfH, 24-25: ct m | 12TCfH ver., words: Bridges / Phillips; music: Hirons |
| 1905 | Young Lambkin | Colcombe, William | Weobley | AMW | EML | 6 | JFSS 2.2 (no. 7), 111-113: w1 m FLoH, 199-200: w m EML/1/39/c: w1 m | |
| 1905 | The Moon shines bright | Colcombe, William | Weobley | AMW | EML | 702 | JFSS 2.2 (no. 7), 131-132: w m FLoH, pp. 193-194: w m EML/1/0/a: w m LEB/5/270: w1 m LEB/5/239: t LEB/5/290: t | |
| 1905 | William Railey / Young Wm. Reilly | Colcombe, William | Weobley | AMW | EML | 538 | EML/1/17/a: w1 m LEB/5/290: t | |
| 1905 | The mountains high | Colcombe, William | Weobley | AMW | EML | 955 | EML/1/34/b: w m LEB/5/290: t | |
| 1905 | Lord Bateman | Colcombe, William | Weobley | AMW | EML | 40 | EML/1/39/b: w1 m LEB/5/274: w1 m LEB/5/239: t | |
| 1905 | The banks of sweet Dundee | Hughes, Nellie | Hardwick | AMW | | 148 | EML/1/36/a: w1 m | |
| [1905] | The faithful sailor boy | Hughes, Nellie | Hardwick | AMW | | 376 | LEB/5/277: w1 m | “15” |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Young Banker</td>
<td>Probert, Mr. John</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>JG EML</td>
<td>JFSS 2.2 (no. 7), 91-93: w1 m EML/1/24/a: w m EML/1/24/b: w m LEB/5/290: t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Peggy Ban</td>
<td>Probert, John</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>JG</td>
<td>EML/1/20/a: w m EML/1/20/b: w m LEB/5/290: t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1905]</td>
<td>Sailors Grave</td>
<td>Probert, John</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>JG</td>
<td>LEB/5/243: w1 m LEB/5/239: t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>Cedar of Lebanon</td>
<td>Thomas, Harry</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>RHR EML</td>
<td>EML/3/16/a: m “age about 25”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>[King William and the keeper]</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>RHR</td>
<td>EML/3/16/b: m “50”. Fred Albert’s song ‘Shabby Genteel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>I’m too proud to beg</td>
<td>Turner, Mrs.</td>
<td>Weobley, Ledgemoor Common</td>
<td>AMW</td>
<td>LEB/5/275: w1 m LEB/5/239: t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>My school master’s sow</td>
<td>Turner, Mrs.</td>
<td>Weobley, Ledgemoor Common</td>
<td>AMW</td>
<td>LEB/5/280: m LEB/5/239: t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1905]</td>
<td>The Black Decree</td>
<td>Woodhall, Mrs.</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>AMW</td>
<td>EML/3/18: w m LEB/5/239: t LEB/5/290: t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after 14 June 1905</td>
<td>Dives and Lazarus / “Diverus &amp; Lazarus”</td>
<td>Harris, Mrs.</td>
<td>Eardisley</td>
<td>Miss Eleanor Andrews &amp; Dr. Quinten Darling EML</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Sep. 1905]</td>
<td>Rose in June</td>
<td>[Dowden, George]</td>
<td>[Dorset, Lackington]</td>
<td>Hammond</td>
<td>EML/1/36/c: w COPY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1905</td>
<td>The New Garden Field</td>
<td>Morgan, John</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>RHR EML</td>
<td>EML/1/28: w m LEB/5/251: w m LEB/5/239: t “farm labourer, age 80”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location / Artist</td>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Oct. 1905</td>
<td>Brangywell / Brang-y-well</td>
<td>Mellor, Mrs</td>
<td>Dilwyn, The Vicarage</td>
<td>RHR 29 [FLoH, 203-204: w m; EML/1/11: w m; LEB/5/252: w1 m; LEB/5/253: w; LEB/5/239: t; LEB/5/249: t]</td>
<td>“wife of the vicar”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 1905</td>
<td>The Pretty Ploughboy / The ploughboy</td>
<td>Morgan, John</td>
<td>Dilwyn, The Pitch</td>
<td>RHR 186 [JFSS 4:4 (no. 17), 303-310: w m; FLoH, 208-209: w m; EML/1/2: w m; LEB/5/250: w m; LEB/5/239: t; LEB/5/249: t]</td>
<td>“80 farm labourer”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 12 Oct. 1905</td>
<td>The man that lives</td>
<td>Wheeler, Mrs</td>
<td>Weobley, Mile St.</td>
<td>JG 2110 [EML/1/0/c: w m; LEB/5/239: t; LEB/5/249: t]</td>
<td>“age about 75”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>The Three Dukes</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>Broxwood School</td>
<td>RHR 703 [LEB/5/256: w1]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Sweet William</td>
<td>Hughes-Rowlands, Mrs.</td>
<td>[Dilwyn, The Schools]</td>
<td>RHR 273 [LEB/5/256: w [last verse] m]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>I’ll tell you of a fellow</td>
<td>Hughes-Rowlands, Mrs.</td>
<td>[Dilwyn, The Schools]</td>
<td>RHR 442 [LEB/5/256: t]</td>
<td>“as “County Songs. p.52.””</td>
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<td>18 Oct. 1905</td>
<td>The Farmer’s Boy</td>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>[Dilwyn, The Schools]</td>
<td>RHR 408 [LEB/5/256: w1 m]</td>
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<td>17 Nov. 1905</td>
<td>The seasons of the year / Four seasons of the year</td>
<td>Morgan, John</td>
<td>Dilwyn, The Pitch</td>
<td>RHR 1180 [FLoH, 207-208: ct m; EML/1/8/a: w1 m; EML/1/8/c: w [2nd &amp; last v.] m; LEB/5/257: w1 m; FLoH ver., words: Morgan / Beddoe; music: Morgan [but dated Oct. 1905]]</td>
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<td>Nov. 1905</td>
<td>Spencer the Rover</td>
<td>Morgan, John</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>RHR 1115 [EML/1/29: w m; LEB/5/290: t]</td>
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<td>11 Dec. 1905</td>
<td>Carol, Carol, Gaily</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni 5365 [EML/1/45/c/2: w]</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>Pollie Oliver</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni 367 [EML/1/45/c/1: w]</td>
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<td>The dark eyed sailor</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>[?] EML</td>
<td>265 EML/1/0/e: w m</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>The Marden forfeit song</td>
<td>Marden</td>
<td>Rev. Custos Duncombe</td>
<td>2121 EML/1/1: w m FloH, 206-207: w m</td>
<td>harmonised: W. D. V. Duncombe</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>Come all ye faithful Christians</td>
<td>Marden</td>
<td>[Rev. Custos Duncombe]</td>
<td>815 LEB/5/285: w m</td>
<td>“traditional”, harmonised: W. D. V. Duncombe</td>
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<td>Spencer the Rover</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>The Frog and Mouse</td>
<td>“a native of Weobley”</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>16 FLoH, 209-210: w RVW/Scrapbook/1/47 [61]: w</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>The Frog and the Duck</td>
<td>“an old Irish nurse”</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>23 FLoH, 209-210: w</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>The Black Decree</td>
<td>Woodhall, Mrs.</td>
<td>[Herefordshire] AMW</td>
<td>2429 LEB/5/282: w1 m LEB/5/239: t LEB/5/290: t</td>
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<td>March</td>
<td>Xmas Carol [While Shepherds watched]</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>R. C. Davis EML</td>
<td>936 EML/3/22: w m</td>
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<td>March 1906</td>
<td>Erin’s Lovely Home</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>FG EML</td>
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<td>May 1906</td>
<td>A fair damsel in London did dwell</td>
<td>Preece, Joseph, Mr.</td>
<td>Sollars Dilwyn</td>
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<td>Jolly fellows that follow the plough</td>
<td>Preece, Joseph, Mr.</td>
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<td>[The Jolly Ploughboys]</td>
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<td>Rose in June</td>
<td>Priday, Mr Joseph</td>
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<td>A fair damsel in London did dwell</td>
<td>Preece, Joseph, Mr.</td>
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<td>Aug. 1906</td>
<td>The Herefordshire Farmer</td>
<td>Price, Mr. George</td>
<td>Norton Canon</td>
<td>E. Radmore AMW EML</td>
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<td>Here’s Joe Coon</td>
<td>Price, Mr. George</td>
<td>Norton Canon</td>
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<td>The life of man</td>
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<td>Miss Betty Wilster / Miss Betsy Wilster</td>
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<td>“words not nice &amp; not recorded.”</td>
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<td>William Taylor &amp; Sarah Gray</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
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<td>As I walked out</td>
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<td>The Sinner’s Dream</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
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<td>Poor Mary of the silvery tide / The silvery tide</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
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<td>A young sailor</td>
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<td>(Poor Mary of ) the silvery tide</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
<td>FJ</td>
<td>561</td>
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<td>(There is an Alehouse) A brisk young sailor courted me</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
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<td>377</td>
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<td>In a manger laid so lowly</td>
<td>Probert, Mr. John</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
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<td>Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
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<td>Probert, Mr. John</td>
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<td>Down by the shining water, there runs a clear stream</td>
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<td>Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
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<td>Burton, Mr C.</td>
<td>[Dilwyn]</td>
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“(Sheffield Park properly)”
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>5 Dec</td>
<td>The Angel Gabriel – A Carol</td>
<td>Burton, George</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>RHR</td>
<td>EML/3/19: w1 m</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td></td>
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<td>postcard</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>Dives and Lazarus</td>
<td>Evans, Mr. John</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>RVW</td>
</tr>
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<td>Phono. 12TCFH ver., words: Sylvester’s / Harris / Evans; music: Evans Tunes book: “Dives – as in F. S. Journal” Virtually identical to the version from Mr. T. Evans in the RVW Tunes book]/33: marked cylinder “(No XXIII a)” – but due to the numbering this version is probably from 1909</td>
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<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>Dives and Lazarus</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>Hereford</td>
<td>Dr. John Beddoe</td>
<td>477</td>
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<td>Sent by the collector’s brother Mr. H. C. Beddoe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>The Moon shines bright, and the stars give their light</td>
<td>Vaughan, Mr. G.</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<td>1907</td>
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<td>702</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 10-11: w m FloH, 193-194: w m EML/2/10/k: t</td>
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<td>[1907]</td>
<td>Cold Blows, the Wind; or. The Unquiet Grave</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs.</td>
<td>Westhope, Canon Pyon</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>FLoH, 202-203: c w m</td>
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<td>Words: Powell; music: Hirons, 1909. Hirons phono</td>
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<td>1907</td>
<td>Milkmaid’s song</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs Ellen</td>
<td>Westhope, Canon Pyon</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<td>298</td>
<td>FloH, 205: w m EML/1/13/a: w m EML/1/13/b: m EML/2/10/n: w</td>
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<td>Phono. “14 verses / but not / nice” EML/2/10/n: titled “The Milkmaid’s fair”</td>
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<td>Dec</td>
<td>The Bitter Withy</td>
<td>Holder, W.</td>
<td>Withington, Duke St.</td>
<td>FS</td>
<td>452</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>The 14th of February</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>[Herefordshire]</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>528</td>
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<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>Hobbs Bobbs</td>
<td>Bynhem [?], Hereford, 9 Park</td>
<td>RVW [?]</td>
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<td>Title</td>
<td>Performer(s)</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>The Sally Twigs</td>
<td>Mrs Virginia</td>
<td>Colcombe, William</td>
<td>AMW</td>
<td>EML/3/6/b: w</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Three Jolly Black Sheep-Skins</td>
<td>Preece, William</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>FloH, 131: m</td>
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<td>Jan 1908</td>
<td>The Bitter Withy</td>
<td>Jones, Mrs. Mary</td>
<td>Ledgemoor [near Weobley] / Kings Pyon</td>
<td>King, Rev. Edwin</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 29-35: m</td>
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<td>08 Jan 1908</td>
<td>The Sally Twig / The Bitter Withies</td>
<td>Layton, James</td>
<td>Kings Pyon, Weobley</td>
<td>FS</td>
<td>FSBW/2/12: m</td>
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<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>Mayers’ Song</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>Hertfordshire</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>EML/3/11: w m</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 Feb 1908</td>
<td>The Bitter Withy</td>
<td>Brimfield, Mr. G. T.</td>
<td>Winforton, The Wydenhams</td>
<td>Eleanor Andrews</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 29-35: w m</td>
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<td>Sep 1908</td>
<td>The Seven Virgins ; or, Under the Leaves</td>
<td>Whatton, Angelina &amp; Mrs. Whatton</td>
<td>The Homme farm, near Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>FloH, 187-188: w m.</td>
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AMW: 1908, RVW: 1909

