

a historical context for the labourers' understanding of proletarian experience. They complemented rather than neutralised the protest songs which invoked more class-specific vocabulary: 'Some pity the farmers, but I tell you now/ Pity poor labourers that follow the plough.'⁴⁷

The transition from the vertical consciousness of countrymen to the horizontal consciousness of a rural working class is most apparent in the evolution of the labourer's attitude towards the involvement of employers in the workplace. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'God Speed the Plough' was the mutual prayer of the owners and followers of the plough, but by the Regency years, as the large farmers defaulted on daily labour and joined in the hunt, employers began to honour the plough independently of the 'plough-man'. William Cobbett, always a countryman at heart, lamented the innovation:

The worst of it has been in England of late years, that when the fat, red-cheeked, the purse-proud fellows, have been giving the toast at their sheep-shearings and cattle-shows *honour the plough*, they meant not to include the plough-man. They meant, if they meant anything really belonging to that implement of husbandry, the wood and the iron and the horses, and never the man. So, likewise, when they give the toast '*speed the plough*', they have meant, literally, the wood and the iron to be got along through the ground themselves . . . Now, this was not at all the meaning of the prayer those who till the land; and . . . the word plough was made use of as a short, and, at the same time, to a comprehensive designation, of the whole of the affairs and of the things and persons appertaining to husbandry.⁴⁸

During the early decades of the century, the labourers' complaints took the form of comparative praise for the mid eighteenth-century farmer who toiled alongside his workers:

But now, instead of the plough-tail,
O'er hedges they are jumping,
And instead of sowing of their corn,
Their delight is in fox-hunting.⁴⁹

Farmhouse luxuries, ranging from carpets to parlour bells and pianos, were the most visible and irritating symbols of economic and cultural differentiation. While the labourers would not have accepted their employer's piano (which, perhaps not insignificantly, was used to accompany the new bourgeois verse in the farmers' repertoires) were they offered it, they resented its role in the removal of the farmer and his household from village culture:

The farmers daughters us'd to work,
All at the spinning-wheel, sir,
But now such furniture as that
Is thought quite ungentle, sir,
Their fingers they're afraid to spoil,
With any such kind of sport, sir,
Sooner than handle mop or broom,
They'd handle a piano-forte, sir.⁵⁰

Towards the Cottage

For contrast the labourers looked to the farmhouse of eighty or a hundred years earlier, when

The farmers and the servants together used to dine,
But now they are in the parlour with their pudding, beef and wine,
The master and their mistress, their sons and daughters all alone,
And they may eat the beef and you may pick the bone.⁵¹

The experience of dispossession provided a labouring audience for songs which revised traditional commentary on the fare of the cottage. 'The Roast Beef of Old England', popular in all ranks of rural society during the war years, was rescripted in post-war cottage discourse:

There is an old song called the English roast beef,
I believe most people have heard tell of it,
Though it is nearly forgot none comes to our lot,
Not so much as the smell of it.

For Beef and Mutton there is plenty galore,
But tho' it is few that smell of it,
The poor and the rich how can they agree,
Where there's plenty they won't let us have it.⁵²

Farm workers had always been aware of their entitlement to a greater share of the produce of their labour. But the material innovations in the farmhouse, advancing in inverse relation to the recession of cottage amenities, prompted reflections upon the very origin of property: 'Where does it come from but out of the poor/ It is they that works for it and must work for more.'⁵³

The labourers were the more bitter on account of the failure of farmers to honour their wartime pledge of a return to 'peace and plenty' upon the defeat of Napoleon.⁵⁴ The labourers took this to mean an eventual liquidation of farmhouse luxuries and the return of the farmer to the plough:

How merry would the farmers then sing along the road,
When wheat was sold at market for five pounds a load,
They dropp'd into an alehouse and drank 'God Speed the Plough,'
How happy we lived then to what we do now.⁵⁵

At the conclusion of the wars the labourers watched in dismay as the farmers mounted a campaign in protection of their wartime acquisitions. They heard their employers allege the benefit of high corn prices to the 'national' and agricultural interest, labourers included. 'Hodge' begged to differ:

Should corn again be dear, which God forbid,
Would wages rise as fast? They never did.⁵⁶

The labourers recognised that the days of countryman unity were over, and that economic conflict between themselves and their employers was permanent and necessary. Their

consumption of the city. He is in love with nature and with his sweetheart Lucy; he knows no ambition to riches; but he has a message for those who might take his culture and labour for granted: Ye high-born great I toil for you/ [So] ne'er despise the Cottage Boy.³⁴

To the cottage songs we can apply the principle of Bert Lloyd that 'consolation is one of the most powerful functions of folksong';³⁵ but what sort of consolation was it? Hannah More's songs preached that 'half a loaf is better than no bread', that it is better 'to be hungry than hanged', and that the poor should trust that the rich are the most dutiful and impartial governors of a nation.³⁶ Consolation of this sort the songs reject; nor do they follow the traditional ballads in advising the poor to entrust their affairs to providence and the after-life. Instead, consolation takes the form of a demonstration that the labourers' experiences are shared rather than isolated, and that despite material restraints, there remain outlets for human agency in the quest for happiness. In their counsel the songs do not ignore human imperfection or moral laxity: in 'The Ploughman's Dream', for example, a labourer about to strike a team of horses is gently reproached by a guardian angel.³⁷ Personal failings are discussed, and their external causes too:

No man can be happy that toils all the day,
Because he can't live by his labour,
Cause many a sigh both he and his wife,
With ill-words it makes him ill-treat her.³⁸

The songs do not condone domestic violence: wife-beating husbands are ordered to mend their ways, and wives are encouraged to think twice before 'wearing the breeches' or becoming a scold.³⁹ Or so sang the men. The songs which claim a feminine perspective insist upon a fair share of recognition for women's labour, especially on the unrecompensed domestic front.⁴⁰

The songs treating of conjugal happiness, or more generally of relations between men and women, should not be side-stepped in the construction of a cottage charter. Cecil Sharp tells us that country women were avid singers, but that they fell silent in the presence of men.⁴¹ Thus while 'The Labouring Man' was reprinted throughout the nineteenth century and collected from the oral culture of male villagers, 'The Labouring Woman' has come down to us in broadside form only,⁴² which, according to most principles of 'genuine' folk art, commands its disqualification as 'folk' expression. Yet if we bear in mind that most song-collectors were men, and that broadside songs adopting a woman's perspective are almost as numerous as songs expressive of a man's point of view, the claims of 'The Labouring Woman' (namely, that for all our arduous labour, men deem us idle and spendthrift) take on a documentary meaning in rural popular culture. The women's songs suggest ways to reform a drunken husband and to obtain respect for female labour by the staging of domestic strikes or by standing offers to exchange her daily routine for his.⁴³

