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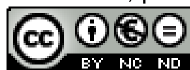

“Then sing England for ever, and Erin-go-bragh”: Irishness in the English-printed, nineteenth-century street ballad

by

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A thesis submitted to the Department of English
in conformity with the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the nineteenth century, Ireland was by far the most dominant national trope in English-printed street balladry, appearing as specified place in English street-balladry almost as much as England itself. Ireland was imagined through melody and performance on street corners, at fairs, in workplaces and in homes via singers and the printed ballad-sheets that increased exponentially between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. It was a presence that made itself known in these songs either as central character, as tonal background, as political issue, as metaphor for rurality or resistance, or via a song's Irish protagonists. Its image in popular English street culture changed throughout the century as new representations emerged: beginning as a place of imagined frivolity at the end of the eighteenth century it became a place associated with righteous outrage at the beginning of the nineteenth; in the 1830s it became an equal member of the union of "roses" while simultaneously the epitome of Romantic-nationalism; and in the mid-nineteenth century it became a bucolic backdrop in narratives of emigration while also emerging as potent symbol of political resistance. As imagined place, Ireland became an increasingly multi-layered focus point for a range of disparate themes and narratives that emerged layer by layer – comic, rebellious, oppressed, idyllic, nostalgic – and that were, in turn, received, embodied, re-created and performed within England. Ireland was presented in many unionist songs (and often in literary culture) as England's significant "Other", but readings of Irish-themed street-songs in England as a whole show that it was also received as a significant "Other" in ways beyond the national. These representations and receptions provide insight into various identities within England that were built less upon the idea of nation than upon ideas such as resistance against political, societal and cultural change, against industrialization and urbanisation, and against the increasing regulation of economic and social life.

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Thesis Introduction

Throughout the nineteenth century Ireland was by far the most pervasive national trope in English-printed street balladry, appearing as specified place almost as much as England itself. Ireland was imagined through melody, image, narrative and performance on street corners, at fairs, in workplaces and in homes via singers and the printed ballad-sheets that increased exponentially between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. It formed a presence in these songs either in the form of a central persona or as tonal background, as an explicit political issue, or as a metaphor of rurality or resistance. Its image in English street-culture changed throughout the century as new representations emerged: from a place of imagined frivolity at the turn of the century to a place associated with righteous outrage at the beginning of the nineteenth; to an equal member of the union of "roses" while simultaneously the epitome of Romantic-nationalism in the 1830s; and in the mid-century, as bucolic backdrop in narratives of emigration while at the same time emerging as potent symbol of political resistance. As imagined place, Ireland became an increasingly multi-layered focus point for a range of disparate themes and narratives that emerged layer by layer – comic, rebellious, oppressed, idyllic, nostalgic – and that were in turn, received, embodied, re-created and performed within England. Ireland was presented in many unionist songs (and often in literary culture) as England's significant "Other", but readings of Irish-themed street-songs in England as a whole show that it was also received as a significant "Other" in ways beyond the national. These representations and receptions provide insight into various identities within England that were built less upon the idea of nation than upon ideas such as resistance against political, societal and cultural change, against industrialization and urbanisation, and against the increasing regulation of economic and social life.

In all extant collections of nineteenth-century street ballads printed in England, Ireland makes an appearance in a significant proportion of the songs – sometimes up to around 20%.[1] These proportions far exceed the tiny numbers of nineteenth-century street-songs containing mentions of other nations such as Wales or Germany, or representing genres such as blackface minstrelsy. Even street-songs with Scottish

[1] The Holt collection contains 21% of songs with some mention (explicit or implicit) of Ireland.

themes appear on only a very small proportion of nineteenth-century ballad sheets printed in England. One possible response to this phenomenon is to explain it in terms of the high figures of Irish immigration throughout the nineteenth century and as a result to conceive of the songs' reception as being confined mainly to within Irish immigrant communities. The former point is entirely valid – Irish immigrants were indisputably among the numbers who contributed ballad lyrics (for a shilling) to printers, who sung and sold ballads on English streets, and who served as customers for Irish-themed songs; the high proportion of Irish songs in collections of ballads that were printed in towns such as Manchester (for example the Holt collection) is clearly the result, in large part, of the substantial Irish communities that lived there. However, Irish-themed songs were also received beyond these immigrant communities, and the aim of this project is to explore the meeting of cultures that occurred as a result of the presence of these songs in English popular culture, and to explore what happened in the spaces, material and conceptual, in which this meeting occurred.