FSBW/2/12: m referred to in letter of 23 Feb. 1908
Tunes book: credited to “Rev. D. King”
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer, Location</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Sep 1908 | There lived a lady in merry Scotland | Loveridge, Mrs Dilwyn, at the Homme farm | EML RVW | 196 | FLoH, 198-199: w m RVW/Scrapbook/1/74 [70a]: w EML/2/4/b: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/32: m FLoH : Phono.  
Tunes book: II [There was a lady] |
| Sep 1908 | There is an alehouse | Jones, Mrs | EML | 60 | EML/2/4/c: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/32: m Tune book: III |
| Sep 1908 | In Carlock town | Smith, Mrs Mary Ann Chadnor, near Weobley | EML | 22280 | EML/2/5/c: w EML/2/4/d: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/32: m “Gipsy” Tunes book: IV [only source that it is phono] |
| Sep 1908 | Christ made a Trance | Smith, Mrs Mary Ann Chadnor, near Weobley | EML | 2112 | EML/2/4/e: t LEB/5/291: w [2 verses, titled: God & trance on Sunday ] RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/32: m Tunes book: V a [only source that it is a phono] |
| Sep 1908 | Young Leonard | Smith, Mrs. Mary Ann Chadnor, near Weobley | EML | 189 | EML/2/5/b: w EML/2/4/f: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/32: m Tunes book: V b [only source that it is a phono] “Too indistinct” |
| Sep 1908 | Mollie Vaughan / Molly Vaughan | Smith, Mrs. Mary Ann Chadnor, near Weobley | EML | 166 | EML/2/5/a: w EML/2/4/g: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/32: m Tunes book: VI [only source that it is a phono] |
| Sep 1908 | As I was a walkin’ | Whatton, Mrs Dilwyn, The Homme | EML | 264 [?] | EML/2/4/f: t |
| Sep 1908 | Christ made a trance one Sunday at noon | Whatton, Angelina & Mrs. Whatton Dilwyn, The Homme | EML RVW | 2112 | JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 12-15: w m JFSS, 192: w m EML/2/14/a: w RVW/Scrapbook/1/73 [70]: w 12TCF, 16-17: ct m [titled: New Year’s Carol] Phono. RVW/Scrapbook ver. is incorrectly titled: The moon shines bright.  
12TCF ver., words: Colcombe / Sandys / Whattons’; music: Whattons’ |
<p>| nd | [Christian People] | [Whatton,] [Weobley, or The] | EML | 808 | EML/2/14/e: w |</p>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Comment or Description</th>
<th>Source and Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep 1908</td>
<td>Cherry Tree Carol</td>
<td>EML 453: EML/2/6: w RVW/Scrapbook/2/82 &amp; 82a [72]: w RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 &amp; 119 [84]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/36: m</td>
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<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>Old Garden Gate</td>
<td>EML 418: RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/36: m No other info. other than that it is a trans. Of one of EML’s phono.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 1908</td>
<td>There is a fountain of Christ’s blood</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 21-22: w m FLoH, 197-198: w m RVW MSS Collection (BL 54189) Vol.1, MS bk 7, p.309(2) Phono. “Labourer, aged 70”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 1908</td>
<td>Rich Merchant’s Daughter</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84]: t RVW/Scrapbook/1/25 [49 ur]: w RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [84[a]]: t</td>
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<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Billy Taylor</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/116 &amp; 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
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<td>3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>Whatton</td>
<td>Mrs. Mary Whatton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>As I walked out</td>
<td>Prosser, [Mr.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>Rosemary Lane</td>
<td>Vaughan [Mr. G.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>One Easter</td>
<td>Vaughan [Mr. G.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>As I walked out</td>
<td>Herbert, Mrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 3 Nov 1908</td>
<td>It's of a young fair maid constant in love</td>
<td>Mrs. [Mary] Whatton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cylinder VII: "2nd verse (incomplete)"
Re: Tunes Book, this might be a transcript of the later recording "Apprentice in Rosemary Lane" (see: RVW/Tunes book/61) but the only other identifiable piece on the same page was Mr. Herbe's Cherry Tree Carol from Sept 1908.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>日期</th>
<th>歌手</th>
<th>合唱者</th>
<th>地点</th>
<th>文本</th>
<th>注释</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>Lord Lovel</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>EML [?] RVW 48 RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/46: m</td>
<td>Not listed as a phonograph in Scrapbook index</td>
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<td>Before 9 Nov. 1908</td>
<td>Pretty Caroline</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>EML 1448 RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84]: t RVW/Scrapbook/1/41 [57]: w EFDSS Wax Cylinder Coll. C37/1586 RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/37: m</td>
<td>Cylinder II C37/1586, BLSA call no: 1CDR0015627 BD7 NSA Later noted by RVW in July 1909, see: RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 290</td>
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<td>Before 9 Nov. 1908</td>
<td>Diverus &amp; Lazarus</td>
<td>Harris, Mrs</td>
<td>Eardisley</td>
<td>EML 477 RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84]: title RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [84[a]]: title EML/2/10/j: title</td>
<td>Cylinder IV Cylinder VI EML/2/10/j: titled: Dives</td>
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<td>Before 9 Nov. 1908</td>
<td>True Lovers Downfall</td>
<td>[Richards, Noah]</td>
<td>[Herefordshire]</td>
<td>EML poss. 1700 or 182 RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84]: t RVW/Scrapbook/2/119 [84[a]]: t EML/2/10/q: wf</td>
<td>Cylinder IV Tunes book: “True Lovers downfall no good”</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Tune</td>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<td>Nov. 1908</td>
<td>The Mummer’s Play</td>
<td>Powell, W.</td>
<td>Ross, Brampton Street</td>
<td>EML - F&amp;H, 141-146; w</td>
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<td>Before Feb. 11 1909</td>
<td>Jeweller’s wedding</td>
<td>Tristram, Mrs.</td>
<td>Withington</td>
<td>EML - LEB/5/269: w1 m RVW/Scrapbook/2/124 [87]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/62: w m</td>
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<td>Before Feb. 11 1909</td>
<td>Joys of Mary</td>
<td>Tristram, Mrs.</td>
<td>Withington</td>
<td>EML - RVW/Scrapbook/2/124 [87]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/62: w [?] m</td>
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<tr>
<td>Before Feb. 11 1909</td>
<td>Down in the fields of Bilberry</td>
<td>Tristram, Mrs.</td>
<td>Withington</td>
<td>EML - RVW/Scrapbook/2/124 [87]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/62: w m</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>The Gypsy Bride</td>
<td>Vaughan [Mr.] G.</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>EML - RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>Apprentice in Rosemary Lane</td>
<td>Vaughan [Mr.] G.</td>
<td>Dilwyn</td>
<td>EML - RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>Tunes</td>
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<td>The Outlandish Knight</td>
<td>Preece, J Dilwyn</td>
<td>EML</td>
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<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t Cyl. II. b. “(70)”</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>In Sheffield Park</td>
<td>Bridges, Mrs. Caroline</td>
<td>Pembridge</td>
<td>860</td>
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<td>In a hospital garden</td>
<td>Bridges, Mrs. Caroline</td>
<td>Pembridge</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>The Deserter</td>
<td>Bridges, Mrs. Caroline</td>
<td>Pembridge</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t Cyl. VI. b. Cyl. VII. b. “last line of” “(82)”</td>
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<td>Down by the Green Bushes</td>
<td>Goodwin, Mrs. Ledgemoor</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>1040</td>
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<td>Bridges, Mrs. Caroline</td>
<td>Pembridge</td>
<td>1003</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t EML/2/10/p: w EML/1/46/a: m RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]61: m Cyl. VII. c. Tunes book: (No VII c)</td>
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<td>The Prickly Bush</td>
<td>Goodwin, Mrs.</td>
<td>Ledemoor</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder VIII. a. “(58?)”</td>
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<td>Dilly Dove</td>
<td>Goodwin, Mrs. E.</td>
<td>Ledemoor</td>
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<td>EML/2/10/a: w</td>
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<td>March 1909</td>
<td>The Holy Well</td>
<td>Goodwin, Mrs. E.</td>
<td>Ledemoor / Kings Pyon</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 26-28: m</td>
<td>Cylinder VIII. c. “(Carol. v. 1.)” &amp;</td>
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<td>FloH, 186-187: m</td>
<td>Cylinder IX. a. “v. 2 &amp; 3”</td>
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<td>EML/2/10/b: w [3 verses]</td>
<td>Tunes book: (No IX a)</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>There was a Lord in Lancashire</td>
<td>Goodwin, Mrs.</td>
<td>Ledemoor</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder IX. b. “v. 2 &amp; 3”</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>Leanthony (?)</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>near Broxwood</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder X. a.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Skipper &amp; his boy</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>near Broxwood</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder X. b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Erin’s lovely home</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>near Broxwood</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder X. c. “tune” &amp;</td>
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<td>Cylinder XII. a. “end of”</td>
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<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>“(56)”</td>
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<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>The Irish girl</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>near Broxwood</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder XI. a. Tunes book: (No XI a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Its of a pretty ploughboy</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>near Broxwood</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder XI. b. Tunes book: (No XI b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>The Tailor &amp; the Crow</td>
<td>Lloyd, Mr. John</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
<td>Cylinder XI. c. “60”</td>
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<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
<td>Tunes book: (No XI c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Cylinder</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Bunch of watercress</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. T.</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>EML 1653</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XII. b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>The Besom maker</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. T.</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>EML 910</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XII. c.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Napoleon</td>
<td>Taylor, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>EML 1626</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XII. d. “v. 1.” “(68)” &amp; Cylinder XIII. a. “v. 2 etc.” “(See Journal I)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Waterloo</td>
<td>Taylor, Mr. Thos</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>EML [?]</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XIII. b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Undaunted female</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. T.</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>EML 289</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/152 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XIII. c. “verse of”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Hunting Song</td>
<td>Lloyd, Mr. John</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>EML [?]</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XIV. a “about 60”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>The Almeley Census</td>
<td>Lloyd, Mr. John</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>EML 22544</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XIV. b</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Little Grey Horse</td>
<td>Lloyd, Mr. John</td>
<td>Broxwood</td>
<td>EML 393</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XIV. c</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>The Banks of Boyne</td>
<td>Richards, Mr. Noah</td>
<td>Moorhampton</td>
<td>EML 2891</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XIV. d. “65” “(blacksmith)&quot; &amp; Cylinder XV. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Pride of Dundee</td>
<td>Richards, Mr. Noah</td>
<td>Moorhampton</td>
<td>EML [?]</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t</td>
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<td>Cylinder XV. b.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>True Lovers Downfall</td>
<td>Richards, Mr. Noah</td>
<td>Moorhampton</td>
<td>EML poss. 1700 or 182</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Tom Sayers</td>
<td>Richards, Mr. Noah</td>
<td>Moorhampton</td>
<td>EML 22545</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t</td>
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<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
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<td>Cylinder XV. d. Tunes book: (No XV c) [this is in error for XV d, as the entry has the title next to a crossed out True lover’s downfall]</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Inventory Code</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>Seasons of the Year</td>
<td>Beddoe, Mr. H. C.</td>
<td>Hereford</td>
<td>EML RVW</td>
<td>1180 EML/1/8/b: m RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t CVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Binnorie</td>
<td>Beddoe, Mr. H. C.</td>
<td>Hereford</td>
<td>EML 8</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95]: t CVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>There is an alehouse</td>
<td>Hirons, Mr W.</td>
<td>Haven</td>
<td>EML RVW</td>
<td>60 EML/1/40/c: w m EML/2/10/i: t CVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1909]</td>
<td>Milkmaid’s song</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs Ellen</td>
<td>Westhope, Canon Pyon</td>
<td>EML RVW</td>
<td>298 RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61: m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1909</td>
<td>Bold Robin Hood</td>
<td>Jones, Mark</td>
<td>Llanvepw [?]</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>71 EML/2/7: w RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/63: w m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1909</td>
<td>The mantle of green</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs Kings Pyon</td>
<td>Rev. D. King</td>
<td>714 EML/1/26/a: m RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/45: t</td>
<td>“age 74”.</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>[The Merry King]</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>Dr. King</td>
<td>587 EML/1/38: wf [1 line]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Performer, Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Claudy Banks</td>
<td>Morgan, Mr. John</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/33: m, EML/1/48/a: m, RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61, RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84 ul]: t</td>
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<td>Tunes book/33: XXII c [in pencil over crossed out (XXIII d) in ink] Mr. John Morgan [in pencil, with Mrs. Ellen Powell in ink crossed out] RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84 ul]: t “end of tune missing” [with same crossed out incorrect numbering, viz: “also (XXIII d)”] RVW/Scrapbook/2/115 [84 ul]: EML to RVW, 09/11/08 “I almost despair of getting the other Claudy Banks, &amp; doubt if one can get a good record, as poor old John Morgan is always in bed now.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Dives and Lazarus</td>