In seeking to abate tensions and ill-behaviour within the labourers' own ranks, the cottage songs do not invoke the righteous imperatives of the dominant culture. They reveal, often with considerable comedy, a community of people who solved their own social problems according to their own values and moral priorities. Above all, they expose

the libel in the image of 'Hodge' as a violent boor who loathed his family and plodded through life by animal instinct. Rather than mope in self-indulgence, the cottage songs lend their highest priority to the emotive well-being of the labourers: first within the community, then within the household, and at distant third, as individuals. Subordinate to these concerns are material questions of wages and prices, but despite the limitation of these economic and more radical subjects to agrarian protest verse, the cottage songs diverge from the traditional ballad by articulating a vital class culture which in expression, if not in origin, was the labourers' own.

III

After 1815, alongside the cottage songs, there appeared a category of broadside verse which concentrated upon the economic exploitation of farm workers. They are the rural equivalent of Bert Lloyd's 'industrial folk-songs', expressing a nascent class consciousness and an abiding conflict with agrarian capitalism. These 'protest' songs, however, cannot be presented as the unequivocal voice of all nineteenth-century farm workers, for they were joined (sometimes in the same repertoires of individual labourers) by traditional ballads in praise of cultural and economic unity among all countrymen.

In the traditional rural ballad, economic conflict in the countryside took the form of a vertical antagonism between the cultural and economic interests of the countryman and the townsman. Take for example 'The Husbandman and Servantman', which first appeared in print during the 1660s and which remained current in the oral and printed culture of farm workers until the early decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁴ Its text consists of a vigorous dialogue between a domestic servant and a husbandman on the economic utility of their respective occupations. After fifteen stanzas the servant concedes: 'Though ours is not so painful, yet yours it is so gainful/ I wish I was a husbandman'. The 'husbandman' of this ballad encompasses all countrymen who perform manual labour, regardless of their relative proximity to the means of production. Similarly, the seventeenth-century ballad 'The Ploughman's Praise' tells of a wealthy girl who defies her parents to marry 'Roger, the Plough-Man'. Roger is renowned for his 'plain-dealing', but his occupational status is not clear: he might have been a day-labourer, farm servant or lesser yeoman.⁴⁵ Such lack of proletarian designation is also characteristic of early nineteenth-century songs which reflect upon earlier times. Dating from the 1830s, for example, and reprinted throughout the century, is 'The Honest Ploughman; or 90 Years Ago'. Addressed to 'all you jolly husbandmen', it tells the story of a small farmer who by putting his boy to the plough was able to discharge his hired labourers and manage the farm with family 'hands'. The son, at age twenty-five, opted to marry and depart his parents' house: 'Then daily as a husbandman, to labour I did go'.⁴⁶ Presumably, the son became a day-labourer, but the lack of evidence of wage-dependence (he had a cow and a pig, we do know) suggests that some labourers, at least, continued to aspire to a 'countryman' consciousness.

Yet we should not think that the labourers' ability to come to terms with class society was compromised by their recollection of a harmonious and fluid social order in the rural world. The 'countryman' themes did not blind the labourers to the withdrawal of large farmers from daily labour and community culture; instead they framed and articulated

narratives and from print a dynamic culture which maintained country traditions and provided an articulate focus to the aspirations of their class.

Modern historians (and in this criticism I include myself) too often equate print and literacy with a rational appreciation of human agency. In general, early modernists have been more circumspect, guarding against these whiggish parallels. What David Cressy says of Tudor and Stuart society might also be applied to nineteenth-century rural popular culture:

It should be stressed that people were capable of rational action, of acquiring and digesting information, and of making well-founded political and religious decisions without being able to read or write. Illiteracy was not necessarily a bar to economic advancement nor did it stand in the way of common sense. Second, we should not assume that people were wiser or more in control of their environment just because they had become literate . . . Popular literacy expanded the audience for politics but it did not inexorably bring about an explosion in political participation.²⁴

Amid the 'golden age' of the 'superstitious' almanac, chapbook and traditional ballad, it was complained by George Herbert, and later by John Wesley, that country workers were 'ignorant,' and that they tended to attribute mundane events to chance or human agency, not providence.²⁵ Yet if we leap ahead to the nineteenth century, we find that John Clare, despite his obsession with the supernatural fare of the chapbook and traditional ballad, freely criticised agrarian capitalism and the reluctance of the ruling class to embrace parliamentary reform.²⁶ And if we proceed to the Wagon and Horses at Juniper Hill during the latter years of the nineteenth century, we find Flora Thompson observing that the oral culture of villagers included discussion of Joseph Arch, Jack the Ripper and ghost stories – the latter being, she believed, 'all entertainment'.²⁷ We must rethink the meaning of the supernatural ingredients in rural popular culture, and ultimately question the extent to which they crippled political consciousness. At the same time we must remember that the printed word was no guarantor of political enlightenment, that Hannah More composed popular-looking broadside songs for the rural poor, and that John Clare alluded to one John Billings: 'an inoffensive man he believes everything that he sees in print is true'.²⁸

This is all to suggest that the traditional ballad is problematic, and that its preoccupation with romance and the supernatural did not necessarily inhibit the development of a political consciousness among farm workers. If nothing else, the themes of the traditional ballad expose the delusion in Richard Jefferies' claim that the lives of English agricultural labourers possessed 'absolutely no colour . . . no myths; no heroes. They look back on no Heroic Age . . . The past is vacant'.²⁹ For Clare, who participated in the culture that he recorded, the traditional ballad was the 'Shakespeare' of the common people – 'real poetry in all its native simplicity':

The lower orders of England from their almost total disregard of Poesy have been judged rather too harshly as destitute of the fine feelings of humanity and taste . . . yet these very people will stand around an old ballad singer & with all the romantic enthusiasm of pity shed tears over the doggerel tales of imaginary distress.³⁰