As a study of popular culture in England, this project explores what happens to the reception of these songs outside Ireland itself and in the liminal spaces of contact where imagined ideas of nationhood meet, clash or merge. It imagines receptions of Ireland in communities that were, as Dickens wrote of the Seven Dials, "a pure mixture of Englishmen and Irishmen," as well as in places where local people would have had little or no contact with people of any other nationality.[2] It argues, as Simon Frith does, that music is not a reflection of culture, it is not a *Volksgeist*, but rather that it has the potential to *form* culture – and so in turn, the pervasiveness of Irish songs on nineteenth-century English streets, rural villages, drawing rooms, and concert halls, made their contribution to certain sectors of British identity formation *inevitable* – albeit in ways that were intangible, unconscious, masked, projected, hidden. As such, this thesis is an exploration of reception; it acknowledges that we can never know definitively how any person in the nineteenth century interpreted an Irish-themed song that he or she heard on the street, but it sees the exploration of the subjective receptive possibilities in these songs as a valuable exercise in discovering how collective national and political identities are formed through phenomena that exist beyond conceptions of nation. It proposes that the various types of Irish songs

[2] Charles Dickens, *Sketches by Boz*, 1837, 42.

that were found on nineteenth-century streets were embraced in English popular culture within specific socio-cultural and temporal paradigms that are represented by the themes that make up the following chapters – simplicity, home/disconnection, nature/nation, sentiment/community, and resistance.

This thesis focuses upon the aesthetic rather than the artistic end of the spectrum, that is, upon reception rather than authorial intent – partly because many of these texts are authorless or in performance multi-authored, and also because this is more a study of popular culture than a literary critique.[3] As such, this project constitutes analysis of potential subjectivities and as Jerome McGann describes them, the "less mediated perceptual encounters (affect at all levels)" that occurred when contemporaries encountered these songs.[4] It acknowledges that although "music [or a song text] may be shaped by the people who first make and use it", significantly (especially in the case of songs that are widely dispersed), as experience, it "has a life of its own."[5] So as a body of text that emerges from, and is experienced in, a complex print, visual, melodic and performative cultural environment, it is within the context of this environment that it is most productively analysed and interpreted.

In part, this project forms a contribution to postcolonial discourse and to the works of writers such as L. Perry Curtis, Michael de Nie and R. F. Foster, whose writing explores images of Ireland published in British nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals such as *Punch*. Many of these depictions of Ireland and of Irish people, were highly derogatory – in the form of caricatures such as those published in *Punch*, or in the form of writings on Irish people, or political and economic issues.[6] The works of Curtis (*Apes and Angels*) and De Nie (*The Eternal Paddy*) especially, explore these negative depictions and their work forms part of the postcolonial theoretical framework relating to Edward Said's *Orientalism* and its insight into the essentialism at the core of orientalist discourse on the "Orient". Within the colonial paradigm, works such as these have highlighted the ways in which discourse on the colonized by the colonizer has contributed to the ease with which colonial projects were accepted in the metropole – and in turn the ways in which Ireland was viewed as

[3] Wolfgang Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," 1980.
[4] Jerome J. McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 5.
[5] Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," 109.
[6] See for example Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences of My Irish Journey in 1849*, 1882.

colony (as a resource to be ruled) in nineteenth-century Britain.[7] This project contributes to these debates in the sense that it widens the debate around the representation of Ireland in England to include song and popular culture, suggesting that postcolonial analysis is incomplete without mention of the vast body of material that was, in the nineteenth century, overwhelmingly positive rather than derogatory. It acknowledges that these positive depictions of Ireland may have contributed to what Leerssen describes as "imagemes", that is, the seemingly contradictory vacillation between extreme appreciation or deprecation that ultimately result in a value judgement used to negative effect, for example, the Ireland of "mindless violence and the Ireland of poetic sentiment are both opposed to a notion of reasonable realism."[8] But it also considers how people who heard Irish-themed songs might have absorbed their sentiments wholesale, and identified in ways that drew positive conclusions about Ireland – in ways that were more immediate, visceral, personal, than conscious or knowledgeable of the colonial paradigm. Much postcolonial scholarship has omitted analysis of popular culture, perhaps seen most dramatically in Said's almost visceral dislike of popular music (including Arabic and world music), in his presentation of western classical music as normative, and in his "overtly orientalist clichés" when describing popular Arab music.[9] As has been noted, Said seemed to ignore the "politically subversive potential" in popular music, revealing a classism that might be applied to his work as a whole in its disregard of class in favour of nation.[10]

Yet, this thesis is an exploration of "popular culture" rather than of class. Street ballads were heard by anyone who passed by a ballad singer on the street, and many street ballads were also songs that were sung in drawing rooms and concert halls of the middle classes. On the other end of the social spectrum, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, street ballads were more affordable (for example to female servants and children)[11] and numerous than ever before, and so it is only from this time onward that they can be viewed as "popular" or indicative of public taste. So although "popular" is a contentious term because of its associations with

[7] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 334.
[8] Joep Leerssen, "Imagology: History and Method," 29.
[9] Wouter Capitain, "Edward Said on Popular Music," 2017.
[10] Capitain, 50.
[11] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, vol. I, 1861, 251.