<td>Evans, Mr. T.</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/33: m</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Tunes book: (No XXIII a) Tune virtually identical to Mr. John Evans version from Jan 1907</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>The trees they do</td>
<td>Hirons, Mr W.</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/33: m</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grow high</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tunes book: (XXIV c) Phono.</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>Cold blows the wind</td>
<td>Hirons, Mr W.</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/33: m</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Dilwyn, Haven</td>
<td>Phono.</td>
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<td>Tunes book: (XXIV a) Phono.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>The man that lives</td>
<td>Wheeler, Mrs. Weobley</td>
<td>RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, title ‘A man shall live’. EML poss. not involved on that occasion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Tune book/Notes</td>
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<td>Age 60. 12TCfH ver., words: Sandys, Husk &amp; Broadwood’s collections. RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7 title: ‘Carnal &amp; Crane’ Tune book: (No XX a) [only source that it is phono]</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 &amp; 29 July 1909</td>
<td>Highway Robber</td>
<td>Colcombe, W.</td>
<td>RVW EML 21</td>
<td>JFSS 2.4 (no. 15), 116-123: w1 m LEB/5/264: w1 m RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 284: w1, m [29/07/09] Subtitled “(Outlandish Knight)”</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 July 1909</td>
<td>The Myrtle Tree</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen] Powell</td>
<td>EML RVW 954</td>
<td>LEB/5/260: m RVW/Scrapbook/1/358 [59]: w [2 verses] fl: First I loved Thomas but now I love John [different tune to RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 286, see below]</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 &amp; 30 July</td>
<td>Blacksmith [“version II”]</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen] Powell</td>
<td>RVW EML 816</td>
<td>LEB/5/265: m RVW/Scrapbook/1/38 [59]: w1</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Tune</td>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>MS Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 &amp; 30</td>
<td>Stockings and gown</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen]</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>1638 [?] LEB/5/265 RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 287: m [30/07/09] Not in EML collection, possibly only coll. By RVW. Possibly a version of 'The Tar's Frolic' ['Bright Golden Store'] as the phrase &quot;stockings and gown&quot; appears twice in the source broadside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1909</td>
<td></td>
<td>Powell</td>
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<td>EML?</td>
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<td>29 &amp; 30</td>
<td>Green Bushes</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs.</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>1040 LEB/5/262: m RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 287: m [30/07/09]</td>
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<td>July 1909</td>
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<td>EML</td>
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<td>29 &amp; 30</td>
<td>Billy Taylor</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs.</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>158 LEB/5/262: m RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 288: m [30/07/09] RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 288 as: ‘William Taylor’</td>
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<td>July 1909</td>
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<td>EML</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 July</td>
<td>The Myrtle Tree / Weaver came</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen]</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>954 RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 286: m [29/07/09] title: Myrtle tree &amp; “Weaver came over the sea” [Presumably same tune for both, BUT different tune to LEB/5/260 – see above]</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>over the sea</td>
<td>Powell</td>
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<td>EML?</td>
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<td>29 July</td>
<td>God Rest You Merry</td>
<td>Colcombe, Mr.</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>394 JFSS 4.4 (no. 17), 338-340: m RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 285: m RVW MS: “the 1st carol printed out after the birth of Christ”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>[William]</td>
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<td>RVW</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 July</td>
<td>Shannon side</td>
<td>Colcombe, Mr.</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>1453 RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 285: m [29/07/09] Not in EML collection, possibly only coll. By RVW</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>[William]</td>
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<td>EML?</td>
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<td>29 July</td>
<td>Tom Sayer</td>
<td>Richards, Mr.</td>
<td>Moorhampton</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>22545 RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 278: m [Also found in RVW/Scrapbook/2/153 [95] and RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/61 as “Cylinder XV. d.” but this was probably a separate occasion as none of the contiguous songs in bk 7 are of phonos, EML poss. not involved on 29 July]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Noah</td>
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<td>EML?</td>
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<td>29 July</td>
<td>Angel Gabriel</td>
<td>Hirons, Mr.</td>
<td>Dilwyn, Haven</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>815 12TCiH, 12-13: ct m [nd] 12TCH : words: Gallet /</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Additional Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td>Captain Evans</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen] Powell</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/1/38 [59 lower] &amp; RVW/Scrapbook/1/57 [64 lower]: w RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 288: m [30/07/09]</td>
<td>RVW bk 7: O Paly Paly all in the spring [?]. Not in EML collection, probably only coll. By RVW</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td>Early Early</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen] Powell</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/1/63 [65 upper]: w RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 289: m [30/07/09]</td>
<td>RVW bk 7: O Paly Paly all in the spring [?]. Not in EML collection, probably only coll. By RVW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td>Merry green Broom fields</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen] Powell</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/1/64 [65 lower]: w RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 289: m [30/07/09]</td>
<td>Not in EML collection, probably only coll. By RVW</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td>Cold blows the wind</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen] Powell</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/1/64 [65 lower]: wf RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 290: m [30/07/09]</td>
<td>Not in EML collection, probably only coll. By RVW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td>Pretty Caroline</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen] Powell</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 290: m</td>
<td>Previously recorded by EML in 1908, probably only coll. By RVW on this occasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td>All Round My Hat</td>
<td>Mrs [Ellen] Powell</td>
<td>Westhope</td>
<td>RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 290: m</td>
<td>Probably only coll. By RVW on this occasion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Collector</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>MS Code</td>
<td>JFSS Ref.</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td><em>Dabbling in the Dew</em></td>
<td>Powell, Mrs.</td>
<td>Herefordshire, near Weobley,</td>
<td>EML RVW</td>
<td>JFSS 4.4 (no. 17), 282-286: m RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 291: m [30/07/09]</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 July &amp; Aug. 1909</td>
<td><em>The Young and Single Sailor</em></td>
<td>Floyd, Mr.</td>
<td>Herefordshire, near Weobley,</td>
<td>EML RVW</td>
<td>JFSS 2.4 (no. 15),127-129: m RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 291: m [30/07/09]</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td><em>Joys of Mary</em></td>
<td>Griffith</td>
<td>[Herefordshire]</td>
<td>RVW 278</td>
<td>RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 292: m [30/07/09] [?]</td>
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<td><em>Our Saviours Love</em></td>
<td>Griffith</td>
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<td>RVW 2116</td>
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<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td><em>Blackberry Fold</em></td>
<td>Bridges, Mrs. Caroline</td>
<td>Pembridge</td>
<td>RVW 559</td>
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<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td><em>Awake, awake, sweet England</em></td>
<td>Bridges, Mrs. Caroline</td>
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<td>EML RVW</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 7-10: w m FloH, 194-195: w m RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 293-294: w m [30/07/09]</td>
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<td><em>The Bold Cripple</em></td>
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<td>30 July 1909</td>
<td><em>The Turtle Dove</em></td>
<td>Lewis, Mr.</td>
<td>Hardwick</td>
<td>EML RVW</td>
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<td>30 &amp; 31 July 1909</td>
<td><em>The moon shines bright</em></td>
<td>Lewis, Mr. G.</td>
<td>Hardwick</td>
<td>RVW EML</td>
<td>JFSS 1.4 (no. 14), 10-11: m FloH, 193-194: m LEB/5/263: m RVW/BL ADD MS 54189 bk 7, 299: m [30/07/09]</td>
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<td>30 &amp; 31 July 1909</td>
<td><em>Fountain of Christ’s blood</em></td>
<td>Lewis, Mr. G.</td>
<td>[Herefordshire]</td>
<td>RVW EML</td>
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<td>29 &amp; /or Gloucester Wassail</td>
<td><em>Gloucester Wassail</em></td>
<td>[Dykes]</td>
<td>Swan inn,</td>
<td>RVW 209</td>
<td>LEB/5/266: m</td>
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112
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<td>31 July 1909</td>
<td>Sheffield Apprentice Jones, Mrs Harriet Weobley</td>
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<td>Christ made a Trance Jones, Mrs Harriet Weobley</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>The Seven Virgins Jones, Mrs Harriet Wrobley</td>
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<td>The man that lives Jenkins, Mr. W. Kings Pyon, Ledgemoor</td>
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<td>The Truth Sent From Above Jenkins, Mr. W. Kings Pyon, Ledgemoor</td>
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<td>RVW bk 7, 308: First line and a half in RVW’s hand, remaining 8 ½ in EL’s.</td>
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<td>nd</td>
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<td>nd</td>
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<td>[Herefordshire]</td>
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<td>True Lovers Downfall</td>
<td>Richards, Mr. Noah</td>
<td>Moorhampton</td>
<td>Rev. D. King</td>
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<td>The Milkmaid</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs Ellen</td>
<td>Kings Pyon, Weobley</td>
<td>Rev. D. King</td>
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<td>The Myrtle Tree</td>
<td>Powell, Mrs Ellen</td>
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<td>[Rev. D. King]</td>
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<td>A bold young farmer</td>
<td>[Mr. Jones]</td>
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<td>Leominster</td>
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<td>&quot;a new Xmas Carol&quot;</td>
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<td>morning to the sepulchre she came</td>
<td>Park [in ca. 1885]</td>
<td>Brown, Langton</td>
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<td>The Angel Gabriel</td>
<td>[Hereford, Ledbury Road,</td>
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<td>ni</td>
<td>Fenton Lodge]</td>
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<td>25 Nov 1911</td>
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<td>Hereford, Ledbury Road, Fenton Lodge</td>
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<td>The Holy Well</td>
<td>Gypsies</td>
<td>Sutton St. Nicholas</td>
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<td>Cold Blows the Wind</td>
<td>Smith, Mrs. Esther</td>
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<td>I'll have my Petticoat</td>
<td>Smith, Mrs. Esther</td>
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<td>My mother sent me</td>
<td>Smith, Mrs. Esther</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
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<td>Shrewsbury Gaol</td>
<td>&quot;a gypsy hop</td>
<td>Kings Pyon,</td>
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<td>Riding down to Pochemar</td>
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<td>The Barley Raking</td>
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<td>“There is more : not very nice”</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>[The Bitter Withy]</td>
<td>[Smith, Esther], [Herefordshire]</td>
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<td>[Sept 1912]</td>
<td>Christian People / Oh Christmas now is drawing near hand</td>
<td>[Smith, Mrs. Esther], [Weobley, or The Homme, near Weobley]</td>
<td>EML, RVW</td>
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<td>[?]</td>
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<td>12TCfH ver., words: Smith / Johnson / Colcombe; music: Smith / Johnson</td>
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<td>[?]</td>
<td>[Xmas day is adrawing nigh at hand]</td>
<td>[possibly either Smith, Esther or Johnson, Mrs.], [Herefordshire]</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<td>808</td>
<td>RVW/Scrapbook/1/6 [9]: w</td>
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<td>Sept 1912</td>
<td>God rest you merry, Gentlemen</td>
<td>Smith, Mary Ann, and Johnson, Mrs., Dilwyn, The Homme</td>
<td>EML, RVW</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>Gypsy song</td>
<td>ni, Herefordshire</td>
<td>EML</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>The Outlandish Knight</td>
<td>ni, ni</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>Ballad [The Cruel Mother]</td>
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<td>Jones, Alfred Price, Monkland</td>
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<td>Performer</td>
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<td>Aug. 1913</td>
<td>The bitter withy</td>
<td>Stephens, Charlotte</td>
<td>[Herefordshire]</td>
<td>EML</td>
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<td>God our Father</td>
<td>Stephens, Charlotte</td>
<td>[Herefordshire]</td>
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<td>Smith, Mrs. Esther</td>
<td>Weobley</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>1078 Folk-Lore 37 (1926) p.297: w &amp; poss. EML/3/14: w</td>
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<td>Christmas now is</td>
<td>Wildes, Mr.</td>
<td>Pool-End, near</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<td>A Waggoner</td>
<td>Pool-End, near</td>
<td>RVW</td>
<td>808  JFSS 5.1 (no. 18), 7-11: m</td>
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<td>Davies, Mr.</td>
<td>Aylton, near</td>
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<td>Americkay</td>
<td>Davies, Mr</td>
<td>Aylton, near</td>
<td>RVW</td>
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<td>Joseph &amp; Mary</td>
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<td>RVW</td>
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<td>Song</td>
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<td>Cold blows the wind</td>
<td>Jones, Alfred Price</td>
<td>Monkland</td>
<td>EML</td>
<td>51 EML/1/0/b/3: w</td>
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<td>The Blacksmith</td>
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<td>The Irish Stranger</td>
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<td>08 Sep 22</td>
<td>The Low Low-lands of Holland</td>
<td>Jones, Alfred Price</td>
<td>Monkland</td>
<td>EML</td>
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Appendix IV