The adventure and romance of the traditional ballad conducted the labourers beyond the physical confines of their local world, offering lessons in history, the antics of Cupid and the characteristics of Englishness. Thomas Bewick, for his part, went as far as to say that

the old country ballads rendered the labourers more 'intelligent' than farmers, who, in his experience, were too preoccupied with financial matters to absorb the sensitivities of popular lore.³¹

II

Judging from the major collections of nineteenth-century broadsides,³² the traditional ballads treating of the supernatural and the chivalrous antics of the nobility lose market-share to the newer, more topical broadside verse, especially after 1820. Further, the traditional ballads which continued to thrive in rural culture were those which honoured the economic importance of agriculture and the heroism of friends of the common people, such as Robin Hood or the benevolent squire. While even these ballads remain preoccupied with riches and blood, their emergence during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century as the paramount themes of the traditional ballad suggests a subtle revision in the function of rural lore: the genuine hero must manifest plebeian sympathies and a practical obedience to the old English ideology of fair-play. As ever with the traditional ballad, the orthodoxy of deference is accompanied by the idea that labourers, farmers and landlords possess common interests and a common culture. Nevertheless, these ballads provide a pre-political platform on which the more topical songs, especially those in circulation after 1815, could erect a class discourse.

Folklorists and literary critics have almost universally denounced the topical songs as the hack-work of London song-writers, and as markedly inferior to the traditional ballad in point of literary quality and poetic inspiration. But despite the poetic shortcomings of the topical songs, and the probability that many were composed *for* rather than *by* working people, the genre itself would become the cultural property of the farm workers. The 'cottage' songs (as a sub-genre of the topical verse will be called here) introduce an entirely new cast of heroes and heroines; humble men and women who live by the sweat of their brows, maintain hospitality and strive for domestic happiness in the face of material hardship. At first glance the cottage songs might appear to conform to the values promoted by the dominant culture's intrusions into the popular song market, such as the cautionary songs of Hannah More and the Cheap Repository Tract Society.³³ But not so: whereas More's songs decree that the poor, regardless of their material circumstances, should leave off idleness and prove content in their station, the cottage songs construct an alternative code of moral and social priorities. Pride, avarice, gluttony and idleness are portrayed as vices afflicting the rich, not the poor. Honesty is acknowledged as an important virtue, but grinding poverty and unjust laws, the songs argue, compel the rural workers to supplement their wages by poaching and other extra-legal endeavours. Country workers are advised to be thankful for the beauties and bounties of nature, though such is difficult, the songs realise, when the poor are denied access to the produce of their labour. Workers are encouraged to take delight and pride in their daily toil, but can they be expected, ask the songs, to find cheer in the face of hunger and permanent exhaustion? The cottage songs consider moral ideals within the context of the labourers' material situation; and while they stop short of expressing overt antagonism towards employers and rulers, they demand respect for the labourers' values and economic importance. In 'The Cottage Boy' a labourer rejects the stress and conspicuous

Norfolk, Alun Howkins has drawn upon chapel hymns and oral interviews with farm workers to explore the relationship between workplace conflict and the ideological platform of agricultural trades unions.⁷ Meantime, Keith Snell, taking in hand the *longue durée* and the larger canvas of the rural South, has confronted the 'Hodge' stereotype by re-constituting the standard of living debate around the labourers' own criteria of life satisfaction, which he determines with reference to a wide range of sources, including emigrants' letters, autobiographies and diaries.⁸

Thus the gradual demolition of the 'Hodge' stereotype, together with a new appreciation of the methodological importance of the labourers' own standards and experiences, constitutes one of the great new directions in English rural history. This paper will attempt to contribute to these achievements by exploring popular rural song as an expressive vehicle of the culture and ideology of farm workers. Like any genre or text, song is problematic: whose discourse is it? Are country songs so many transcripts of the labourers' consciousness or are they the voice of the dominant culture as articulated by the Grub Street muse? And what is the relationship between oral folk-song and printed broadside song in the expressive culture of farm workers? Although these questions will not receive adequate attention here, I will attempt to demonstrate that the songs possess a degree of representativeness in the construction of a cottage charter, and that in the evolution of country song over the course of the nineteenth century, we see the farm workers engaged in collective discourse on the relationship between received cultural traditions, innovative ideologies and the objective experience of class society.⁹

I

The late Bert Lloyd argued that during the early decades of the nineteenth century, traditional country ballads (those epic narratives, often of Tudor and Stuart dating, treating of romance, heraldry and the supernatural)¹⁰ gave way in English popular culture to 'bourgeois social song'. In mining and industrial regions, Lloyd claimed, the bourgeois verse was short-lived and insignificant, being replaced during the 1820s by 'workers' song' or 'industrial folksong' – a genre which was created by workers themselves in response to the conditions of industrial capitalism. An equivalent genre was not observed by Lloyd in the rural world, which, in his view, remained loyal throughout the nineteenth century to the traditional ballad and to the bourgeois social song.¹¹

Lloyd was certainly correct to draw attention to the vernacular songs of industrial workers, but his model of the evolution of folk-song does not fit the rural world. During the Napoleonic Wars, country singers were indeed subjected to bourgeois songs, usually of a 'patriotic' or anti-French description;¹² but after 1815, upon the disappearance of wartime distractions and the onset of agricultural recession, the farm workers abandoned this verse to the large farmers and landlords, who withdrew to their parlours to perform lyrical recollections (often the work of government-sponsored 'poets' such as Charles Dibdin) of the defeat of Napoleon, the might of the British navy and the high wartime price of wheat.¹³ Here and there a middle-class ditty would stray into the repertoire of this or that village worker,¹⁴ but the great majority of farm workers' songs consisted of traditional ballads (we know them well: 'Chevy Chase,' 'Barbara Allen,' 'Lord Bateman,' and so forth) and of newer, more topical broadside songs which sought to represent the

labourers' aspirations and grievances. It might be true, as Lloyd argued, that industrial workers surpassed rural workers in the composition of new songs, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century, but this should not lead us to assume an absence of songs articulating the cultural and ideological response of farm workers to the conditions imposed upon their experience by agrarian capitalism.