moral/intellectual judgments based upon quality and commercialization – it is an especially useful term here because street-songs were so widely disseminated geographically as well as across the whole social spectrum. So "popular" is used here in its widest sense to refer to songs that were sung or "consumed by a large number of people."[12] As such it encompasses people of all levels of education – those who had knowledge of Irish geography, history and politics, and those, who like Jane Austen's Fanny Price thought of Ireland as "the Island", and for whom the images contained within these songs would have contributed significantly to their impressions of Ireland as place.[13] The idea of "popular song" is also useful in that it encapsulates the full range of song genres found on nineteenth century streets: from (shortened) narrative ballads; to lyrics that retained elements of orally-transmitted songs; to stage-song; to national song, sentimental song; to comic song, to songs written by literary authors and songs written especially for street sale by dedicated street-ballad authors. So, nineteenth-century street ballads were a "popular" body of song that represented an intersection between all of these genres.

The songs chosen for analysis here have either been chosen because they were widely printed as street ballads, or because they are representative of a genre in some way. How well-known an individual song actually was in nineteenth-century popular culture, can be gauged in a number of ways, for example: by how often a song was printed by different ballad printers; how often it was printed by the same printer in multiple print runs; how often it was printed in different geographical locations; how often it was published in places other than the street; whether it was collected by multiple contemporaneous street-ballad collectors; and whether it now appears in multiple extant collections or not. Ballad-printers' catalogues are a relatively accurate reflection of the type of material held in extant collections, and so they are a useful resource in analysing the repertoire as a whole. It is relatively safe to assume that if a song was printed in large enough numbers (if it appears multiple times in extant collections), then ballad printers and sellers thought it appealing enough to sell, and it was therefore likely to have been sung by people in their homes and communities; and as part of the exploration of aesthetic interpretation, commercial viability can be seen as reflective of societal tastes, interests and attitudes.

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[12] Andrew King and John Plunkett, editors, *Victorian Print Media: A Reader*, 165.
[13] Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 19.

One way of confirming whether an individual song was actually sung or not is to check whether or not it was collected by the folk-song collectors of the "folk-song" revival at the turn of the twentieth century. Yet, although the songs collected in the first folk revival are invaluable sources of orally disseminated song, they cannot be used as a definitive guide to the songs that people actually sung because they are too reflective of collectors' tastes as opposed to accurate survey. Too many of those involved in the folk revival would have shared the view of eminent nineteenth-century ballad collector Francis James Child that street ballads are "vulgar … despicable and worthless."[14] But the distinction between "ballad" and "street-ballad" is often confused and worth clarifying here. In the nineteenth century, the terms "street-ballad" and "street-song" were used interchangeably to describe songs sold for street sale. The term "broadsides" or "broadside ballads" were, and are, more commonly a reference to the ballad sheets of the style printed from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century; that is, printed in landscape format, (until the eighteenth century) in gothic type, with one (relatively long) song consisting of four or five columns of printed text and a woodcut in the top left corner. Contemporaneously, the format that became most common for nineteenth-century ballad sheets was half the size of the older broadsides and consisted of two columns of text with usually either one or two songs (sometimes more) and a woodcut or two at the top of the page. Sometimes, it was possible to divide the sheet down the middle to create two "slip-sheets" or "slip-songs".

The term "street *ballad*" is somewhat problematic because strictly speaking not all (very few) nineteenth century "street ballads" were "ballads" in the most accurate sense, that is, a narrative song, composed in "ballad metre" (also known as "common metre), old enough that its author has been forgotten, and sometimes passed down orally through generations with the effect that texts varied. In contrast, a "song" is usually a shorter lyric, not necessarily narrative (but can be), often containing a refrain (chorus) and sometimes having been written by a known author but might also be an anonymous song that was passed down orally through the generations. In eighteenth-century street publication, the taste for street "songs" as opposed to

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[14] Francis J. Child, ""Ballad Poetry," *Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia,* 1900," 218.

"ballads" may partly have been a result of the change from the larger, black-letter ballad sheets, to the smaller, "white-letter" sheets which necessitated shorter texts. All the nineteenth-century street-songs or street-ballads were therefore "songs" in this sense (apart from a few in very small numbers printed in the old style in the first decade of the century).

And although "street ballad" is often imagined to be a "folk song" or an "old ballad", it encompasses a far wider range of song types than either of these terms convey. "Folk song" was a term that first came to prominence in the 1880s, and as Steve Roud notes it is notoriously difficult to define. Orality and dissemination down through the generations is one of its defining characteristics, but although orality "has always been an extremely important component in folk traditions … since the invention of printing, there has probably never been a purely 'oral' tradition even among the lower classes."[15] In turn, songs printed as street ballads in the nineteenth century, including Irish-themed songs, entered oral tradition to be found by song collectors of the folk revival at the turn of the twentieth century.