The Lucy Broadwood – Farquhar MacRae Papers

Introduction

Unlike the previous catalogue this is not a full catalogue of a collector’s work, it is simply a listing of the contents of the Lucy Broadwood – Farquhar MacRae papers residing at the Archive of the School of Scotish Studies, Edinburgh, and, in photocopied form, at the VWML. I have made it in order to give a better idea of the papers’ contents and also to explain the references that I utilied in my catalogues of Broadwood’s and MacRae’s phonograph collections.

As can be seen, the first section consists of 35 pages devoted to Broadwood’s April to July 1908 London phonographs of Dr. Farquhar MacRae and John Mr MacLennan; to this I have also appended the 3 loose pages of rough notes devoted to the earlier recordings that Broadwood made with Kate McLean, and as such are related to the ‘Songs Scotland, Phonographic Records – Kate McLean’ manuscripts to be found at the VWML in box folder VWML MPS/10 (21). The numbering of these three pages is purely provisional depending on whether more of of the Kate McLean material still resides at the Archive of the School of Scotish Studies.

The second section consists of 54 pages are devoted to Broadwood’s catalogues and transcriptions of the recordings that Dr. MacRae then made later that year on her behalf in Ross-shire, Inverness, and Lewis; The final section consists

If following the precedent of the VWML Full English database for Broadwood’s manuscripts then numbering should start at LEB/7/38, but for the purposes of referencing these papers I have created a separate listing, each one of which would be referenced at its beginning with the title LEB-FM/
<table>
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<th>Section</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Section</th>
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<td>Typed Title Page</td>
<td>Broadwood Material / Dr. MacRae Material.</td>
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<td>1/2/1</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Title Page</td>
<td>Dr. Macrae &amp; Mr MacLennan – List of Songs / &amp; Records of same. July 1908</td>
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<tr>
<td>1/2/2</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>List of Songs</td>
<td><strong>Dr. Farquhar MacRae</strong> &lt;br&gt;Box 2: A. Chuachag nan Craobh (the Cuckoo of the Groves) &lt;br&gt;Box 3: A. Biodh an deoch ’s an làimh mo rùn [The drink would be in my love's hand] &lt;br&gt;  B. Coille Mhùraidh; O ’s tu gura tu th’ air m’ aire [When Summer came]</td>
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<td>1/2/3</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>List of Songs</td>
<td>Box 8: A. The Kintail dirge; Chaidh Donnachadh ’a bhainn. Version 1 &lt;br&gt;  The Kintail dirge; Chaidh Donnachadh ’a bhainn. Version 2 &lt;br&gt;  B. The frás air Taobh mo gruacdheam [A shower is at the side of my maiden] &lt;br&gt;Box 9: A. The MacRae March from Sheriffmuir &lt;br&gt;  B. ‘Bangor’ to the 23rd Psalm &lt;br&gt;Box 10: A. Oran gaoil; Air faillirin [illirin o]</td>
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<td>1/2/4</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>List of Songs</td>
<td>Box 10: B. A nochd gur faoin mo chadal dhomh [Tonight I shall sleep lightly] &lt;br&gt;  Cuir a chin [Put, faithful head] &lt;br&gt;Box 11: A. Ochon a Righ! Gur e mi tha muladach [Alas! I am so sad]</td>
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<td>LEB</td>
<td>List of Songs</td>
<td>Box 12: A. Ill uill agus ò; Oran le bàrd na h-Earadh [Song by a bard of Harris] &lt;br&gt;  B. Fàilte dhut is slàinte leat [Welcome to you and health to you] &lt;br&gt;  C. Oran Calum Sgàire Air faill o rò u [i] &lt;br&gt;Box 13: A. Oran Calum Sgàire Air faill o rò u [ii] &lt;br&gt;Box 14: A. Oran gaoil; Tha fras air taobh mo ghruidhean [A shower is at the side of my maiden] &lt;br&gt;  B. Tha m’inninn fo mhulad [My mind is sad] &lt;br&gt;  C. Oran Saighdear (Soldier's song); Hiri horo air M’eudail [Hiri horo my darling] &lt;br&gt;  D. {Oran gaoil; Mu dh’ thag thu mi ’s mulad orm} [If you have left me, I am sad]</td>
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<td>LEB</td>
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<td>Box 15: A. Oran gaoil le Ciobair: Gu bheil d’oran a m’inninn [Love song by a shepherd: Your song is in my mind]</td>
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<td>List of Songs</td>
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<td>Box 16:</td>
<td>A. Port a’ ----; Hug o air fear donn a’ bhealaich [a [drinking] song; The brown haired man of the pass]</td>
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<td>B. Lord Ronald my son</td>
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<td>Box 17:</td>
<td>A. Uisg’ Aitun (Afton Water)</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. Coire Cheathach cheathaich (The misty hollow)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Mo shóraidh le Sgur Ura (My greetings to Ura Rock)</td>
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<td>Box 18:</td>
<td>A. Oran gaoil; Faill ill o agus horo eile</td>
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<td>B. Oran gaoil; Faill iù thogainn fonn mo leannan</td>
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<td>C. Oran Phrionnnsa Thearlaich; A fhleasgaich urch [leanainn thu] [Song of Prince Charles; Fresh young man, I would follow you]</td>
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<td>D. Oran gaoil; Càit’ an caidil an nighneag [Where will the lassie sleep tonight?]</td>
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<td>Box 19:</td>
<td>A. Lament of Miss Campbell for her lover; Obhan, obhan usidh [Griogal Cridhe]</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. Far mo mhulad ’s a’ bheann (The Sea-longing) [Where my sorrow is in the mountain]</td>
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<tr>
<td>John MacLennan</td>
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<td>Box 20:</td>
<td>A. Song on Iseabil Nic-Aoidh</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. Am Bòbero B’eibhin: Old Clan-Song (March tune) of the MacKenzies of Brahan</td>
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<td>Box 21:</td>
<td>A. The Massacre of Glencoe (Mort Ghlinne a’ Chomhainn [The Glenn of the Shrine])</td>
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<td>B. The Macintoshs’ Lament (Macintosh – of Moy Hill, Inverness – Lament [Cumha ’ic an Toisich])</td>
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<td>Box 22:</td>
<td>A. Gun chrodh gun aighean [The tocherless lass [the lass without a dowry]]</td>
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<td>B. Oran do Bhoiniparte (Song to Bonaparte)</td>
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<td>C. Oran le Domhnull Friseal Fannaich, Rosshire [Song by Donald Fraser of Fannich, Rosshire]</td>
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<td>Box 23:</td>
<td>A. Lullaby “Duanag”, from Applecross [Pretty little Mary]</td>
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<td>B. Morag (Jacobite song [luadh]) [waulking song]</td>
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<td>Box 24:</td>
<td>A. The Dowie Dens of Yarrow</td>
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<td>B. Oran ne Drobhairan (The Drover’s Song)</td>
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<td>C. (The Sheep stealer)</td>
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| Box 25 | A. Iorram (rowing song): Mhairi Dhu, na Hu a ho  
B. Iorram: Iorram Chuain (Sea Song)  
C. Iorram: Corry Kraeckan | Dr. Farquhar MacRae  
| Box 26 | A. Lament by Miss MacLeod of Raasay for her brother drowned  
B. An teid thu leam a Mhàiri (Will you come with me, Mary)  
C. Oran le Iain Mac Mhurchaidh (MacMurdoc) (Song by John MacRae) |  
| Box 27 | A. Oran le Iain MacRath, Thuinsearraidh, Leoidhais dhan sgaley Ian Mac Iobhar [Song of John MacRae of Thuinsgearraidh Lewis to the farm servant Ian Mac Iobhar]  
B. Oran le Iain MacRath do gobha Bhrinis [Song by John MacRae to a smith of Brinish] |  
| Box 28 | A. Oran do’n Reisearmad (Song to the Regiment)  
B. Oran le Scòladair (The Sailor’s song)  
C. Oran a linneadh le fear, air dhe le amìlsìg a leaman a mharbhadh le wrache ann a’ riochd tunnag (Shooter of his sweetheart) |  
| Box 29 | A. Oran; Tha m’inntinn tròr [Song; My mind is heavy]  
B. Inn {Ma [or Muair]} phòsas mi cha ghabh mi ach Mòr [If [when] I marry, I will only take Sarah]  
C. Waulking song; Hi raill, Anna bheag (Hi raill, little Anna) |  
| Box 14 | A. [The frás air Taobh mo gruaichdheam] “repeated for correction.”  
B. Tha m’inntinn fo mhulad [My mind is sad]  
C. Oran Saighdear (Soldier's song); Hiri horo air M’eudail [Hiri horo my darling]  
D. {Oran gaoil; Mu dh’ fhàg thu mi ’s mulad orm} [If you have left me, I am sad] |  
| Box 15 | A. Oran gaoil le Ciobair; Gu heil d’oran a m’inntinn [Love song by a shepherd; Your song is in my mind] |  
| Box 15 | B. Oran le bard ann a’ Leodhas [Song by a bard from Lewis] |
| Box 16: | A. Hug o air fear donn a’ bhealaich (Drinking Song, on an illicit whisky still) 
B. Lord Ronald |
| Box 17: | A. Uisg’ Aitun (Afton Water) 
B. Coire Cheathach cheathaich (The misty hollow) 
C. Mo shoraidh le Sgur Ura (My greetings to Ura Rock) |
| Box 18: | A. Oran gaoil; Faill iù thogainn fonn mo leannan 
B. Oran gaoil; Faill ìll o agus horo eile 
C. Oran Phrionnsa Thearlaich: A fhleasgaich ùr [leanainn thu] [Song of Prince Charles; Fresh young man, I would follow you] 
D. Oran gaoil; Càit’ an caidil an nighneag [Where will the lassie sleep tonight?] |
| Box 19: | A. Lament of Miss Campbell for her lover Macgregor, killed by her father; Obhan, obhan usidh [Griogal Cridhe] 
B. Far mo mhulad ’s a’ bheann (The Sea-longing) [Where my sorrow is in the mountain] |
| Box 20: | A. Lament – on Iseabil Nic-Aoidh 
B. Am Bòbero B’eibhin: Old Clan-Song (March tune) of the MacKenzies of Brahan |
| Box 21: | A. The Massacre of Glencoe (Mort Ghlinne a’ Chomhainn [The Glenn of the Shrine]) 
B. The Macintoshs’ Lament (Macintosh – of Moy Hill, Inverness – Lament [Cumha ’ic an Toisich]) |
| Box 22: | A. Gun chrodh gun aighean [The tocherless lass [the lass without a dowry]] 
B. Oran do Bhoiniparte (Song to Bonaparte) 
C. Oran by Donald Fraser of Fannich |
| Box 23: | A. Lullaby “Duanag”, from Applecross [Pretty little Mary] 
B. Morag (Jacobite song [luadh]) [waulking song] |
| Box 24: | A. The Dowie Dens of Yarrow 
B. Oran ne Droibhairan (The Drover’s Song) 
C. The Sheep stealer |
<p>| Box 25: | A. Iorram (rowing song): Mhairi Dhu, na Hu a ho |</p>
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| 1/4/1 | LEB    | Transcripts| Dr. Farquhar MacRae  
2nd Record: Chuachag nan Craobh (the Cuckoo of the Groves)  
3rd Record: Biodh an deoch ’s an lámh mo rùn [The drink would be in my love's hand] |
| 1/4/2 | LEB    | Transcripts| 2nd Record: Chuachag nan Craobh (the Cuckoo of the Groves)            |
| 1/4/3 | LEB    | Transcripts| 4th Record: Coille Mhùraidh [When Summer came]                        |
| 1/4/4 | LEB    | Transcripts| Box 8. A. The Kintail dirge                                           |
| 1/4/5 | LEB    | Transcripts| Box 8. B. The frás air Taobh mo gruacdheam [A shower is at the side of my maiden] |
| 1/4/6 | LEB    | Transcripts| [Box 8. A]: The Kintail Dirge                                         |
| 1/4/7 | LEB    | Transcripts| [Box 8. B]: The frás air Taobh mo gruacdheam                           |
| 1/4/8 | LEB    | Transcripts| Box 8. No. 1 [no title, different tune to above, very rough, crossed out]  
Box 8. No. 2 [no title, different tune to above, seven bar fragment] |
<p>| 1/4/9 | LEB    | Transcripts| Box 9. A. The MacRae March from Sheriffmuir                            |
| 1/4/10| LEB    | Transcripts| [unidentified]                                                        |
| 1/5/1 | LEB    | JFSS       | John MacLennan: The Dowie Dens of Yarrow;                              |
|       |        | Transcripts| John MacLennan: Oran do Bhoniparte                                    |
| 1/5/2 | LEB    | JFSS       | John MacLennan: Oran do Bhoniparte                                    |
| 1/5/3 | LEB    | JFSS       | The Bonnie Lassie’s Answer. From Ford’s Vagabond Songs of Scotland, p.68. |
| 1/6/1-2| FM     | Letter     | Farquhar MacRae to Lucy Broadwood 10/11/08, 2 pages                  |
| 1/6/3-4| FM     | Letter     | Farquhar MacRae to Lucy Broadwood 14/11/08, 2 pages                  |
| 1/7   | LEB    | List       | November 1911. / Copies made &amp; sent to Dr. MacRae of                 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Provider</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Transcripts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1/8/1 | LEB      | [rough] | Kate McLean [this should go with the other Kate McLean MSS, if extant]  
|       |          |       | [1]. Lament of a Woman on her Love [23. Lament by a Lady, JEDSS, 1.1 (1932), pp. 45-46] [phono.]  
|       |          |       | [3]. A ’Bhean Chomainn (Wife Companion) [52., JEDSS, 1.3 (1934), pp. 145-146] |
| 1/8/2 | LEB      | Transcripts | [this should go with the other Kate McLean MSS, if extant]  
|       |          |       | [1]. Cameron of Letterfinney [4. Lament on a Famous Cameron, JFSS, 8.5 [No. 35] (1931), pp. 285-288] [phono.]  
|       |          |       | [2]. Fairy Song [45., JEDSS, 1.3 (1934), p. 141]  
|       |          |       | [3]. Lady’s Lament [23. Lament by a Lady, JEDSS, 1.1 (1932), pp. 45-46] [phono.]  
|       |          |       | [4]. Mairi Oge [5. A Mhàiri Bhàn Òg (Fair Young Mary), JFSS, 8.5 [No. 35] (1931), p. 289] |
| 1/9   | LEB      | JFSS Transcripts | [this should go with the other Kate McLean MSS, if extant]  

2/ Lucy Broadwood’s transcriptions of Dr. MacRae’s phonographs made in Ross-shire, Inverness, and Lewis, 1908

2/1 - Typed Title Page  
Lucy Broadwood Material / Dr. MacRae’s Phonograph Records taken by himself

2/2/1-2 LEB List of Songs [Index]  
2 pages.

2/3/1 LEB Transcripts  
Box 1: Miss Mary MacRae: Banarach dhonn a chruidh (The brown haired Milkmaid)

2/3/2 LEB Transcripts  
Box 2: Mrs MacRae: Caoidh Chlann Chriogair (A Lament on the Clan Gregor)

2/3/3 LEB Transcripts  
Box 3: Mr John Macdonald: Oran gaoil; Cha chaidil do do (I will not sleep just now)

2/3/4 LEB Transcripts  
Box 4: Mrs MacRae: Che sguir mis am bliadhn’ an òl (I will not stop drinking this year)

2/3/5 LEB Transcripts  
Box 5: Miss Mary MacRae: Crodh Chalein (Collin’s Cattle)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2/3/6</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 6: Dr. Farquhar MacRae: Cio’ Chinnt-Saile (The Kintale hut) bagpipes version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/7</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 7: Mr. James MacRae: Cumha Uisdean Friseal (Lament on Hugh Fraser)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/3/8</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 8: Mr. James MacRae: Deoch slainte a Chamshronaich Bhoidhich (A health to the Bonny Cameron)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/9</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 9: Mrs MacRae: Dovian Pòsaïdhe (The Vexations of Marriage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/10</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 10: Ann McKay: Fleasgach an fhuilt chraoiibhich chas (The Gallent of the wavy hair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/11</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 11: Mr. James MacRae: Gill’ Easbachan (Little Gillespie or Archibald)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/12</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Mrs Cameron &amp; Hugh MacCulloch: In praise of Mrs Cameron’s son &amp; the tailor’s dis-praise of her family [title only]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/13</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 12: Mrs MacRae: Griogal Cridhe [Beloved Gregor]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/14/1</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 13: Ann McKay: Hi ri ri o rail o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/14/2</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 14: Mr. Neil McKay: Oran pòsaïdhe: Hai hai thogarain bhi falbh leat (Oh, oh I desire to go with thee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/15</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 14: Mr. Neil McKay: Oran pòsaïdhe: Hai hai thogarain bhi falbh leat (Oh, oh I desire to go with thee)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/3/16</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 15: Ann McKay: Hi, horo, mo Mhari lurach (Heigh, ho, my neat little Mary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/17</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 16: Mr. Neil McKay: ’Illean bithibh sunndach (Lads, be cheerful!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/18</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 17: Mr. John McKay: Iomraich Chuain Muinntir Charnis (The Emigration of the People of Carnish (in Uig))</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/3/19</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 18: Dr. Farquhar MacRae: Leig dhiot an Cadal, le Domhnull Mór Gead-an-t-Sailean (Let go thy sleep, by Big Donald, from/of Kintail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/19/1</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 19: Mrs MacRae: Luinneag dha fear a leadan bhàn (Ditty to the fair-haired Gallent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/19/2</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 19: Mrs MacRae: Luinneag dha fear a leadan bhàn (Ditty to the fair-haired Gallent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/20</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 20: Mr. John Macdonald: Màiri mhin mheall-shuíleach (Gentle Mary of the winning eyes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/21</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 21: Mr. James MacRae: Moladh fear Farabrùinn le Iain MacMhurchaidh; (Na ho ro gu’m b’eirinn domh [vocables]) [Praise of the Laird of Fara bruinn by John MacRae]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/22</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 22: Ann McKay: Mo nighean dubh (My blackhaired maiden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/23</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 23: Ann McKay: Nuair ’bha mi òg ’s miaille ribh (When I was young &amp; along with you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/24/1</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 24: Miss Mary MacRae: Luinneag; O horo ghaoil nach fhuirich thu (O ho, my love, wilt thou not stay) [beginning]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3/24/2</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 24: Miss Mary MacRae: Luinneag; O horo ghaoil nach fhuirich thu (O ho, my love, wilt thou not stay)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/3/24/3</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Box 24: Miss Mary MacRae: Luinneag; O horo ghaoil nach fhuirich thu (O ho, my love, wilt thou not stay)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Box 25</td>
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<td>2/3/25</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
<td>Mr. John McKay: Oran an t-Seana Ghille (The Bachelor’s Song)</td>
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<td>2/3/26</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Transcripts</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>FM</td>
<td>List</td>
<td>Songs blurred on the Phonograph: Uallach na fis a Braigh Gharaidh (Mrs MacRae, Craigdhu) [Box 33]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/6</td>
<td>FM</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Dr. Farquhar MacRae: Bagpipes setting – Ciò Chunn t-saile [Ciò Chinnt-Saile (The Kintale hut)]: Had’n do hereeden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/7</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>List</td>
<td>Mechanical copy of part of 2/2/1 noting “copies of the music given to Dr. MacRae March 1914, etc.”, highlighted songs being: [Mr. James MacRae]: Gill’ Easbachan (Little Gillespie or Archibald) [Box 11] [Dr. Farquhar MacRae]: Leig dhiot an Cadal (Cease slumbering) [Box 18] [Mrs MacRae]: Luinneag dha fear a leadan bhàn (Ditty to the fair-haired Gallant) [Box 19]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/8</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>MacRae’s c/o address in Ross-shire</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/9/1-2</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>“played to Dr. MacRae”, nothing listed</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/9/3</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>“Tune not in P. McDonald” nothing listed</td>
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</table>
Appendix V

The Maud Karpeles and Marie Slocombe phonograph survey 1949-1950
V, 1. The Phonographs list [facsimile]

WWML/Correspondence Sound Library Folder

PHONOGRAPH

Box 1. 8a. Pretty Caroline (one other) Herefordshire. 2.
b. Rolling in the Dew. Mrs. Venall
c. Claudy Banks Gypsy (2)
d. What do you do Sunday night. Foxtrot.
e. Salisbury Plain (mildewed) Mrs. Venall.
f. Lovely Joan.
g. Herefordshire VI.
h. Herefordshire 23. (broken)

Box 2. 10. L.E.B.'s (one badly scratched)


Box 4. 5. Rv. Mack's own records (one cracked)

Box 5. 4. Rv. Mack's (1 Gaelic record) (1 mildewed)

Box 6. 11. Rv. MacRae's own records, taken by him.