Before we can approach popular rural song as a vehicle of the expressive culture of farm workers, we must confront some lingering assumptions about the relationship between printed and oral narratives in rural popular culture. It is well-known that many middle-class song-collectors of the 'first' folk-song revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most notably Cecil Sharp, viewed oral transmission as a prerequisite of authentic 'folk-song' – to which was appended a belief that only the traditional ballad was favoured with oral conveyance.¹⁵ Although this latter notion has been undermined by the research of Dave Harker and Robert Thomson (who have shown that the great majority of songs which the collectors assigned to 'oral tradition' appeared in broadside form),¹⁶ some folklorists continue to assume that oral transmission is a necessary prerequisite of legitimate folk expression, and that the traditional ballad was less dependent upon print than was nineteenth-century broadside song. Neither of these points can be granted. Just as print assisted the transmission of traditional ballads, so too oral culture assisted the transmission of broadside songs.¹⁷ Moreover, the farm workers themselves saw print and orality as collaborators in cultural production and transmission. The labourer-poet John Clare, probably the earliest collector of the songs of farm workers in southern England, gathered songs communicated by oral culture and songs communicated by print, making no distinction between them as to veracity or currency in rural popular culture.¹⁸ The same disposition prevailed among later country singers: some of their songs were acquired from oral culture, others from broadsides¹⁹ – either way they were the property of the singers and their communities to perform, interpret and revise as they saw fit.

If some folklorists tend to exaggerate the oral character of rural popular culture, some historians have erred in the opposite direction by exaggerating the influence of print. David Vincent, for example, suggests that oral culture retarded the politicisation of working people by ensuring 'conformity to an irrational view of the forces which controlled the existence of the labouring population'. Taking his cue from working-class autobiographers (many of whom associated oral culture with superstition and political ignorance), he argues that the triumph of print over orality made possible a popular challenge to 'the ideology of the ruling class'.²⁰ Yet we must not assume that oral cultural forms, then or now, impair the acquisition of innovative ideologies. Many working-class autobiographers sought to illustrate their intellectual attainments (and in some cases, to enhance their social and cultural credibility with the dominant culture) by magnifying the relative 'ignorance' of their fellows.²¹ The custodians of country song, however, were not the so-called 'improvers' but the 'middle class of working people';²² those who, in the words of a Suffolk labourer, 'worked for their daily bread – men of genius who are seen on rare occasion among the poor, and who are in a small way lions among their fellows'.²³ As yet we know very little about these 'lions', but it seems that they knew no ambition to make a name outside their community, and that they strove to create from oral

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- 41 Venkatesh Athreya et al., 'Identification of agrarian classes: a methodological essay with empirical material from South India', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 14(2) (1987), 160.
- 42 Merrill, 'Cash is Good to Eat'.

Towards the 'Cottage Charter': The Expressive Culture of Farm Workers in Nineteenth-Century England

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A frequent complaint among English historians is that the farm workers were a 'secret people' who seldom interacted with the written or recorded word. If vaguely discernible in this or that statistic, or anonymous act of physical protest, the labourer's cultural and political consciousness was entombed (it is sometimes inferred) in that drudging physical pantomime which many nineteenth-century commentators assumed to be the primary attribute of 'Hodge'. Even the labourers' contemporary friends harboured a 'Hodge' stereotype in their assumption that the labourers' aspirations, or 'cottage charter', were best represented and publicised by 'articulate' outsiders. William Cobbett, who for three decades argued that farm workers were capable of profound thought and articulation, implied as much in his observation that 'Nobody (excepting himself) tells the tale of the labourer.'¹ In 1848, as a better known Charter was re-stated to the nation from the mass radical platform of the metropolis, Sidney Godolphin Osborne lamented that the labourer 'has few to speak for him, few who care to face the odium of exposing the conduct of those individuals, or classes, or laws, who or which oppress him'.² Five years later, with reference to the 'peasant' worker, Karl Marx made a similar assumption: 'they must be represented', he argued, and their representative 'must appear as their master, as an authority over them'.³ Even as late as 1880, shortly after the formation of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, Richard Jefferies confidently proclaimed that 'the country labourer possessed no clearly defined 'Cottage Charter' and no genuine programme of the future; that which is put forward in his name is not for him'.⁴

Over a century later, the consciousness of farm workers remains vulnerable to arbitrary and perfunctory representation. Indeed, the most recent historian of 'Hodge' maintains the old convention that farm workers were generally mute on political matters, preoccupied with cultural tradition, and inclined to identify 'with the interests of their employers'.⁵ There is emerging, however, a dissenting scholarship which constructs an alternative portrait of 'Hodge'. A dozen years ago James Obelkevich led us through Lincolnshire villages as the labourers engaged in a conscious and semi-articulate struggle to reconcile community-based cultural forms with the objective experience of class relationships with their employers.⁶ More recently, for the neighbouring county of

bol was the plough, fortified by the motto: 'he that by the plough would thrive/
self must either hold or drive.'⁵⁷

Simultaneous currency of the countryman and class-protest songs would seem to
that labourers lagged behind employers in recognising the cultural implications
formation. This might well be true of the 1820s and 1830s when a majority of
est songs envisage traditional farmer-labourer relations as the quickest way
for a partial proletariat which was caught without a strategy of concerted protest
e farmers opted for class society. The labourers' protests of these years are
e conditional: they suggest that class conflict will subside if the farmers agree to
the plough and forego their luxuries. But, by the 1840s and 1850s, the protest
gin to shift from descriptive condemnation of the 'new-fashioned' farmer to the
f the 'cottage charter': ten or twelve shillings a week, the dissolution of the New
w, the division of large farms, and the three Bs: bread, bacon and beer.⁵⁸ A
and confident class consciousness pervades the mid-century songs as the old
ion for a restoration of the 'countryman' bond is joined by prescriptive
ts which *presume* conflict between labourer and employer:

Around the fair you'll see you know,
Pot-bellied farmers all in a row,
Waiting to hire the farming men,
To do twelve pounds of work, for ten.
But that won't do for me you know,
Oh dear, no not for Joe,
I want good wages or I don't go,
That's the style for me.⁵⁹

ral employers preceded their labourers in rallying around a class discourse, it
atter who first recognised the implications of class experience upon the traditional
an narratives. As if to apologise for their insistence upon class divisions in the
e, employers continued to offer harvest-home in commemoration of cultural
ong countrymen. Seated at the head table, they sought a countryman persona
rse to verse: 'The Husbandman and Servantman', 'The Farmer's Boy' and that
f harvest home, 'We're All Jolly Fellows that Follow the Plough'.⁶⁰ We can only
the labourers' thoughts as they harmonised with these countryman verses, but
ght lie in the experience of two Sussex singers who recalled that when they sang
llows' at harvest-home, they did so entirely for the benefit of the master and the
erarchy. They said that they were not at all 'jolly', that they hated rising at four
n the morning, that they were not regenerated by twelve hours of toil in a
ed field, and that they despised their employer's paternalism.⁶¹ Perhaps it is not
h to say that by the mid nineteenth century, songs in praise of unity among
en were understood by labourers as coded expressions of class antagonism. Only
ng for some degree of coding can we explain, for example, the currency of both
ed protest songs and countryman songs (such as 'The Farmer's Boy', in which
er, on account of his hard work and deference, is rewarded by his employer with
land) in the repertoires of politically active farm workers during the 1890s.⁶²

Not all the protest songs make an impassioned appeal for solidarity among
labouring people, but a call to ideological cohesion inheres in the medium of song it
During the late 1820s the labourers turned to song to articulate the manifesto of Cap
Swing. In 1834, upon being sentenced to transportation as one of the Tolpuddle Mar
George Loveless obtained a pencil and jotted down a song in praise of liberty and free
which he delivered, under restraint of irons, to members of his audience.⁶³ Even
years later, in the annals of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, we find
compelling example of the jurisdiction of song in the expressive culture of farm work
Joseph Arch, the Union leader, composed what is probably the longest and most deta
autobiography of any farm worker in English history, wherein we read of his life-
programme of self-education and of his lack of sympathy with the traditional institut
of rural popular culture, including that school-house of rural song, the country
Solidarity, according to Arch, was to be enforced upon his membership by stal
lectures and by written proclamations from the executive. Yet the most dynamic inst
of solidarity to receive mention in Arch's autobiography comes in 1874 when an asser
of rural workers broke into 'The Fine Old English Labourer':

Come lads and listen to my song – a song of honest toil,
It's of the English labourer, the tiller of the soil,
I'll tell you how he used to fare and all the ills he bore,
Till he stood up in his manhood and resolved to bear no more.

He used to take whatever wage the farmer chose to pay,
And work as hard as any man for eighteen pence a day,
Or if he grumbled at the nine and dared to ask for ten,
The angry farmer cursed and swore and sacked him there and then.

Even Arch, who ordinarily showed little interest in the labourers' songs, was moved
the performance:

If a squire or parson or a farmer had passed by on the other side while we were singing this
or others like it, his ears would have told him that the English labourer was awake to his wrong
and meant to have his rights at last. Yes, poor Hodge was sitting up and rubbing his eyes after
long sleep.⁶⁴

The incident calls for three observations, disparate in character but necessarily cer
to further research into the meanings of popular rural song. First, the fact that 'The
Old English Labourer' was sung to the tune of the 'The Fine Old English Gentle
suggests an altered meaning for the patriarchal themes of traditional song. In graf
the tune of 'The Fine Old English Gentleman' (a song the labourers knew well) c
'The Fine Old English Labourer', the singers were collectively engaged in substitut
the deference and obeisance of tradition for that of economic conflict and class cult
Second, as is implied in Arch's account, the radical counsel of the 'Old English Labou
was energised and radiated by its *oral* performance to an extent that could not have b
mustered by the circulation of the song in broadside form (we must, therefore, att
not to text alone but also to the transforming power of oral performance). Third,
must qualify Arch's observation that the Union roused 'Hodge' from 'his long sle

Arch struggled heroically to lead the Union, but his failure to secure the full confidence of his membership might have owed something to his general disregard for the medium of song in the expressive culture of farm workers. Attention to the labourers' songs would have taught him, if nothing else, that 'Hodge's' ideological awakening preceded Arch's own 'articulate' leadership.

IV

The simultaneous currency in the labourers' repertoires of traditional ballads, cottage songs and agrarian protest verse would seem to suggest that the labourers were of many different minds about farmers, landlords and the cottage charter itself. This is perhaps true to a point, but divergence in ideology should be seen as evidence of negotiation, not of contradiction. No one song, and no one expression of compliance or protest, casts in stone the labourers' voice. Like any species of popular culture, the songs sanction certain values of the dominant culture without surrendering to its ideological decrees. In their protest verse the labourers searched for traditional signs and symbols (although these could appeal as readily to fair-play as to deference) along with innovative ideological prescriptions. Thus song should be seen as a discourse which was invoked by the labourers to organise their interpretation of experience, and to provide them with an expressive forum of sufficient latitude to accommodate both traditional culture and modern political dialogue.

The cottage charter which emerges from the post-war songs insists upon the labourers' *right* (not a privilege or a concession) to bread, bacon and beer; tea and potatoes must go. They declare a right to a cottage pig, access to common land and the payment of fair wages (a precise rate is usually stated) by employers, not by the parish. Enclosure is to be halted, the New Poor Law Bill revoked, and parliament reformed. And at no time in the nineteenth century do the songs promote emigration. Time and again they repeat the biblical injunction: 'the labourer is worthy of his hire'.⁶⁵ For the emotive and spiritual dimensions of the charter we must turn to the cottage songs, which serve notice of the labourer's love of country (although, as we have seen, this was conditioned by economic exigencies) and of family and friends. An important function of the cottage songs was to provide the cultural infrastructure for the material and ideological charter, for philosophically at least, the labourers predicated their happiness upon the quality of human relationships within their households and communities.