The historical focus of the term "folk", and its relation "traditional" song, means that they are both inherently and inevitably tied to the idea of nation. And, in turn, as a study of Irish themes in English street balladry, this thesis is also about nation – but it is more interested in the performing present, the geographical endpoint, and the imagined nation, than song origin. As such, it does not seek to contribute to the trajectory in which the "classificatory urge" of the early modern period and imagological analysis are found, but instead seeks to explore, through street-song, the various potential aesthetic appeals of Ireland as place in order to contribute to understandings of the "discourse of representation" in which these representations occur.[16] In other words, it constitutes "imagological" rather than "proto-imagological" analysis, the latter being a study of representation in order to determine essential national traits or characteristics, and the former acknowledging that "it is in the field of imaginary and poetical literature that national stereotypes are first and most

[15] Steve Roud and Julia Bishop, *Folk Song in England*, 24.
[16] Joep Leerssen, "Imagology: History and Method," 17 & 27. And see Simon Frith, "Towards an aesthetic of popular music," 135.

effectively formulated, perpetuated and disseminated."[17] As Joep Leerssen argues: "the cultural context in which these images are articulated and from which they originate is that of a discursive praxis, not an underlying, let alone 'national' public opinion."[18]

This thesis is then concerned with the variety of subjective receptions that occurred on hearing these songs, and it seeks to contribute to a wider project that deconstructs idealized visions of nationhood in order to explore the individual impulses and yearnings that give rise to nationalism, and that are (again) contributing to the emerging nationalisms of the twenty-first century. It takes as a basic premise, the idea that interpretation occurred both in cultural context as well as on an individual basis – and that it occurred beyond conceptions of nation (for example Ireland as sister nation, or Ireland as colonized nation) and instead within paradigms such as "disconnection" or "resistance". So, this thesis focuses on how the visions of Ireland contained within these songs were received aesthetically and subjectively. The author of the songs is only very rarely found printed on the ballad sheet and when known (from other sources), authorship is explored throughout as tool for exploring reception rather than with the aim of exploring the author, in Herderian terms, as representative of national "spirit". Simon Frith's work is relevant here:

> I want to reverse the usual academic and critical argument: the issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience – a musical experience, an aesthetic experience – that we can only make sense of by taking on both a subjective and a collective identity. The aesthetic, to put this another way, describes the quality of an experience (not the quality of an object); it means experiencing ourselves (not just the world) in a different way.[19]

Subjectivity (via the "aesthetic experience") therefore takes centre stage in this analysis in that it allows for exploration of the ways in which these experiences contributed to various types of identity formation within England. As an exploration

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[17] Leerssen, "Imagology: History and Method," 26-7.
[18] Ibid., 27.
[19] Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," 109.

of the representation of nation within another nation, the "dynamics between those images which characterize the [national] Other (*hetero-images*) and those which characterize one's own, domestic identity (*self-images or auto-images*)" (or national identity as constructed through Other) is indeed the most obvious place to start (and the approach usually taken in postcolonial studies of representations of Ireland within England). However, in its attempt to explore identification beyond the national paradigm, this thesis argues that Ireland became a metaphor that contributed not only to conceptions of Britishness as it was in the nineteenth century, but also to other types of identity formation such as the identity of the jocular countryman, the ethereal maiden, or the proud rebel – identities formed against the backdrop of paradigms such as agricultural oppression, cultural chauvinism or failed political reform. Similarly to Frith's conception of music producing identity, Leerssen argues that "images do not reflect identities, [especially collective identities] but constitute possible identifications." [20] So identifications with Irish themes might be linked to ideas of nation, but they can alternatively be linked to forms of emotional expression – and in turn to the emotions that ultimately underlie all political decision-making.

Necessarily then, identity as conceived for this project is mobile; it is "*mobile*, a process not a thing, a becoming not a being", an experience of "*self-in-process*" (original italics).[21] Frith's account of his own experience as a young (white) person taking his identity from black music is based on his view of identity as something that "comes from the outside not the inside", something we "put or try on", and this occurs even in nationalist circles where arguably some individuals are always more "national" than others.[22] As Frith notes, "[a]nti-essentialism is a necessary part of musical experience, a necessary consequence of music's failure to register the separations of body and mind on which such 'essential' differences (between black and white, female and male, gay and straight, nation and nation) depend."[23] So, although a song might be understood in a certain way in, for example, Irish nationalist circles, it might be understood in subtly different ways outside those circles where differing "performing and narrative rules" are at play. When new interpretations,

[20] Leerssen, "Imagology: History and Method," 27.
[21] Frith, "Music and Identity," 109.
[22] Ibid., 122.
[23] Ibid., 122. For a counter-argument see Erich Hatala-Matthes, "Cultural Appropriation Without Cultural Essentialism?"