Box 7. 8. Basket of eggs (2) etc. (1 cracked, 4 mildewed)

Box 8. (10) a. Herefordshire (1)
b. London Apprentice. Mrs. Venall (badly mildewed)
c. Salisbury Plain. Penfold (Rasper)
d. Fishes Swim. Ade.
e. She was 247 (Gardiener?)
f. "A Joke"
g. Irish Jig.
h. The Miller on the Dee (mildewed)
i. Lowlands Low, Atwater. Penfold (Badly mildewed)
j. Joah (cracked)

Box 9. 9. 8 L.E.B.'s (7 Garvagoo 1907, 1 piano, 1 broken, no lid
so no record)

Box 10. ( 6 records Rv. Mack's. 5 records Mr. John MacLennan (1
L.E.B.'s cracked)

Box 11. 11 L.E.B.'s Recorded by Rv. MacRae.

Box 12. 10 " " " A Martin Freeman.

3 Phonograph Recorders. 2 Phonograph Machines.
(sound boxes)
The Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society [facsimile]

V.

The Report on Phonograph Cylinders Property of the English Folk Dance and Song Society [facsimile]
Polynomial from Box 1: "Order: 2. General Notice: "

133

"Quite adequate.

"Quite edible.

"Quite delicious.

Interests of our country.

Breaches and barriers.

"Happy farewell.

Polynomial from Box 1: "Order: 2. General Notice: "


"Good voe.

"Woudn't I entertain, but a

Polynomial from Box 1: "Order: 2. General Notice: "

49. The trees. Penfold.

"Not quite dearer. Longer feast.

Good condition. Quite clean.

Some vegetables. Quite oste.

"Stale and stale.

"Water, some vegetables. Ready to use.

"Food, "another fntnt but

Polynomial from Box 1: "Order: 2. General Notice: "

0. The flour. Identified as

Some "without" but entirely clear.

"Thereof, "part.

"Partly, "partly.

Some "made. "Really, quite.

"Quite, "rather, quite but

Some "made. "Rather, quite but
V, 3. Table of cylinders in the Karpeles and Slocombe Phonographs list

As can be seen in the facsimile of this list (Appendix V, 1) only Boxes 1 and 8 were properly itemised, but as explained in Chapter X, by noting the cylinders in this list that were also included in the later Report it is possible to not only ascertain the Report numbers of those cylinders here that were subsequently discarded, but also to identify recordings that were listed in the Report but not individually titled in this earlier list. As with the collector-phonograph catalogues in Appendix II bold type denotes extant recordings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box/No. of cylin.</th>
<th>Title/Recording in the list</th>
<th>Collector</th>
<th>Orig. K/S No.</th>
<th>No. in Report</th>
<th>LB No.</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (8)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[K/S Report: ‘BOX 1: D. KENNEDY’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Pretty Caroline (&amp;o [sic] one other)</td>
<td>[EML]</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C37/1586 &amp; TPX 29.1 [tk. 4]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Herefordshire 2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Rolling in the Dew. Mrs. Venall [sic]</td>
<td>[RVW]</td>
<td>[65]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TPX 29.1 [tk. 1] [Mrs. Verrall]</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>Claudy Banks Gypsy (2)</td>
<td>[EML]</td>
<td>[66]</td>
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<td>prob. TPX 29.1 [tk. 3]</td>
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<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>What do you do Sunday May. Foxtrot</td>
<td></td>
<td>[67]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>possibly ‘What Do You Do Sunday, Mary?’ [commercial recording?]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Salisbury Plain Mrs. Venall. [sic]</td>
<td>[RVW]</td>
<td>[68]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Mrs. Verrall]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Lovely Joan</td>
<td>[RVW/ GB]</td>
<td>[69]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>probably William Hurr, October 25th 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Herefordshire VI. [poss. Bonny Labouring Boy]</td>
<td>[EML]</td>
<td>[70]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSS suggest either: Mrs. Mary Ann Smith ‘Mollie Vaughan / Molly Vaughan’ [RVW/Scrapbook [Tunes book]/32] – ‘VI’ or: Mrs Harris: ‘Diverus &amp; Lazarus’</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Catalogue</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>L. E. B.’s</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[71]</td>
<td>[trial?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>L. E. B.’s</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[72]</td>
<td>[trial?]</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>L. E. B.’s</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[73]</td>
<td>[trial?]</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>L. E. B.’s</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[74]</td>
<td>[trial?]</td>
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<td>LEB</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>C37/1559 [Tarry Trousers/Bushes and Briars]</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>L. E. B.’s</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[76]</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae [2nd May] C37/1536</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>L. E. B.’s</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[77]</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae [2nd May] C37/1537</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>L. E. B.’s</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[78]</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae [2nd May] C37/1538</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>L. E. B.’s</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>[79]</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae [2nd May] C37/1539</td>
<td></td>
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<td>[Lady Maisry]</td>
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<td>[b]</td>
<td>[On the Banks of the Nile]</td>
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<td>[The Indian Lass]</td>
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<td>[A Basket of Eggs]</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>[The Trees]</td>
<td>[RVW]</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>C37/1583 [Penfold] &amp; TPX 29.1 [tk. 5]</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>[Lowlands Low / Turtle Dove]</td>
<td>[RVW]</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>h</td>
<td>Miller on the Dee</td>
<td>[RVW]</td>
<td>51</td>
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8 (10)

| a | Herefordshire (1) [Fountain of Christ’s blood] | [EML] | 22 | | C37/1585 |
| b | London Apprentice. Mrs. Venall [sic] (badly mildewed) | [RVW] | [23?] | [61?] | Not extant |
| c | Salisbury Plain. Penfold [Rasper [sic]] | [RVW] | [24?] | [62?] | Not extant |
| d | Fishes Swim. Ade. [sic] | [RVW] | [25?] | [63?] | Not extant |
| e | She was [space] 247 (Gardiner?) | GG | 26 | | C37/1627 |
| f | ‘A Joke’. | | [?] | [27?] | [29?] | Not extant |
| g | Irish Jig. | | [?] | [28?] | [30?] | Not extant |
| h | The Miller on the Dee (mildewed) | [RVW] | 51 | | C37/1580 |
| i | Lowlands Low, Atwater. Penfold (Badly mildewed) | [RVW] | 50 | | C37/1582 |
| j | Jonah (cracked) | | [?] | [-] | Not extant |

9 (9)

| a | L. E. B.’s (7 Garvamor [sic] 1907, 1 piano, 1 broken, no lid so no record) | LEB | [124] | 1 | Not extant |
| b | L. E. B.’s (7 Garvamor 1907) | LEB | [125] | 2 | Not extant |
| c | L. E. B.’s (7 Garvamor 1907) | LEB | [126] | 3 | Not extant |
| d | L. E. B.’s (7 Garvamor 1907) | LEB | [127] | 4 | Not extant |
| e | L. E. B.’s (7 Garvamor 1907) | LEB | [128] | 5 | Not extant |
| f | L. E. B.’s (7 Garvamor 1907) | LEB | [129] | 6 | Not extant |
| g | L. E. B.’s (7 Garvamor 1907) | LEB | [130] | [?] | Not extant, NB MSS only suggest 6 Garramor cylinders |
| h | [1 piano] [poss. The Trees (Broadwood)] | LEB | [131] | 31 | C37/1555 |
| i | [1 broken] | | [?] | [-] | |

10 (11)

<p>| a | L. E. B.’s 6 records Rv. [sic] MacRae. 5 recor[d]s Mr. John MacLennon (1 cracked) | LEB | [34?] | 14 | Poss. Farquhar MacRae [14th May] C37/1542 |
| b | L. E. B.’s, Rv. MacRae | LEB | [36?] | 15 | Poss. Farquhar MacRae [14th May] C37/1543 |
| c | L. E. B.’s, Rv. MacRae | LEB | [37?] | 16 | Poss. Farquhar MacRae [14th May] C37/1544 |</p>
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11 (11)

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12 (10)

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V, 4. Table of cylinders listed in the Karpeles and Slocombe Report cross referenced with those mentioned in the Phonographs list

When Maud Karpeles and Marie Slocombe presented their Report on the FSS phonographs to the EFDSS Library Sub-committee meeting on of April 27th 1950 their final list only included those recordings that they considered to be “more or less intelligible”, nonetheless, as explained in Chapter X, by cross referencing the Report with the same authors’ Phonographs list it is possible to identify many of the now discarded recordings as well as identifying extant ones that Karpeles and Slocombe neglected to include in their Report, such as the London Gaelic recordings. As can be seen, a number of recordings were subsequently reallocated during the process of the survey; the original positions of these phonographs are indicated by grey shading and { } brackets, whilst, as usual, extant recordings are listed in bold.

The purpose in preparing this table is that by allocating those recordings that were later discarded along with those that weren’t listed but have survived, as well as those that were meant to be kept but are currently lost, and finally those that were reallocated, it is possible to not only identify many of the recordings that were extant in 1950 but also how many really were discarded after the survey.

As explained in Chapter X, it has not been possible to identify for certain the allocated places of the London Gaelic recordings from Box 10 and the Gaelic recordings from Box 11, consequently these are noted italiscised and should be seen as provisional allocations.

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<tr>
<th>K/S No.</th>
<th>LEB No.</th>
<th>Title as given in Report</th>
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<th>Box provenance in Phonographs list</th>
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<td>[Maria Etheridge]</td>
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then poss. {Claudy Banks} | Mrs. Verrall | 1, b | RVW | 29.1  
Tk. 1 |
| 67   | {Gaelic, reallocated, see 106}  
[What Do You Do Sunday, Mary?] | Alfred Price Jones | 1, c | EML | TPX  
29.1  
Tk. 3 |
| 68   | {Gaelic, reallocated, see 107}  
[Salisbury Plain] | Mrs. Verrall | 1, d | RVW | |
| 69   | {Gaelic, reallocated, see 108}  
[Lovely Joan] | prob. William Hurr | 1, e | RVW/GB | |
| 70   | {Gaelic, reallocated, see 109}  
[‘Herefordshire VI.’ poss. The Bonny Labouring Boy] | ? | 1, f | EML | TPX  
29.1  
Tk. 2 |
| 71   | trial ? | ? | 2 | LEB | |
| 72   | trial ? | ? | 2 | LEB | |
| 73   | trial ? | ? | 2 | LEB | |
| 74   | trial ? | ? | 2 | LEB | |
| 75   | Tarry Trousers  
Bushes and Briars. | Lucy Broadwood | 2 | LEB | 1559 |
<p>| 76   | Poss LEB London Gaelic | Farquhar MacRae | 2 | LEB | 1536 |
| 77   | Poss LEB London Gaelic | Farquhar MacRae | 2 | LEB | 1537 |
| 78   | Poss LEB London Gaelic | Farquhar MacRae | 2 | LEB | 1538 |
| 79   | Poss LEB London Gaelic | Farquhar MacRae | 2 | LEB | 1539 |
| 80   | Poss LEB London Gaelic | Farquhar MacRae | 2 | LEB | 1541 |
| 81   | [Moladh fear Farabruinn, etc] | Mr. James MacRae | 3 | FMR | 1560 |</p>
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<td>[Miss Mary MacRae]</td>
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<td>[Mr. James MacRae]</td>
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<td>[Mrs MacRae]</td>
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<td>[listed as above, but error, as this is one of the LEB recordings of MacRae, consequently not from box 6]</td>
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Appendix VI

Issues regarding the terms “English Musical Renaissance” and “Das Land Ohne Musik”

What were the factors that meant that by the beginning of the 20th Century there was a receptive appreciation of folk music in British art music? And furthermore what were the specific personal factors that meant that Vaughan Williams, rather than his immediate predecessors, Stanford, Parry and Elgar or close contemporary, Holst, was to become the main exponent in those circles of folk song collecting?

To answer these questions requires not only looking at attitudes to folk music within British art music in the later 19th century, but the actual development of the art music itself during this period; how in the first half of that century there was a dearth of indigenous composers that were considered important on the continent, and the favour that was shown to foreign composers in England, especially London, meant that an informed comment on folk music by the musicologist Carl Engel made in the 1860’s was later to be taken out of context and applied to art music in general by British and continental critics giving rise to the concept of England being “Das Land Ohne Musik”, how figures in what became known as the “English Musical Renaissance” worked against this idea, and why folk music was consequently seen as being part of this movement.

That folk music was co-opted by English art music at this time is hardly surprising, by the time that Vaughan Williams went to the Royal College of Music in 1890 to study composition under Parry for two years, prior to taking his degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, folk music as an influence on art music had become a commonplace, Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsodies (1846–1853, and 1882–1885), Brahms’ Hungarian Dances (1869 and 1880), Smetana’s Má vlast (1872–1880) Dvořák’s Slavonic Dances (1878 and 1886) and Grieg’s Lyric Pieces (1867-1901) had all become popular works in the repertoire of 19th Century British Orchestras. With the exception of Smetana’s symphonic poems, most of these works had started as piano compositions, but such was the public demand that the publishers prevailed upon their composers to either make orchestral arrangements or agree to authorized versions by other hands. Consequently it is no surprise that similar works, based on British folk music was to become one of the dominant strains in the “English Musical Renaissance”.