The constituent parts of the charter were not static throughout the century. On the eve of the Captain Swing disturbances, the protest songs condemned compulsory parish labour, unemployment and threshing machines – the foremost grievances of the rioters. They even offered fair warning to their employers (should they have been listening) of impending insurrection.⁶⁶ After the disturbances, new themes were introduced, such as the much needed Reform Bill and the unneeded separation of families by workhouses or Van Diemen's land.⁶⁷ Songs of the 1840s and 1850s show a special interest in wages and exploitation in the workplace, while those of the 1870s and 1880s move in the direction of the platform of the N.A.L.U.: extension of the suffrage, prohibitions against lock-outs, 'three acres and a cow,' and '12s. or 13s. a week to keep a family'.⁶⁸ There are also broader, thematic changes: the early nineteenth-century theme of the luxury and insolence of the

'new-fashioned' farmer, together with the farmers' abandonment of the plough, gives way by mid-century to examination of the labourers' own culture, and especially the need to maintain and nurture their dignity, not as the cultural and economic associates of larger farmers and landlords, but on their own as 'poor labouring men'. Traditional ballads in which the labourer is the unexpected benefactor of benevolent farmers and landlords do not disappear, but they lose ground, in print at least, to songs urging the pursuit of reward by a determined stand on behalf of the rights of labour. Perhaps the most significant evolution is the retreat of songs identifying the labourers' adversarial relationship with specific occupational groups: farmers and landlords here, townspeople there. By the early twentieth century the essential economic division is between the labourers, the 'prop of the land', and those 'who don't belong to the working class'.⁶⁹

If the songs of the farm workers do not permit us to assign a precise date to the birth of class consciousness in the rural world, they do permit us to say that the labourers were conscious of class experience as early as the 1820s. They protested against this experience, invoking the countryman songs to provide a historical context to their understanding of agrarian capitalism and its horizontal social formations. The protest songs suggest that the labourers viewed their class antagonism as conditional, that they were prepared to cast it from their midst at the very moment that their employers manifested a similar intent. If indeed the labourers aspired to a social and cultural fellowship with their employers (their countryman entreaties might well have been a strategic device to extract concessions in wages and perquisites), they came to understand, no later than the 1830s, that economic conflict would not retire, even if, perchance, the farmer again gripped the plough or blessed it speed in the guise of a 'jolly fellow'. Suited with their own litany of moral precepts, and with confidence in their ability to resolve their non-material problems on their own terms, they moved away from consolation and towards a cottage charter which demanded their economic and political rights, not the arbitrary and piecemeal benevolence of the traditional ballad.

To approach this discourse, or even to attain a debating position on the meanings of the texts themselves, we must free ourselves from the restrictive principle that folk-songs must be transmitted without the aid of print, and that they be traditional and oral in origin and transmission. The labourers of the N.A.L.U. who sang 'The Fine Old English Labourer' would have been aghast to hear that their song might fail to qualify as a 'folk' narrative because it was topical, recent in composition and crystallised by its appearance in printed form. A folk-song, it seems to me, is neither more nor less than a song in the possession of a social class. It matters not who composed a song: what matters is its meaning, and the freedom of a class to accept, reject and revise its message according to the dynamics of experience. If some of the songs in the possession of the farm workers were the work of individuals external to rural popular culture, they unwittingly supplied the labourers with ideological portfolios which the labourers could assess in relation to experience, common sense and cultural tradition. To assume that the labourers embraced any cultural production without due reflection is to offer sustenance to the 'Hodge' stereotype.

Notes

- 1 Cobbett's *Political Register*, 22 February 1823, p. 482.
 - 2 'To the editor of the *Wiltshire Independent*', 10 June 1848, in *The Letters of S.G.O.*, 2 volumes. (London, n.d., c. 1888), vol. I, p. 161.
 - 3 *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1850-2) in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* (London, 1968), p. 171.
 - 4 Richard Jefferies, *Hodge and his Masters* (1880; London, 1979), pp. 262-3.
 - 5 Alan Armstrong, *Farmworkers: A Social and Economic History, 1770-1980* (London, 1988). The quoted part is from p. 15.
 - 6 James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), especially chapters 2 and 6.
 - 7 Alun Howkins, *Poor Labouring Men: Rural Radicalism in Norfolk, 1870-1923* (London, 1985).
 - 8 K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985).
 - 9 For some interpretative essays on the songs of English farm workers, see Michael Pickering's *Village Song and Culture* (London, 1982) and 'The farmworker and "The Farmer's Boy"', *Lore and Language*, III, 9 (July 1983), 44-64; Alun Howkins, 'The voice of the people: the social meaning and context of country song', *Oral History*, III, 1 (Spring 1975), 50-75; Alun Howkins and Ian Dyck, 'Popular ballads, rural radicalism and William Cobbett', *History Workshop* 23 (Spring 1987), 20-38. Roy Palmer discusses and reprints a number of rural songs in *The Painful Plough* (Cambridge, 1972) and *The Sound of History: Songs and Social Comment* (Oxford, 1988), chapter 2.
 - 10 For published collections of some traditional ballads see *The Roxburghe Ballads* 9 volumes (Hertford, 1873-99); Hyder E. Rollins (ed.), *The Pepys Ballads* 8 volumes (Cambridge, Mass., 1929-32); Francis Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* 5 volumes (Boston, 1882-98); *The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads* (Glasgow, 1971).
- In its printed form, the traditional ballad is usually associated with the gothic, black-letter type which gave way to white-letter type during the eighteenth century. On account that many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century 'black-letter' broadsides were reprinted in 'white-letter' format during the nineteenth century, this typographical distinction has little bearing on the thematic definitions adopted in this essay. For the history of the broadside song see Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London, 1962); Victor E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature: A History and Guide* (Harmondsworth, 1977); Gordon Hall Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition* (Oxford, 1957); Diane Dugaw, 'The popular marketing of "old ballads": the ballad revival and eighteenth-century antiquarianism reconsidered', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1 (Fall 1987), pp. 71-90.
- 11 A.L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (1967; London, 1975), pp. 218, 297-300, 315-17; *The Singing Englishman* (London, 1945), p. 41.
 - 12 Douglas Jerrold, 'The Ballad-Singer,' in *The Heads of the People; or, Portraits of the English* (London, 1840), pp. 289-97; Place Papers (B.M. Add. Mss. 27,825) vol. XXXVII, 1 (2), ff. 144-5; Select Committee on Education in England and Wales (1835), p. 465.
 - 13 On Dibdin's songs see Sabine Baring-Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs of the West* (London, 1892), 'Preface'; T. Dibdin (comp.), *Songs of the Late Charles Dibdin, with a Memoir of Six Hundred Songs . . .* (London, 1803) 4 volumes.
 - 14 Dibdin's 'Tom Bowling,' for example, appears in some labourers' repertoires - see Colin Andrews (ed.), *Shepherd of the Downs: The Life and Songs of Michael Blann of Upper Beeding* (Worthing, 1979), pp. 34-5.
 - 15 Cecil Sharp, *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* (1907; Belmont, Calif., 1965), pp. 5, 126, 138-9. See Dave Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong', 1700 to the Present Day* (Milton Keynes, 1985), chapter 9.