meanings and resonances thus occur, they might be viewed in terms of historical inaccuracies, but the subjective interpretations in the hearer still serve to shed light upon the culture in which those interpretations are made. It might even be argued that ultimately, the melody's ability to communicate directly, to "cross borders" of intellectual thought, to filtrate space and to suffuse barriers of understanding – a kind of transcendent understanding occurs. Indisputably, this ability makes it a malleable and powerful tool in both individual and collective identity formation, as seen in the use of songs and hymns in various political movements such as the anti-Corn-law league, the Chartist movement, the United Irishmen or the Young Irelanders, where communal identity formation was needed.[24] In these contexts, self and cultural identity are intertwined in a "dramatized pattern of relationships" that are easily applied to narratives of nation (Ireland as separate, or as sister, or as subservient) – but the song texts show that Ireland was also variously heard within narrative terms that were more complex, such as: political ally against oppression; bastion of resistance; vision of pre-industrial "British" authenticity; or in thematic terms as representative of motifs such as simplicity, home, wildness, heroism, community, nature.[25]

For some songs analysed here, nationhood is necessarily a more central consideration than in others. Leerssen's conception of "imaginated tropes" is useful here (as illustrated, for example, by the idea that "the French are freedom-loving individuals").[26] When an Irish-themed song contains an imaginated trope such as "[n]o wonder that we Irish lads then are so blythe and frisky" (from "St Patrick's Day in the Morning"), the idea of identification with this theme in England becomes more problematic because of the explicit and definitive nature of Irish nationhood that is expressed.[27] But in these analyses, the importance of the communal experience of melody comes to the fore. If, as Frith argues, music is "key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others, of the subjective in the collective,"

[24] For songs of the anti-Corn-Law league see song-sheets housed in John Rylands Library, Manchester. Note that chartist songs were rarely printed by the ordinary street-ballad printers and are rarely found in extant street-ballad collections. For songs of the United Irishmen see the *Paddy's Resource* songbooks held in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
[25] Frith, "Music and Identity," p. 125.
[26] Leerssen, "Imagology: History and Method," 27-8.
[27] "St Patrick's Day in the Morning" printed by W. Armstrong, Liverpool. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/11047.gif

then in performance, even patriotic songs that in their text exclude the non-Irish hearer offer a collective experience in which the hearer is immersed. [28]

Both individual identity formation, "self-in-process", as well as collective identity formation, occurred via street-ballad culture and are considered in the receptions that are explored throughout this thesis via: the texts themselves; the visual and textual contexts in which the song appeared on the ballad sheet (i.e. the songs and woodcuts alongside which the song appears); contemporary accounts of the songs-texts, similar texts, or performance; the time-period during which the song was printed; and other circumstances surrounding authorship, performance or printing. Identity formation via street-songs occurs: in the pleasure experienced by an individual hearing a song (identification is unlikely to occur directly if the song is disliked); in the collective experience of an audience; in the re-performance of the song (whereby the experience of "both self and others" experienced "intensely" is repeated) during which the song is necessarily embodied through the act of singing; and in the purchase of a ballad-sheet to learn the lyrics, to give as a gift, or to hang on a wall. The purchase of a ballad-sheet can be viewed as precursor to the act of buying a record or concert ticket – acts that can be viewed as constituting the performance of identity. Moreover:

> The experience of pop music [or any music] is an experience of identity: in responding to a song, we are drawn, haphazardly, into emotional alliances with the performers and with the performers' other fans. Because of its qualities of abstractness, music is, by nature, an individualizing form. We absorb songs into our own lives and rhythm into our own bodies; they have a looseness of reference that makes them immediately accessible. At the same time, and equally significantly, music is obviously collective … Music … stands for, symbolizes *and* offers the immediate experience of collective identity.[29]

In the contemporary accounts of listeners crowding around ballad singers on nineteenth-century streets (referenced in the chapters that follow), it is easy to visualize their experience as a shared one – and to imagine the feelings of alliance

[28] Frith, "Music and Identity," 110.
[29] Ibid., 121.

with the sentiments of the performer and the rest of the audience through lyric and melody. Even if there is discord between the ideologies of performer and audience, the potential for "emotional alliances" occurs and a common identity of sorts is created. The hearer may or may not leave the performance with a printed sheet, but they are likely to leave with a lingering sense of the sentiment that was co-created with the crowd, or the narrative lingering in their mind, or the melody in their ear.

IRISHNESS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

It might be argued that the appearance of Irish songs and themes in popular English culture is too obvious and commonplace to warrant comment. In response, I would argue that the extent of the popularity of Irish themes in English popular culture is a point too often overlooked in explorations of Irish-English relations. And in postcolonial analyses of Ireland especially, the extent of Irish involvement in English public life has also often been ignored or downplayed. In the omission of both, the extent of the real and everyday interrelations between the peoples of the two nations has been lost. This thesis is built partly on the premise that such a strong presence of another imagined place or nation within any culture is worthy of further study and has the potential to provide valuable insight into wider studies of nationhood, state, politics and culture. The following introduction to Irishness in nineteenth-century England is by no means a comprehensive review, but its aim here is to provide some flavour of the Irish context and background against which Irish-themed street-ballads were received in English popular culture.