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I will turn to the factors that dictated this movement presently, but first a few caveats regarding its descriptive title, for though useful as a name for the development of art music within the British Isles (generally) and England (more specifically) in the last third of the 19th century, it is nonetheless a problematic one, in that it presupposes a number of assumptions about the state of music at that time. Firstly, in that by suggesting that there was a need for a “Renaissance” it suggests that there must have previously been something moribund in English musical life prior to this movement, and secondly that there must consequently have been more than a modicum of truth in the then German accusation that England was “Das Land Ohne Musik”.

Art music in post-Regency England

The question of English art music being moribund during the first two thirds of the nineteenth century is one fraught with value judgements and assumptions. This is not the place to consider the numerous regional composers who flourished in the first half of the 19th Century, whether in parish church bands or nonconformist chapels as part of what has subsequently come to be known as “West gallery music”, a convenient but not strictly historical nomenclature as it dates from after the genre’s heyday, nor for that matter the wealth of popular music making that carried on outside London happily oblivious to the fact that it did so at a time that would later be seen by the next few generations of critics as the nadir of musical creativity in England, but the fact that these cultures existed very much gives the lie to these later assumptions, assumptions based on the idea that all that really mattered was what went on in the capital and furthermore, wedded this viewpoint with one that believed that work was only of consequence if it reflected the very latest in continental developments and taste. Consequently even thriving London based art-forms such as that most English of genres the pantomime have received little critical attention, even

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1. Examples being: Joseph Stephenson, 1723(?)-1810, clerk at the Unitarian Church in Poole, Dorset; William Cole, 1737-1824; Thomas Shoe, 1759-1823 of Montacute, Somerset; Stephen Jarvis, 1762-1834, of Malborough, Devon, sailmaker, composer of “Twelve Psalm Tunes and Eight Anthems in Score”, published in London, c.1816; John Foster, 1762-1822, of High Green, Yorkshire, composer of the “Old Foster” tune to While Shepherds Watched [Roud 936]; Clark, Thomas, 1775-1859, Canterbury shoemaker, composer of Cranbrook: Samuel Chappelle (1775-1833) organist of Ashburton Church, Exeter, 1795-1833; Samuel Wakely of Bridport, c.1820-1882. Details from the composer entries that I prepared for the British Library Sound Archive whilst cataloguing and digitising “West Gallery Choir” recordings in the Bob and Jacqueline Patten Collection (C1022) in 2002-2003.

2. Sally Drage traces its first usage to Thomas Hardy’s A Laodicean (1881), so consequently a good thirty years after changes in worship in the Victorian church started to endanger church bands, see: Drage, Sally: ‘What is west gallery music? -- a personal definition’, Gallery Music: http://www.westgallerymusic.co.uk/articles/Drage06.html [accessed 12/04/11].


4. I base this generalisation on the structural qualities that can be seen to run through English music theatre from the Caroline masque, then through Purcell’s semi-Operas
though their combination of spoken dialogue, the fantastic, and extended musical diversions were to influence no less an international figure than Weber, when he composed his last opera *Oberon* for the Covent Garden season of 1826, the success of which, and Weber’s untimely death, leading directly to a search for a native replacement that culminated in the “through-composed” operas of John Barnett (1802-1890), specifically his first, and most successful attempt at the genre *The Mountain Sylph* of 1834.

But against all these points that reveal a vibrant musical landscape in England, with regards to cosmopolitan art music there are still some sobering truths to be taken into consideration. Barnett’s opera career was over by 1840, he lived another fifty years but never returned to the medium that had made his name. It was to another German composer that the adulation that Weber (and briefly Barnett) had received in England was to be bestowed. The immediate and international success of the Oratorio *Paulus*, first performed in Düsseldorf in May 1836 followed that October by its English premiere in Liverpool, and the next year by the composer himself conducting it in Birmingham that was to make Mendelssohn the new darling of the English musical establishment.

Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling have already looked in depth, in their 2nd, expanded edition of the *English Musical Renaissance 1840–1940* at the various features that made Mendelssohn so congenial to the English musical establishment; the evangelical revival, his Protestantism (his father having renounced the Jewish religion), the friendship of the Novello family (the publishers) as well as the backing of a number of influential music critics, that he was also from a wealthy background with the character and social graces that allowed him to fulfil the role of “romantic artist” without recourse to the irascible temperament of a Beethoven or Berlioz was but a further factor that enamoured him not just to the English public but also the royal family. By the time of his second oratorio, *Elijah*, the premiere was to be in England (Birmingham, 1846) rather than Germany, with the work becoming “second only to to the heyday of the ballad opera, thence to Dibdin and Fielding’s burlettas, the harlequinades, and finally to early 19th century pantomime. All required spoken dialogue, topicality, spectacle and – often unconnected with the main plots – extended musical divertissements.

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“Messiah” in the public’s affections8, that its composer was to die young the following year only added to the works aura of sanctity, becoming a staple of the British choral tradition for the next eighty years.9

“Das Land Ohne Musik”

Looking at this brief resume of British art music in London during the second quarter of the nineteenth century it is easy to see why it was in Germany that, for those so inclined, it was easy to talk about England as ‘The land without music’, after all, from Haydn’s visits in the late 18th century10, the musical landscape had been dominated by foreign composers, but it should be said that this criticism in the form by which it has become most well known, Oscar A. H. Schmitz’s 1904 polemic Das Land Ohne Musik. Englische Gesellschaftsprobleme came out over fifty years after Mendelssohn’s death and the musical landscape it was talking about. Furthermore the genesis of the phrase is usually11 traced back to the earlier writings of Carl Engel (1818-1882), his An introduction to the study of national music of 1866 and his article ‘The Literature of National Music’ of 1878-187912, but in fact Engel is actually quite fair-minded about the music of his adopted country; furthermore, as a musicologist his concern was with the development and condition of ‘National’ music, much of which he equated with folk music and not with art music, and whilst he certainly suggests that a number of national airs are possibly of foreign origin13 his main criticism of English music was not that there wasn’t a healthy folk tradition, but that (in 1866) there were no decent collections available:


9. Ibid, “it was performed at the Three Choirs Festival every year from 1847 to 1930.”


“Neither do we possess any collection of English national tunes of our own century which we can consult with confidence. Although the rural population of England appear to sing less than those of most other European countries, it may nevertheless be supposed that they also, especially in districts somewhat remote from any large towns, must still preserve songs and dance-tunes of their own, inherited from their forefathers. As these melodies have hitherto not been carefully collected, I was compelled to draw information from rather insignificant sources.”

Something very few would have disagreed with, but reading contemporaneous articles in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, the journal that published his ‘The Literature of National Music’, it becomes obvious that Engels specific observations regarding folk culture become conflated with general accusations of England being unmusical, a premise that became sufficiently commonplace at that time to be used in quotation marks by other writers: here is the same journal’s “Special Correspondent” wrapping up an article on the English showing at the recent *Exposition Universelle* in Paris:

“This next time perhaps the “unmusical country” will do far better, because wider awake to the fact that its character as a country really musical needs to be asserted in the face of a prejudiced and unbelieving world.”

Prejudice that often came from their fellow countrymen, for example the influential critic Reginald Haweis who damningly wrote in his influential *Music and morals*:

“And although we are inclined to admit that the English are on the whole a Religious People, we arrive at the sad conviction that, however improving and improvable, the English are not, as a nation, an artistic people, and the English are not a Musical People.”

Haweis, it should be noted, had a specific, Christian moral agenda in his writings, but his work was a best seller and it is easy to see how this and other defensive apologetics created an environment that foreign writers less scrupulous than Engel would later take advantage of for their own purposes, that the English musical-cultural life that Schmitz’s broadside was written against had changed immeasurably since the time of Engel’s book was of no account to its author; by the time of its publication it was already redundant as music criticism, but *Das Land Ohne Musik* should not be seen in this way, but rather as


another reflection and aspect of the propaganda war between Germany and the British Empire that dictated so much polemical literature between the two counties in the dozen or so years before the outbreak of war.

**Factors and figures in the “English Musical Renaissance” and their attitudes to folk music: Stanford, Parry, Elgar and Holst.**

The above caveats noted, it now remains to look at the contributory factors and figures within British music that led to the new musical culture; the first two factors are educational, the first edition of Grove’s *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in 1879 and the bestowal of the royal imprimatur on the study of music by the foundation of the Royal College of Music in 1883, whilst the other factors are the compositions and teachings of Hubert Parry (1848-1918) and Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924) both of whom were to have a major influence on their student Vaughan Williams and on the acceptance of folk music as a source for compositions within British art music.

In the cases of both Stanford and Parry the influence of their teachings upon a “national school” is arguably of greater influence than their compositions, since both of them looked to Germany for musical models and inspiration and their concept of “English song” was far more catholic than the later collectors would ever have countenanced, though not the earlier ones. For example of the 59 songs that made up the first ten series of Parry’s *English Lyrics* the only anonymous texts are of art-verse, mainly Elizabethan, the closest to folk song being Scott’s ‘Proud Maisie’ in series five, but this wider acceptance of what constituted “national song” did not blind them to the worth of indigenous folk-music; for as well as composing six orchestral *Irish Rhapsodies* based on folk song Stanford edited the Petrie Manuscript for the *Irish Literary Society of London* and published numerous other arrangements of Irish traditional tunes, one set of which, the orchestral *4 Irish Dances*, Op. 89, was to gain great popularity in a piano arrangement by Grainger, whilst Parry, was to give the Inaugural Address to the Folk-Song Society in 1899 when he not only extolled the use of the phonograph but championed English song in language not dissimilar to

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that later to be used by Sharp and Vaughan Williams, the sort of language which revisionist critics would jump upon as proof positive of their theories of selective appropriation –

“English tunes [in comparison to Irish and Scottish ones] are not marked by such characteristic traits of melody and rhythm, and are rather more difficult to lay hold of. Still we have no need to be ashamed of them, for they are characteristic of the race, of the quiet reticence of our country folk, courageous and content, ready to meet what chance shall bring with a cheery heart. All the things that mark the folk-music of the race also betoken the qualities of the race, and, as a faithful reflection of ourselves, we needs must cherish it.”

Of course, inaugural addresses tend to resort to hyperbole, there was no need for Parry’s address to deal with the topic in any other than generalisations, so it is unfair to criticise him for this, but it is instructive to consider how, in his talk of “country folk” and “race”, one clearly sees the template that Sharp later realised he had to appeal to in order to sell the idea of folk song to the educational establishment.

Nonetheless, despite the interest and enthusiasm for folk-music that both composers possessed neither, even had they wished to do so, was in a position to collect songs, the mechanics of which were so very different from that of editing from published sources or manuscripts or of extolling their virtues at lectures or London soirees. In 1895 Parry succeeded Grove as director of the Royal College of Music, followed in 1900 by the position of Heather Professor of Music at Oxford, these important positions, barely giving him time for his own compositions, would have made song collecting an impossibility even had he had the health and inclination to do so; likewise Stanford, who was made professor of composition at the Royal College of Music upon its foundation and four years later (1887) Professor of Music at Cambridge, held no less than five major conducting positions and when not concentrating on his own compositions was proselytizing the cause of British opera: while folksong was certainly an influence on his work, as with Parry, time and other priorities meant that it could be little more than that.


Nor would such an activity have appealed in any way to their younger contemporary Elgar (1857-1934), who Though willing to back the foundation of the FSS in principle23 had no personal interest in the subject. Elgar’s path to critical and social acceptance had been a long and tortuous one, as a self-taught outsider, markedly different from his older contemporaries in class, religion and temperament, Elgar was compelled to stand apart from the London music scene24 until the universal recognition his compositions received on the continent made him the most celebrated English composer of his generation; even had he not suffered the terrible insecurities that he did over his self-perceived plebeian origin, it is unlikely that he would have had any interest in returning to those origins to collect songs, this after all was the man who when asked by his friend Troyte Griffith what he thought about folk music bluntly replied “I don’t think about it at all. I am folk music!”25

It was therefore to a younger generation that the rediscovery of traditional song, and its utilisation in their compositions fell, specifically to Vaughan Williams, and his fellow student and lifelong friend Gustav Holst (1874-1934). It is worth looking briefly at Holst since he is usually described as a composer who didn’t collect songs, but this isn’t technically true, as he noted a series of Welsh songs from Dora Herbert Jones at a meeting of the St Paul’s Girls’ School Music Society in 1930, songs which he later arranged as his Twelve Welsh Folksongs26, but these are admittedly the surprising exception, surprising in that his was a career in which the influence and presence of folksong was never far away; as well as Vaughan Williams he collaborated with Sharp and Gardiner, was part of Lucy Broadwood’s early music circle — exploring Bach cantatas amongst other pre-Classical pieces27 — and was responsible for numerous compositions derived from folksong, either as full arrangements, pieces that quoted from them, or simply ones where the influence of folksong is strongly felt but without recourse to direct quotation28, to give a brief selection: King Estmere, the text of which is a ballad from Percy29; A Somerset Rhapsody, based on songs from


24. Elgar’s first attempt to become established in London, 1890-91, had ended in ignominious failure and a return to Worcestershire.

25. This much quoted but rarely cited anecdote is found in the Troyte Griffith MS at the Elgar Birthplace Museum, Accession No. EB1977.1143.3, my thanks to Chris Bennett and the Elgar Birthplace Museum for confirming this.


28. Good examples of this last category would be the Two Songs without Words for small orchestra Opus 22 of 1906, both pieces, Country Song and Marching Song, sound like folksongs without in anyway quoting directly from a pre-existing song.
Sharp’s collection; the unpublished *Songs of the West*, whose title and tunes are from Sabine Baring-Gould’s publication of the same name[^30]; *Folk Songs from Hampshire*, being sixteen settings from Gardiner’s collection, an idea initially suggested by Sharp[^31]; *At the Boar’s Head*, a one act opera which utilises tunes from Playford’s *English Dancing Master*, ballads from Chappell’s *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, dance tunes from Sharp and two songs from Gardiner’s collection[^32]; and *The Morning of the Year* a Choral Ballet, commissioned by the British Broadcasting Company in 1926, and danced by members of the English Folk Dance Society in support of the *Sharp Memorial Fund*, organised in order to facilitate the building of Cecil Sharp House[^33].