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- 16 Harker, *Fakesong*, especially pp. 192-5; Robert S. Thomson, 'The development of the broadside ballad trade and its influence upon the transmission of folk songs' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1974), pp. 23, 230-1, appendices.
- 17 Broadside songs of the 1820s and 1830s, such as 'The Labouring Man' and 'Van Diemen's Land', were later gathered from the oral culture of village workers. See, for example, the songs collected by Lucy Broadwood in Sussex and Surrey during the 1890s: *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, I, 4 (1902); Geoffrey Hill, *Wiltshire Folk Songs and Carols* (1904; Norwood edn, 1975).
- 18 George Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition* (London, 1983), pp. 33, 43, 52-3; 68-9; J.W. and Anne Tibble, *John Clare: His Life and Poetry* (London, 1956), p. 130; Margaret Grainger, *John Clare: Collector of Ballads* (Peterborough, 1964), p. 7, appendix.
- 19 See, for example, Ken Stubbs, 'The life and songs of George Maynard', *The Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, IX, 4 (December 1963), 180-96; Lilius Rider Haggard (ed.), *I Walked by Night, being the Life & History of the King of the Norfolk Poachers* (1935; Oxford, 1982), pp. vii, 6.
- 20 David Vincent, 'The decline of the oral tradition in popular culture', in Robert D. Storch (ed.), *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1982), pp. 31-3, 41.
- 21 See, for example, *The Autobiography of John Britton*, 2 volumes (London, 1850), I, 59n.
- 22 Alfred Williams, *Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames* (London, 1923), p. 21.
- 23 'Autobiography of a Suffolk farm labourer, with recollections of incidents and events that have occurred in Suffolk during the sixty years from 1816 to 1876', *Suffolk Times and Mercury* (2 November 1894 - 16 August 1895). The quoted part is from part II, chapter II (21 December 1894).
- 24 David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 189.
- 25 George Herbert, *A Priest to the Temple, or, The Country Parson* (1652), in F.E. Hutchinson (ed.), *The Works of George Herbert* (Oxford, 1941), chapter 32; Maldwyn Edwards, 'John Wesley', in R. Davis and G. Rupp (eds.), *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (London, 1965), p. 58; Robert Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1945), p. 135.
- 26 Clare to Marianne Marsh (January 1832) in Mark Storey (ed.), *The Letters of John Clare* (Oxford, 1985), p. 560.
- 27 Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (Oxford, 1945), chapter 4. On the songs of Juniper Hill, see Michael Pickering, 'Popular song at Juniper Hill', *Folk Music Journal*, 4, 5 (1984), 481-503.
- 28 Deacon, *John Clare*, p. 37.
- 29 Jefferies, *Hodge and his Masters*, p. 262.
- 30 J.W. and Anne Tibble (eds.), *The Prose of John Clare* (1951; New York 1970), pp. 19, 221.
- 31 Ian Bain (ed.), *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 8, 16, 24, 32.
- 32 The collections of nineteenth-century broadside songs used here are the Sir Frederic Madden Collection (hereafter Madden) at Cambridge University Library; the collections of the British Library (hereafter B.L.); the various collections of the English Folk-Dance and Song Society (hereafter E.F.D.S.S.); the London University Collection of Broadside (hereafter L.U.C.B.); the John Johnson Collection of Ephemeral Literature, Oxford.
- 33 See *The Works of Hannah More*, 11 volumes (London, 1830), vol. 2.
- 34 'The Cottage Boy' (London: Catnach, printer) B.L.: 11621 i 12, f. 77. The London press of James Catnach was active between 1813 and 1838.
- 35 Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*, p. 172.
- 36 Hannah More, 'The Riot' (1795), in *Works of Hannah More*, vol. 2, pp. 86-9. A broadside version appears in Madden 15.
- 37 'The Ploughboy's Dream' (no imprint) B.L.: L.R. 271a. 2, vol. 8, f. 92.