In 2005, an exhibition titled "'Conquering England': Ireland in Victorian London" held in the National Portrait Gallery London, provided a striking visual snapshot of the significant contribution that all walks of Irish life made in Victorian London. The exhibition included paintings, sketches, print and sculpture of and/or by Irish Londoners, and it revealed the integral role that Irish people played in the professional, political and artistic life of nineteenth-century London. The production of these works of art in the potentially divisive era of (for example) Fenianism (1860s) and high levels of Irish immigration (an example of which is seen in the Tory *Morning Post* being run by "Irish nationalists in all its key departments" by 1870),

shows that as a body, Irish people were full participants in English public life in ways that could not be easily untied or simplistically explained along national lines.[30] Moreover, the Irish in London, Manchester and numerous English cities beyond, whether of the poor or professional classes, did not exclusively work and socialize within their own national communities. This becomes clear in accounts given, for example, by those involved in radical politics (see chapter 1 and 5), or in friendships between notables such as the Irish artist Daniel Maclise (illustrator of Thomas Moore's lyrics and painter of "The Origin of the Harp", 1842) and Charles Dickens,[31] and between the Irish "master of rolls" (and defender of the United Irishmen) John Philpot Curran and the parents of the comedian Charles James Mathews.[32]

In rural areas also, and in less professional arenas, Irish people made appearances often enough for Ireland to be regularly mentioned, albeit not often enough to warrant no comment from memoirists such as Mary Russell Mitford, writer of village life in Berkshire. A "gallant" Mrs Floyd, for example, was written about by the writer of *Our Village*, as the Irish wife of an admiral, and one half of a couple who had become Mitford's new neighbours; Mrs Floyd had met and married the admiral after his sojourn in Cork Harbour many years before. "Emily", was another Irish-born character living in the village – a "devoted" young companion to her grandmother. Other Irish characters included the "drovers and drivers of all kinds and countries – English, Irish, Welsh, and Scotch" that made their way through the village to the local fair each year as regular, seasonal visitors.[33] These examples serve as reminder of the kinds of intermingling that took place throughout the nineteenth century, and provide vivid contexts within which song, tune and dance transmission would have taken place.

This transmission is evidenced in English music culture throughout the nineteenth century from beginning to end. Already in the early-century – decades before the mass Irish immigration that occurred in the wake of the famine of the 1840s – John Clare's collection of songs and tunes provides an example of the dispersal of Irish themes in English oral and musical folk tradition far beyond the urban immigrant

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[30] R. F. Foster, "'An Irish Power in London': making it in the Victorian metropolis," 15.
[31] Fintan Cullen, "From mythical abstractions to modern realities," 56.
[32] Anne Mathews, *Anecdotes of Actors*, 1844, 233.
[33] Mary Russell Mitford, *Our Village*, 1853, 15.

centres.[34] Examples of Irish-themed song-lyrics in Clare's collection include a song with the appellation "taken from my fathers singing" in which an Irish stage for the song's narrative emerges in the lines "For my true lovers [s]ake / Who sailed from the coast of Kildair" [*sic*].[35] Another example from Clare's father, "Peggy Band" was rewritten by Clare as was common practice also among street-song writers; Clare's narrative follows a similar course to other printed versions of the song, but the song's numerous variations and titles illustrate the fluidity of these song texts at the time.[36] "Peggy Band" was possibly printed for the first time in a chapbook published in Belfast in 1764. Subsequently, it came into notable contact with, for example, Robert Burns who wrote his lyric "Man was made to Mourn" to be sung to the air of "Peggy Bawn" and Ludwig van Beethoven who composed a musical arrangement for it. It was also published by numerous street-ballad printers who, in addition to the "original", printed songs with titles such as "Peggy Band's Answer".[37]

Clare's collection of fiddle tunes was also infused with Irish themes, in ways that were sometimes more obvious than others. Various attempts have been made throughout history to identify the melodic patterns unique to Irish music, for example in terms of the omission in a tune of the 4th and 7th notes in the diatonic scale, or in terms of the *presence* of the major sixth, or in terms of this music being modal (for example, the song "Paddy's Green Shamrock Shore" being in the mixolydian mode), but more generally Irish tunes were often considered (and are still) to have a kind of melancholy sound.[38] So, there are certainly melodic inflections that would no doubt have been conceived as Irish by some rural instrumentalists in England. However, it would have been via the more clear-cut signifiers of tune-titles that Irish themes were most obviously signposted. As with Irish-themed songs, tune-titles do not necessarily guarantee Irish origin, but they indicate the presence of, or meditation on, Ireland as imagined place during instrumental rendition. Some examples in Clare's collection include: "Corporal Cazy" [*sic*] (from the stage play *The Surrender of Calais*, 1791), "Morgiana in Ireland", "Paddy Whack", "Irish Union" (for which Clare provides

[34] See George Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*.
[35] Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, 120.
[36] Ibid., 146-149.
[37] "Peggy Band" & "Peggy Band's Answer" printed by "Wrighton, D", Birmingham. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/10028.gif
[38] Edward F. Rimbault, "VII – The National Melodies of Ireland," 637 (after Edward Bunting). The mixolydian mode is a major key with a flattened 7th note.