There are two important reasons why Holst did not take up collecting in the field, simply put he had neither the private income nor the robust health that his friend Ralph Vaughan Williams possessed. As with Elgar, Holst initially had little success in getting his music published and it wasn’t until Vaughan Williams arranged for him to take over a position that he was vacating as music teacher at the James Allen’s Girls’ School in West Dulwich, in 1904, that Holst had anything approaching a steady income for himself – he had previously relied on seasonal work as a trombone player in various regional orchestras and bands – after this he took to teaching as a major vocation[^34], later that year giving evening classes at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in Bloomsbury, after which, the


[^33]: The purpose of which was explained by Fox Stangways in his editorial letter in *Music & Letters*: “The great wish of Sharp’s latter years was for a hall in which to sing these songs and dance these dances, with an office and rooms for separate tuition, complete in itself, in some fairly central position in London. The English Folk-dance Society want to carry out that wish, with the addition of a library to house the books which he has left them by his will.” [Fox Strangways, A. H.], ‘The Sharp Memorial Fund’, *Music & Letters*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1925), pp. [289]-290.

following year, he took up the position that he was to maintain until the end of his life, that of Music Master at St Paul’s Girls’ School, Hammersmith, followed in 1907 by further evening class lessons at the Morley College for Working Men and Women. As can be seen from this litany of positions and responsibilities, Holst would not have had the opportunities to join Vaughan Williams in the countryside to collect folksongs even had he wished to. Not until later in his life, with the success that his orchestral suite *The Planets* bestowed upon him, was there any possibility of his taking extended breaks from his teaching duties but by that time Vaughan Williams had essentially stopped collecting, and it is debatable as to whether Holst would ever have been capable of such work. Admittedly in considering health and collecting it should be pointed out that Sharp’s health was at best indifferent, a factor which certainly didn’t dissuade him from his work, but Holst, though a dedicated hiker, was plagued throughout his life with crippling neuritis in the arm that would have made collecting in the field a physical impossibility. This, coupled with his teaching responsibilities explains why his folk-song work, like that of Stanford’s was essentially restricted to arranging other peoples collections.

This was not to be the case with Vaughan Williams. Unlike Elgar he believed that a knowledge of folk-song was of benefit in the construction of contemporary art music, and unlike Stanford and Parry he saw this knowledge as being central to the concept and development of a “national school” of music, rather than simply being but one part of many pedagogic and cultural aims, furthermore he had the time and inclination, and unlike his fiend Holst the financial means, to devote extended periods from his working responsibilities to collecting in the field.

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35. The position was technically that of Singing Master and Holst was employed as such, as the school initially had the concert pianist Adine O’Neill as Music Mistress. Hiring Holst allowed her to concentrate on piano classes for the girls. He later came to be seen as the schools Music Master, see Short, p. 57.
Appendix VII

Examples of Ethnomusicology

Walter Fewkes

By 1899 when Parry recommended the use of the phonograph to the Society\(^1\) ethnographic recordings were not new, having first been attempted by the American anthropologist Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930) when he recorded Passamaquoddy Indians at Calais, Maine in 1890. One source, a journal entry by the folklorist Captain John G. Bourke, puts the first such recordings a year earlier suggesting that Fewkes’ contemporary Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900) had preceded him by making recordings of “Zuni, Apache, and Navajo dances” in 1889\(^2\), but no other evidence has come to light to support this entry and it is probably only right that Fewkes should be seen as the father of ethnographic documentary recording by the concerted way in which he advertised the medium and its uses, publishing no less than four articles in 1890 that either introduced the new technology to the Scientific community or discussed its application in the field, as he noted in his introduction to the last of these, ‘A Contribution to Passamaquoddy Folk-Lore’ –

“The difficulties besetting the path of the linguist can be in a measure obviated by the employment of the phonograph, by the aid of which the languages of our aborigines can be permanently perpetuated. As a means of preserving the songs and tales of races which are fast becoming extinct, it is, I believe, destined to play an important part in future researches.”\(^3\)

If four proselytising texts in one year seems excessive it should be remembered that not only was the technology new, so was the academic discipline to which

\(^{1}\) Parry, Sir Hubert, ‘Inaugural Address to the General Meeting of the Folk-Song Society, 2 February 1899’ JFSS, 1 no. 1 (1899), p. 2.

\(^{2}\) Brady, Erika, A spiral way, pp. 53-59.

it was being applied; of the four pieces, only the last was a proper paper, the first two being an introduction to the phonograph and the third a short anecdotal article about his experiences with it, but it is interesting to note the wide range of the journals that they appeared in, the first paper appeared in the journal *Science*, the middle two in *The American Naturalist*, ensconced in a subsection entitled ‘Archaeology and Ethnology’, only the last one was to appear in a humanities publication *The Journal of American Folklore* 4 which gives some idea of the fluid position of ethnography at this time.

The following year shows the phonograph consolidated further as a documentary tool, Fewkes edited the first volume of *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, the centrepiece of which was his paper ‘A few Summer Ceremonials at Zuñi pueblo’ followed by Benjamin Ives Gilman’s ‘Zuñi Melodies’ a selection of transcripts from the cylinders5. Although his writings were to later be described as “meticulously thorough, but soporific”6 this is I think unfair: Fewkes was concerned with garnering support for an untried technology within a discipline that was still in its infancy, and he knew that he had to build on a sure scientific foundation, while having to impress upon his colleagues the urgency of such work – “Now is the time to collect material before all is lost”7 – a phrase that could have come from Cecil Sharp! That he was successful in his aims is proven by the subsequent adoption of the phonograph by later collectors.

However this activity isn’t always as easy to prove as would be expected, as with the ubiquitous “collected by” as found in the *JFSS* credits the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* also employed ambiguous terminology for describing methods of collection, nonetheless Erika Brady has noted that Washington Matthews (1843-1905) gave a talk to the Baltimore branch of the American Folk-Lore Society on Navajo songs on phonograph in 1894, whilst Alice C. Fletcher (1838–1923) presented a talk with musical examples (voice and cello) to the Boston branch in 1897 based on “the thousand or more phonographic records of this wild music, which she had gathered among the Indians themselves”8. Probably the most influential figure to use the medium was Franz Boas

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(1858-1942) who made his first two series of recordings, of Kwakiutl and Thompson River Indians, in 1893 and 1895. Despite the fact that he was only to utilise the phonograph fitfully throughout his career his influence within anthropology was such that having given his imprimatur to the technology it became a viable methodology for his followers, though it should be noted that many of them still had doubts about its practicability, even a successful recordist such as Paul Radin (1883-1959) who made eighty-seven cylinders of the Winnebago in 1908 had doubts about the practical side of using such equipment, especially with regards to the issue of how it might distract his informants – he later discovered that this wasn’t an issue, though whether this was due to the inconspicuous nature of the machine that he had to hand, which only took the smallest size of cylinders, or the imperturbable temperament of Charles Houghton, his main informant, is a matter for conjecture. Even as late as 1931, another of Boas’ students, Helen Heffron Roberts (1888-1985) who recorded in Hawaii in 1923 and from the Karok and Konomihu Indians of California in 1926, noted the merits of collecting in longhand notation as opposed to the more “strenuous and rapid recordings by the phonograph”, though adding that “Phonograph records and longhand notations of the same song may be compared with advantage”, but these were understandable concerns, not dissimilar to those raised by members of the FSS, and generally speaking it can be said that within the United States the phonograph had become a major tool of the ethnographer by the beginning of the new century.

**Madame Eugenie Lineff**

Similar aims and objectives can be found elsewhere, and in at least one case, in a way directly influenced by the American modal, namely the recordings made by Madame Eugenie Lineff [Evgeniia Eduardovna Paprits-Lineva] (1854-1919) who recorded in Russia in 1897 and 1901. The reason for the American influence is rather interesting and explains why her first book of collected songs *Russian Folk-songs: As Sung by the People, and Peasant Wedding Ceremonies Customary in Northern and Central Russia* should have been printed in Chicago in 1893.

Lineff and her husband had emigrated for political reasons, initially to England (1890-92) and then to America (1892-96) being based in New York. It was here that she founded a Russian choir, which performed at a series of joint lecture-concerts given with the American musicologist Henry Edward Krehbiel.

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(1854-1923) that were so successful that the choir was hired for the *World’s Fair: Columbian Exposition*, held that year at Chicago, and the volume was issued to coincide with this event. Although Lineff wrote excellent English, Krebs and was entrusted with the task of writing the volumes preface “A Note on Russian Folk Music” but more important was the fact that it was he who first suggested to her the value of the phonograph as a method for collecting song, the result of this is that whereas her book of folk-songs was a collection of pieces mainly collated from other sources, particularly the two volumes of *Iuli N. Melgunov*, her 1897 work in the Voronej, Tamboff, Kostroma, Nijny-Novgorod, Simbirsk, Vladimir and (one piece) Novgorod provinces were all recorded to phonograph, the findings of which she published in 1905, the same method was used for her 1901 Novgorod expedition, published in 1911/12, which had an additional American influence in that it was funded by the businessman Charles Richard Crane, a regular and appreciative attendee of her New York folk-song concerts.

Of course, not all groups, or collectors of Folk-Song, had such successful results as the Americans or Eugenie Lineff, for example, the trials and tribulations of the Committee for the Collection of Slovenian Folk Songs (Odbora za nabiranje slovenskih narodnih pesmi (OSNP)), makes sober reading, as each year, from 1905 onwards the Committee applied unsuccessfully to its parent committee in Vienna for funding to buy a phonograph, only for it to be finally granted in February 1914, by which time world events were soon to make the collecting of folk-song in the Austro-Hungarian empire a tragically redundant activity.


14. Lineff, Eugenie [Evgeniya Lineva], *The Peasant Songs of Great Russia; As They are in the Folk’s Harmonization; Collected and Transcribed from Phonograms: 1st Series* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science / David Nutt, 1905).

15. Lineff, Eugenie [Evgeniya Lineva], *The Peasant Songs of Great Russia; As They are in the Folk’s Harmonization; Collected and Transcribed from Phonograms: 2nd Series: Songs of Novgorod* (Moscow: Imperial Academy of Science, 1911-12), x-xi.

16. See Drago Kunej, “‘We have plenty of words written down; we need melodies!’: The Purchase of the First Recording Device for Ethnomusicological Research in Slovenia’, *Traditiones*, 34.1 (2005). I am indebted to Dr David Atkinson for acquainting me with this paper.
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Handouts

a. Summary

b. Basic checklist of the FSS cylinders in the EFDSS collection

c. Appendix I Key

d. CD-ROM of the FSS phonographs
This thesis establishes the provenance, and attribution of the Folk-Song Society’s (FSS) collection of wax cylinders, and for the first time offers a comprehensive catalogue of all of the recordings known to have been made between 1905-1915.

Part I is a general evaluation of the development of folk song collecting in the 19th Century, definitions of folk music, and how the work of the newly formed FSS differed from that of previous collectors. After discussing the founding of the FSS it then looks at the development of early recording media, noting that commercial recording companies ignored folk music in the British Isles but also how recordings were used by ethnomusicologists, and the reaction of the FSS to this technology.

Part II evaluates each FSS member who collected with the phonograph. Major luminaries such as Sharp, Broadwood and Vaughan Williams all made recordings and are considered. The final chapter looks at the 1949/50 EFDSS survey of the phonographs, analysing from manuscripts what was still extant at that time and what was subsequently discarded.

In the process of conducting this research I catalogued two major collections (Leather’s and the Broadwood/MacRae papers) that hadn’t previously been analysed. MS collections of the other collectors and their publications, especially material in the JFSS has also been utilised.