- 38 'A New Song on the Hard Times' (London: J. Pitts, printer) Madden VIII (2); B.L.: 11602 gg. 30, f. 22. John Pitts was active as a London printer between 1797 and 1844.
- 39 See, for example 'Struggle for the Breeches' (London: E. Hodges, printer, c. 1840s) Madden 11 (V).
- 40 'A Woman Never Knows When her Day's Work's Done' (London: Ryle & Co., printer, c. 1840s) Madden 5; 'What Man Would be Without a Woman' (Manchester: J. Swindells, printer, c. 1850s) Madden 18 (III).
- 41 '[Women] never perform in public, and only very rarely when men are present. If you would prevail upon a married woman to sing to you, you must call upon her when her man is away at work . . . She will never sing to you in his presence until you have come to know both her and her husband very intimately' (Sharp, *English Folk Song* (London, 1907 edn), p. 106.) Sharp did not consider the possibility that the repertoires of labouring women might contain gender-based protests objectionable to men, hence their 'silence'.
- 42 Scores of copies of 'The Labouring Woman' have survived: see, for example, the version of W. Dever, printer, London: Madden 14 (VIII). The same is true of 'The Labouring Man'. For a broadside copy (Birmingham: William Pratt, printer) see Madden 21 (VI). Regarding its oral performance see Lucy Broadwood's notes on song collecting in Sussex and Surrey during the 1890s: *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, I, 4 (1902), 198–9.
- 43 'The Wives' Lamentation' (London: E. Hodges, printer, c. 1850) Madden 22 (VII); 'New Way to Make a Good Husband' (Preston: J. Harkness, printer, c. 1850s) Madden 18 (III).
- 44 *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. VI, pp. 521–5; *Euing Collection*, p. 195. For a nineteenth-century version see the Catnach broadside in Madden 5 (II). There is an excellent discussion of the ballad by Michael Pickering; 'The past as a source of inspiration: popular song and social change' in Michael Pickering and Tony Green, (eds.) *Everyday Culture and the Vernacular Milieu* (Milton Keynes, 1987), chapter 2.
- 45 'The Ploughman's Praise' in *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. VIII (1895), pp. 682–3.
- 46 'The Honest Ploughman; or, 90 Years Ago' (London: W.S. Fortey, printer, c. 1860–80) Madden 11 (V). Other copies appear in B.L.: 1876 e. 1 (4); Madden 22 (VII); Madden 10 (IV); J.J.: Street Ballads, 28. Fragments of what appear to be the same song were collected during the early twentieth century from oral culture: see W.A. Barrett, *English Folk Songs* (London, n.d., c. 1891), pp. 32–3; Williams, *Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames*, p. 294.
- 47 'The Poor Labourers' (London: Ryle & Co., printer, c. 1840s) B.L.: L.R. 271a. 2, vol. I (2), f. 120. Printings by Henson of Northampton appear in Madden 19 (IV) and Firth b. 25 (399).
- 48 Cobbett's *Political Register*, 5 October 1833, pp. 39–40.
- 49 'The New-Fashioned Farmer' (London: J. Pitts, printer, c. 1820s). The song is listed for sale in a Catnach catalogue of 1832. A broadside copy of the song was recovered from the countryside by Cecil Sharp (E.F.D.S.S.: MP 40 1261, f. 22).
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 'Country Hiring' (Preston: J. Harkness, printer, c. 1850) Madden 18 (III); Bodleian 2806 c. 14 (14); B.L.: 1876 d. 41.
- 52 'A New Song on the Hard Times' (London: J. Pitts, printer, c. 1830) Madden 8 (II); B.L.: 11602 gg. 30, f. 22. For an eighteenth-century version of 'The Roast Beef of Old England', see Madden 15.
- 53 'The Truth, the Whole Truth, and, Nothing but the Truth; or, A touch on the Times' (Portsea: J. Williams, printer, c. 1830s) Madden 22 (VII).
- 54 See 'A New Song on the Hard Times' (London: J. Pitts, printer) Madden 8 (II) and B.L.: 11602 gg. 30, f. 22; 'The Labouring Man' (London: W. Dever, printer) Madden 14 (VIII) and Firth c. 16 (238); 'The Farmer's Lamentation' (London: J. Pitts, printer) Madden VIII (2); 'The Farmer's Downfall' (York: C. Croshaw, printer, c. 1820s) Firth c. 16 (278).
- 55 'The Farmer's Son' (London: J. Pitts, printer, c. 1830s) Madden VIII (2).
- 56 'Bad Times among the Farmers' (Sheffield?: Crome, printer, 1815) Goldsmith's Library 21148.
- 57 'Advice to Farmers' (London: Catnach) J.J.: Street Ballads, 2. A copy was listed for sale in a Catnach catalogue of 1832.
- 58 See, for example, 'Farmers Don't You Cry' (no imprint, c. 1850) Madden 19 (IV); 'The Present Times; or, Eight Shillings a week' (Birmingham: W. Pratt, printer, c. 1860s) Madden 21 (VI).
- 59 'A Ploughboy's Trip to the Hiring Fair' (Liverpool: John White, printer, c. 1850).
- 60 On harvest-home songs see Williams, *Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames*, pp. 20, 55–6, 230; Lucy Broadwood and J.A. Fuller Maitland, *English County Songs* (London, 1893), pp. 81, 143, 148, 151; Fred Kitchen, *Brother to the Ox* (London, 1951), p. 65; John Buckmaster, *A Village Politician* (1897; Horsham, 1982), p. 20; 'Autobiography of a Suffolk farm labourer', part 2, chapter 2; Deacon, *John Clare*, pp. 56, 181, 230–3.
- 61 For a text of 'Jolly Fellows' (there were many versions) see Madden 18 (III) or 11 (IV). I am grateful to Michael Yates for the information on the two Sussex singers: Harry Upton of Balcombe and Harry Holman of Copthorne. See Michael Yates, 'Harry Upton: a singer and his repertoire', *Traditional Music*, 10 (1978), 14–20; 'Stand up ye men of labour': the socio-political songs of Walter Pardon', *Musical Traditions*, 1 (mid 1983), 22–7.
- 62 George Edwards, *From Crow Scaring to Westminster* (London, 1922), p. 59.
- 63 George Loveless, *The Victims of Whiggery* (London, 1837), pp. 6–7.
- 64 Joseph Arch, *From Ploughtail to Parliament: An Autobiography* (1898; London, 1986), pp. 98–9. 'The Fine Old English Labourer' was authored by Howard Evans – see *Songs for Singing at Agricultural Labourers' Meetings* (London, n.d., c. 1874), pp. 1–3; Arthur Clayden, *The Revolt of the Field* (London, 1874), p. 103. Regarding the tune of 'The Fine Old English Gentleman', see Palmer, *Sound of History*, pp. 62, 272. A broadside song by that title, lamenting the disappearance of the generous squires of 'olden time' appears in B.L.: L.R. 271a. 2, vol. 5, f. 127.
- 65 See, for example, 'The Labourer is Worthy of his Hire' (London: H. Disley, printer, c. 1860) Firth c. 22 (109); 'Revolt of the Workhouse' (Portsea: J. Williams, printer, c. 1840); 'Poor Law Bill' (Cambridge: H. Talbot, printer, c. 1840) L.U.C.B., vol. 6, no. 579 (1); 'Poor Law Starvation Bill' (Norwich: Walker, printer, c. 1845) Goldsmith's Library 29187.
- 66 'The Times in Hertfordshire' (London: W. Taylor, printer, c. 1880s) Madden 13 (VII); 'The Poor Labourers' (London: Ryle & Co., c. 1850) B.L.: L.R. 271a. 2, vol. 2 (2), f. 120.
- 67 'A Voice from St. Stephen's' (London: J. Catnach, printer, c. 1830) Madden 10 (IV); 'The Sporting Farmer' (London: E. Hodges, printer, c. 1850s); J.J.: Street Ballads 4, f. 17; 'A True Picture of the Times, or, The Poor Man's Consolation from Reform' (Norwich: Smith, printer, c. 1830) Madden 19 (IV); 'Van Dieman's Land' (Birmingham: W. Wright, printer, c. 1830s).
- 68 See, for example, 'Three Acres and a Cow' (London: H.P. Such, printer, c. 1880s) Firth c. 16 (305) – another copy, without imprint, is in J.J.: Smallholdings and Allotments 1; 'Wake Up Hodge' (no imprint, c. 1875) Firth c. 26 (52); 'My Master and I' (London: H.P. Such, printer, c. 1875) Firth c. 16 (304); 'A New Song on the Ploughmen's Association' (no imprint) Firth c. 16 (306).
- 69 Williams, *Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames*, p. 105.