“dance instructions”), “Sleepy Maggy” (a tune commonly played in traditional music session in Ireland although the title does not necessarily indicate Irishness), “Paddy Carey”, “Irish Washer Woman”, “Irish Girl”, “The Bards Legacy” (Thomas Moore) and “Sprig of Shillelah” (see chapter 1).[39] The polka “Rakes of Mallow” which is well known in traditional music sessions in Ireland today, is noted down by Clare as “Rakes of Mellow”, revealing that, just as in the case of fluid song-lyrics, tunes undergo appellative fluidity, alongside the inevitable melodic fluidity that occurs in the dissemination of aurally-transmitted or homemade music.[40]

These examples provide evidence that already early in the nineteenth century (and likely a long time before this) Irish-themed songs and music were not confined to Irish communities in cities, but actively sung and played in rural England among people with no direct connection to Ireland. Evidently Irish themes were not only found in print, but they could also be found in the intangible realm of learned-by-ear melody and oral song – a phenomenon that was also evident at the end of the nineteenth century when Irish-themed songs were collected by folk-song revivalists (mainly in southern England). So the presence of this music in nineteenth-century England was taken for granted to the extent that, it might be argued, their distinctiveness as nationally Other might have become somewhat blurred.

Fictional accounts also provide perspectives on how Irish songs and music were performed and perceived. Two decades after Clare was doing most of his tune and song collecting, Dickens’ *David Copperfield* provides an example of Irish songs being performed not by rural musicians but by the members of the middle classes. Here, the character of Steerforth implores his cousin to “Sing us an Irish song … and let me sit and listen as I used to.” Cousin Rosa obliges, and sings with the accompaniment of her harp, the result of which entrances Copperfield, the narrator:

> I don’t know what it was, in her touch or voice, that made that song the most unearthly I have ever heard in my life, or can imagine. There was something fearful in the reality of it. It was as if it had never been written, or set to music,

[39] Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, 312-365
[40] Ibid., 318.

> but sprung out of passion within her; which found imperfect utterance in the low sounds of her voice.

Copperfield is roused from his "trance" only when Rosa, in response to Steerforth's leering, "struck him [Steerforth]", and threw him off "with the fury of a wild cat", and "burst out of the room."[41] Rosa is not an Irish character, but this anecdote illustrates the Romantic connotations that were so inherently associated with Irish music and song; Steerforth treats the "Irish song" as something fitting for nostalgic enjoyment, while the effect on Copperfield is one of entrancement by something deemed both real and otherworldly – something too pure of essence to have been sullied by the mundane prosaicness of being "set to music." The song's "passion" is infused in the depiction of the performer herself – she leaves like a "wild cat", invoking the exoticized "wild" of Sydney Owenson's *Wild Irish Girl* and the wider Romantic-period fascination with a mysterious type of untamed femaleness.

Contemporary writing in publications such as periodicals was, as a whole, no less florid on the subject of Irish song and culture. With the usual self-consciousness of class and nationality evident in periodical writings on ballad culture as a whole (including ballad culture within England), this writing was often symptomatic of "occidental" writing in its simultaneous disparagement and elevation of its subject matter.[42] Even writing on English street-ballad culture made it Other, enigmatic, exotic, as seen for example in an article on street-song in *Household Words* in which the author declares that the "masses" have an "Anthology and Parnassus of their own" (which, as the following chapters show, was not the case).[43] Two articles on Irish song, one written in the *Monthly Chronicle* in 1839, and another in *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1843 illustrate the type of rhetoric that was common. The first article declares the "moral and social characteristics of the [Irish] people" to be "faithfully reflected in their music and their lyrical poetry", because "both" are "defective as works of refined and cultivated Art, but full of the wild beauty and impassioned energy of Nature …[and] [t]he traditional music of the Irish discovers exquisite

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[41] Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 1850, 1992, 372.
[42] See Saree Makdisi, *Making England Western*, 2014.
[43] "Street Minstrelsy," *Household Words*, 1859, 577.

sensibility rather than a knowledge of the science of composition."[44] This perception of Irish music, and of Ireland itself, as an entity existing in a natural, pure, raw state, was a repeated trope in both celebratory and critical writing – and was reflective of a viewpoint that saw Ireland both in terms of nationally Other, as well as (paradoxically) in terms of a personal and/or communal Self that was desirable, rediscoverable and preservable. Both of these perspectives might be viewed in terms of social Darwinism, but this thesis argues that the medium of these texts as musical lyric meant that more closely-identifying and sympathetic receptions were not only possible, but also more likely.