The appendices contain a complete catalogue of the extant FSS phonographs as well as individual listings of all of the recordings made by each collector. These catalogues prove that the FSS made the best part of 200 recordings, but as only just over a third of these have survived, and few of these were attributed, such activity has either been ignored or misrepresented in previous research. In writing this thesis I have established that the FSS far from ignoring the possibilities of the phonograph actively embraced it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C37 no.</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>LEB no.</th>
<th>KS No.</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 153     | LB    | 04/04/08   | London  | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Biodh an deoch `s an làimh mo rùn (The drink would be in my love's hand)  
2. Coille Mhùraidh; O `s tu gura tu th' air m’ aire (When Summer came) | 3/4     | [52?]  | cracked               |
| 153     | LB    | 02/05/08   | London  | Farquhar MacRae | 1. [Chaidh mo Dhonnchadh [no] bheinn] (My Duncan went to the hill, and he has not come home); version 1  
2. version 2  
3. [Tha fras air taobh mo ghrudhain] (A shower is at the side of my maiden) | 8       | [76]   | BROKEN  
NOT DUBBED            |
| 153     | LB    | 02/05/08   | London  | Farquhar MacRae | 1. [Triall Chlann ‘le Rath bho Shliabh an t-Siorraim, no Crodh Chinn [an] t-Sàile] (The departure [march] of Clan MacRae from Sheriffmuir, or The Cattle of Kintale)  
2. ‘Bangor’ to the 23rd Psalm | 9       | [77]   |                        |
| 153     | LB    | 02/05/08   | London  | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Oran gaoil; Air faillirin [iillirin o] [vocables]  
2. A nochd gur faoin mo chadal dhomh (Tonight I shall sleep lightly)  
3. Cuir a chinm [dileis, dileis, dileis] (Put, faithful head) | 10      | [78]   |                        |
| 153     | LB    | 02/05/08   | London  | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Ochon a Rìgh! Gur e mi tha muladach (Alas! I am so sad) [by Domhnall Drobhair (Donald the Drover), Lochalsh]  
2. [Oran gaoil: Màiri Bhoidhich] (Lovely Mary) | 11      | [79]   |                        |
| 154     | LB    | 02/05/08   | London  | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Ill uill agus ò; Oran le bàrd na h-Earadh ([mostly vocables]; Song by a bard of Harris)  
2. Fàilte dhut is slàinte leat (Welcome to you and health to you) [adds the word ‘luinneag’ (ditty)]  
3. [Oran Calum Sgàire [i]]; Air faill o rò u [vocables] | 12      | 103 / 82 |                        |
| 154     | LB    | 02/05/08   | London  | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Oran Calum Sgàire [ii], Bearnara, [Leodhais] (Song by Calum Sgàire [Malcolm MacAulay]); Air faill o rò- u | 13      | [80]   | out of focus at one point |
| 154     | LB    | 14/05/08   | London  | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Oran gaoil; Tha fras air taobh mo ghruaidhean (A shower is at the side of my maiden)  
2. Tha m’inntinn fo mhulad (my mind is sad)  
3. Oran Saighdear (Soldier's song); [Hiri horo air M’eudail] (Hiri horo my darling)  
4. [Oran gaoil; Mu dh’ fhàg thu mi ’s mulad orm] (If you have left me, I am sad) | 14      | [34?]  |                        |
| 154     | LB    | 14/05/08   | London  | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Oran gaoil le Ciobair; Gu bheil d’oran a [m’inntinn] (Love song by a shepherd; Your song is in my mind)  
2. Oran le bard ann a’ [Leodhas] (Song by a bard from Lewis)  
3. Oran gaoil; Och mur tha mi’n deidh (Oh! as I am today)  
4. Oran gaoil; Thug mi [gaol] [do’n | 15      | [36?]  | 3. goes out of focus       |
<p>| 154  | LB   | 14/05/08 | London | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Port a’ ----; Hug o air fear donn a’ bhealaich} (A ---- song; The brown haired man of the pass) 2. Lord Ronald my son | 16   | [377] |
| 154  | LB   | 14/05/08 | London | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Uisg’ Aitun (Afton Water) Coire {cheathaich} (The misty hollow) 2. Mo shoraidh le Sgur Ura (My greetings to Ura Rock) | 17   | [417] |
| 154  | LB   | 14/05/08 | London | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Oran gaoil; Faill ill o agus horo eile [vocables] 2. Oran gaoil; Faill iù thogainn fonn mo leannan 3. {Oran Phrionnmsa Thearlaich}; A fhleasgaich ur [leanainn thu] (Song of Prince Charles; Fresh young man, I would follow you) 4. {Oran gaoil; Càit’ an caidil an nighneag} (Where will the lassie sleep tonight?) | 18   | [427] |
| 154  | LB   | 14/05/08 | London | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Lament of Miss Campbell for her lover; Obhan, obhan [vocables]; {Griogal Cridhe [see 1562]} Far mo mhulad {’s a’ bheann} (The Sea-longing) [Where my sorrow is in the mountain] | 19   | [437] |
| 154  | LB   | 23/05/08 | London | John MacLennan | 1. Gun chrodh gun aighean (The tocherless lass [the lass without a dowry]) 2. Oran do Bhoiniparte (Song to Bonaparte) 3. Oran le Domhnull Friseal Fannaich, Rosshire (Song by Donald Fraser of Fannich, Rosshire) | 22   | [1367] |
| 155  | LB   | 23/05/08 | London | John MacLennan | 1. Lullaby “Duanag”, from Applecross; {Máirí bheag bhóidheach} (Pretty little Mary) 2. Morag (Jacobite song [luadh]) | 23   | [1377] |
| 155  | LB   | 27/06/08 | London | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Lament by Miss MacLeod of Raasay for her brother drowned 2. An teid thu leam a Mháiri (Will you come with me, Mary) 3. Oran le Iain Mac Mhurchaidh (Song by John MacRae) | 26   | [537] |
| 155  | LB   | 27/06/08 | London | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Oran le Iain MacRath, Thuisngearraidh, Leoidhais dhan sgaley Ian Mac Iobhar [Song of John MacRae of Thuisngearraidh {Innisgaraidh} Lewis to the farm servant Ian Mac Iobhar] 2. Oran le Iain MacRath do gobha Bhrinis [Song by John MacRae to a smith of Brinish] | 27   | [547] |
| 155  | LB   | 18/07/08 | London | Farquhar MacRae | 1. Oran; Tha m’inninn trôm (Song; My mind is heavy) 2. {[Ma [or Muair]} phòsas mi cha ghabh mi ach Mòr (If [when] I marry, I will only take Sarah) 3. Waulking song; Hi raill, Anna bheag (Hi raill, little Anna) | 29   | [567] |
| 155  | FMR  | 00/00/0 | Pait,  | Mr. | 1. [Nuair thug m’inn gheann mu Nollaig | 100   | / |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Col</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27/06/07</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>[Lucy Broadwood, w. piano acc.]</td>
<td>1. [The Trees they do grow high]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>26/12/07</td>
<td>Chew Stoke, Somerset</td>
<td>[Alfred Edghill]</td>
<td>1. [All among the new mown hay]</td>
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<td>155</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>00/01/09</td>
<td>Winchester Hampshire</td>
<td>[George Lovett]</td>
<td>1. [Fare ye well, lovely Nancy]</td>
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<td>155</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>06/01/08</td>
<td>Bincombe, Somerset</td>
<td>[William Wooley]</td>
<td>1. No John no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>00/04/08</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>[Lucy Broadwood]</td>
<td>1. Tarry trousers 2. Bushes and briars</td>
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<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Paït, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>[Mr. James MacRae]</td>
<td>1. Moladh fear Farabruinn, le Iain MacMhurchaidh; (Na ho ro gu’im b’eirinn domh [vocables]) (Praise of the Laird of Fara bruinn by John MacRae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass Inverness</td>
<td>[Mr John Macdonald]</td>
<td>1. Oran Poitear [The Tippler’s Song] 2. Oran gaoil; Seinn an duan seo [O, sing this song] 3. Oran gaoil; Cha chaidil, cha chaidil [I will not sleep just now]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass Inverness</td>
<td>[Mrs MacRae]</td>
<td>1. Griogal Cridhe [Beloved Gregor] 2. Caoidh Chlann Ghriogair (A Lament on the Clan Gregor) 3. Tha fras ri taobh mo ghruaidhean (There’s a shower (of tears) on the side of my cheeks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Paït, Monar, Ross-shire, Craigdhu, Strathglass Inverness</td>
<td>[Miss Mary MacRae]</td>
<td>1. Lunnneag; O horo ghaoil nach thuich thu [O ho, my love, wilt thou not stay] 2. ‘S toigh leam fear donn na feàls [I love the brown-haired generous Host] 3. Nalach na fìs a Braigh Shàraidh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Lewis</td>
<td>[Mr. Neil McKay]</td>
<td>1. *Illean bithibh sunndach [Lads, be cheerful!] 2. Oran pòsàidh: Hái hai thogarain bhí falbh leat [Oh, oh I desire to go with thee]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Paït, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>Miss Mary MacRae</td>
<td>1. Banarach dhonn a chruidh [The brown haired Milkmaid]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Paït, Monar, Ross-shire West Ross-shire</td>
<td>[Mr. James MacRae]</td>
<td>1. Cumha Uisdean Friseal [Lament on Hugh Fraser] 2. Leig dhiot an Cadal, le Domhnull Mór Gead-an-t-Sailean (Let go thy sleep, by Big Donald, from/of Kintail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>156 7</td>
<td>Crowlista, Uig, Lewis</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>Mr. John McKay</td>
<td>Iomraich Chuain Muintir Charnis [The Emigration of the People of Carnish (in Uig)]</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156 8</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td>Dovian Pòsaidhe [The Vexations of Marriage]</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156 9</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>LB</td>
<td>Farquhar MacRae</td>
<td>Oran do’n Reiseamaid [Song to the Regiment]</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157 0</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>Miss Mary MacRae</td>
<td>Bha mi’n raoir gu sunndach [last night I was very happy]</td>
<td>101/62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157 1</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>[Mr. James MacRae]</td>
<td>Moladh an uisge-beatha [In praise of whisky]</td>
<td>105/66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157 2</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>[Mr. James MacRae]</td>
<td>Oran le Floraidh Dhomhnullach [Song by Flora MacDonald to the Prince]</td>
<td>104/65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157 3</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>[Mr. James MacRae]</td>
<td>Oran Gaoil le Iain Ban Mac a Minisdeir; Cha chadail, cha chadail (Love song by fair-haired John son of the minister (John MacRae))</td>
<td>107/68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157 4</td>
<td>Craigdhu, Strathglass</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>[Mr. James MacRae]</td>
<td>106/62</td>
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<td>Mr. James MacRae</td>
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<td>108/69</td>
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<td>157 7</td>
<td>Crowlista, Uig, Lewis</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>[Ann McKay]</td>
<td>109/70</td>
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<td>157</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Pait, Monar, Ross-shire</td>
<td>[Mr. James MacRae]</td>
<td>1. Hi ri ri’s na hiu o (vocables): Oran de Dhomhnull Chailein le Seumas Bhàn [Song of Donald son of Malcolm by fair-haired James]</td>
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<td>157</td>
<td>FMR</td>
<td>00/00/08</td>
<td>Craighdu, Strathglass Inverness</td>
<td>Mrs MacRae</td>
<td>1. Luinneag gaoil [The woman I am looking at] 2. Luinneag gaoil [My dark-haired girl] 3. Mo nighean dhubh [My dark-haired girl]</td>
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<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>RV 02 &amp; 04/05/07</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>David Penfold</td>
<td>1. The Miller on the Dee</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>CS 01/01/08</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>[Priscilla Cooper]</td>
<td>1. The Basket of eggs</td>
<td>47 [35]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>RV 02 or 04/05/07</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>Mr Attwater David Penfold</td>
<td>1. Lowlands low [Golden Vanity] 2. Turtle Dove [I]</td>
<td>50 2. only 1 verse, continued on 1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>RV 02 or 04/05/07</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>David Penfold</td>
<td>1. The Trees [they do grow high]</td>
<td>49/2 TPX. 29-1 Tk-5</td>
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<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>W 02 &amp; 04/05/07</td>
<td>Plough Inn, Rusper, Sussex</td>
<td>David Penfold</td>
<td>2. Turtle Dove [II]</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>EL 00/10/08</td>
<td>Weobley, Herefordshire</td>
<td>Esther Smith</td>
<td>1. There is a fountain of Christ’s blood</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>EL 00/10/08</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>Mrs Ellen Powell</td>
<td>1. Pretty Caroline 2. [Nobleman and the Thresher-man]</td>
<td>64 1. TPX. 29-1 , Tk-4</td>
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<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>EL / [RV?] 00/00/13</td>
<td>Aylton, Herefordshire</td>
<td>[Mr Davies]</td>
<td>1. John Riley 2. The bitter withy [The Holy Well]</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>CS 01/01/08</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>[Priscilla Cooper]</td>
<td>1. Indian lass [American Stranger]</td>
<td>48/28 pantographic copy of 1628</td>
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<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>CS 01/01/08</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>[Priscilla Cooper]</td>
<td>1. Indian lass [American Stranger]</td>
<td>46/44 pantographic copy of 1628</td>
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<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>RV 00/10/09</td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>[Mr. Jones] John Locke</td>
<td>1. There is an ale house [A bold young farmer] 2. Hornpipes</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>AM 02/10/15</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Frank Brewe</td>
<td>1. Mauryeen nea gibhirland 2. Humours of Bandan 3. Billy Byrne of Ballymanus</td>
<td>2 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>RV 00/09/09</td>
<td>Basingstoke Hampshir e</td>
<td>[Henry Day]</td>
<td>1. On the banks of the Nile</td>
<td>94/29 5 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>3-162 6</td>
<td>Phonograph Recordings made by the Welsh Folk Song Society</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>GG 00/01/09</td>
<td>Southampton, Hampshire</td>
<td>[Mrs. Maria Etheridge]</td>
<td>1. She was wringing of her tender hands</td>
<td>24 7 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>01/01/08</td>
<td>Colyton, Devon</td>
<td>[Priscilla Cooper]</td>
<td>1. American Stranger / Indian lass</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prob RV W [GG ?]</td>
<td>00/01/09</td>
<td>Preston Candover, Hampshire</td>
<td>[Daniel Wigg]</td>
<td>1. Lord Nelson</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RV W</td>
<td>02/05/07</td>
<td>Monks Gate, Sussex</td>
<td>[Peter Verrall]</td>
<td>1. Rambling Sailor</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RV W</td>
<td>00/01/09</td>
<td>Basingstoke, Hampshire</td>
<td>[David Clements]</td>
<td>1. Banks of Green Willow [I]</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GG &amp; JG [?]</td>
<td>00/01/09</td>
<td>Southampton, Hampshire</td>
<td>[Frederick White]</td>
<td>1. Claudy Banks</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>07/01/08</td>
<td>Bridgwater, Somerset</td>
<td>[Jack Barnard]</td>
<td>1. Lady Maisry [I]</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RV W</td>
<td>00/01/09</td>
<td>Basingstoke, Hampshire</td>
<td>[David Clements]</td>
<td>1. Banks of Green Willow [II]</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TPX. 29-1**

[78rpm record of transfers, made in 1935 – tracks 4-5 exist as phonographs (see above) but 1-3 only existant on this record]

| Tk-1 RV W | 08/08/08 | Horsham, Sussex | [Mrs Verrall] | Rolling in the Dew |
| Tk-2 EL [?] | [?] | [?] | [?] | Bonny Labouring Boy |
| Tk-3 EL | 11/09/12 | Monkland, Herefordshire | [Alfred Price Jones] | The Banks of Claudy |

**Collectors**

AMF: A. M. Freeman  
CS: Cecil Sharp  
EL: Ella Leather  
FMR: Farquhar MacRae  
GG: George Gardiner  
JG: J. F. Guyer  
LB: Lucy Broadwood  
RVW: Ralph Vaughan Williams
Appendix I Key

### KEY

**General**
- NIC = number in cylinder
- **written in bold** = ink
- **written in regular** = pencil
- **highlighted in grey** = editorial comment
- **-----** = sections of unreadable text
- **______** = lines dividing text on the cylinders, but not emphasising text
- [names in square brackets] = used when the identity of the performer is known from material separate from the cylinders
- (title translations) = as given on the cylinders cases, MSS or previous listings
- { } = titles or sections of titles in Gaelic that correct those given on the cylinders
- [] = any problematic attribution or section of text
- [c] = preceding number or letter within circle
- [b] = preceding number or letter within box
- [yc] = yellow crayon
- [rc] = red crayon

**General Condition Classification**
- G = Good
- F = Fair
- P = Poor
- V = Very Poor

**Cylinder Types [see illustrations]**
- BC = brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box
- mBC = mildewed brown ‘Blank Cylinder’ box
- BCrb = red ‘Blank Cylinder’ box with black label
- BL = plain blue box
- BR = plain brown box
- BT = plain cardboard box, with blue top & bottom
- EBgb = grey Edison Bell box with blue lid
- EBgbl = faded grey Edison Bell box with blue lid
- EBgbr = faded grey Edison Bell box with brown lid
- EBbr = brown Edison Bell ‘Popular’ box
- EBbl = blue Edison Bell ‘Gold Moulded’ box

**Wax**
- br = brown
- bk = black

**Collectors**
- AF = A. M. Freeman
- CS = Cecil Sharp
- EL = Ella Leather
- FMR = Farquhar MacRae
- GB = George Butterworth
- GG = George Gardiner
- JG = J. F. Guyer
- LB = Lucy Broadwood
- RVW = Ralph Vaughan Williams

[K/S] = Karpeles/Slocombe numbering