The *Bentley's Miscellany* article echoes the paradoxes above, acting as an appreciation of Irish music while again emphasising the social distance between author and readers (who are presumed to be English and of the educated classes), and the subject matter who are a certain "class of persons in Ireland" and the "peasantry" – in a way that more explicitly (than in the extract above) elevates the author's selfhood and exoticizes the subject.[45] After an apologia for the subject matter as a whole, in which Thomas Moore is praised for doing "good service" to his country "by showing that there was at least something national in Ireland worthy of admiration", the article heaps the type of lavish praise upon Ireland that was common in periodical writing of the period:[46]

> There is, truly, something of the old spirit of chivalry still in the Irish character; in its gallantry and dashing courage; in its ardent patriotism and overflowing hospitality; and something even romantic in its strange combinations of wit and pathos, exuberant animal spirits with deep melancholy, which could not, perhaps, find a more appropriate voice than in the melodies. This may be one of the causes why the "ould music" finds an echo in every Irish heart: while the associations connected with every melody, the lively air, as well as the mournful strain, link them inseparably to the green isle. They are in every sense *national*.[47]

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[44] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland," *Monthly Chronicle*, 1839, 385.
[45] "Irish Songs," *Bentley's Miscellany*, 1843, 308.
[46] "Irish Songs," 1843, 307.
[47] "Irish Songs," 1843, 307.

This "national" distinctiveness is a common theme in writing on Ireland, and is praised in the *Monthly Chronicle*, which after listing the defining characteristics of French, Spanish, Italian, Polish and German songs in simple adjective terms, declares Irish music, in a similar way to David Copperfield's "unearthly", as somehow beyond description:

> … but we should be puzzled to describe, with similar brevity and distinctness, the characteristics of productions in which reckless fancy, melting pathos, arch vivacity, religious sentiment, broad exaggerations of the ludicrous, love, heroism, and tradition, appear to be alike indigenous. That overflow of grief and joy – that intense spirituality – that metempsychosis of humour and pathos, for which Irish songs are remarkable – cannot be very easily reduced to a verbal delineation.[48]

This delineation was nevertheless attempted in *Bentley's Miscellany* which, after declaring that music in Ireland "reached a very high degree of perfection", outlines some of its characteristics:

> … If you want love-songs, where will you find such touching melodies as those where the "minor third" is so invariably employed to produce its pleasing melancholy? If you want wit and humour, call to remembrance the way in which poor Power used to sing "The Groves of Blarney;" and, for convivial, real Bacchanalian, songs, it would be contrary to all experience, if those who understand so well the virtues of the bottle could not celebrate them in becoming strains.[49]

The universality of Irish songs, as hinted at here, emphasises the argument made throughout this thesis, that Irish songs were celebrated not only by all those who "understood so well the virtues of the bottle" in the case of bacchanalian songs (see chapter 1) but more widely by those who identified with the various emotive themes in Irish-themed songs of all kinds. Yet:

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[48] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland," 1839, 385-386.
[49] "Irish Songs," 1843, 309-312.

> … it is truly that the final impression is that of sadness. A low wail runs through their cheeriest music, and even at the height of the most festive and exulting delight, you feel that a single touch of the wire would melt it all into the deepest woe.[50]

As the century progressed, and as the following chapters illustrate, the mythical, historical vision of Ireland became proportionally more prevalent in English street balladry than the comic vision, and so for many, it was Irish music's inherent "sadness", or as seen in Chapter Four "pathos", that prevailed.

Around a decade after these two periodical articles were published, Mary Russell Mitford (author of *Our Village*, 1824-1832) praises the ballads of Ireland's lesser-known song writers, Thomas Davis, John Banim, and Gerald Griffin, in her *Recollections of a Literary Life* (1852). Mitford writes that Thomas Moore was an "undoubted wit", but questions whether he should "pass in the highest English circles for the only song-writer of Ireland…" Using language similar as that used contemporaneously to describe the works of peasant poets such as John Clare, Mitford likens the songs of these lesser-known poets to works of nature – as "rough", but full of "truth and intensity of feeling":

> Do people really prefer flowers made of silk and cambric, of gum and wire, the work of human hands however perfect, to such as Mother Earth sends forth in the gushing spring-time, full of sap and odor, sparkling with sunshine and dripping with dew?[51]

Mitford's *Recollections* is an appreciation of her "favorite writers" [*sic*], and it is telling that the section on "Irish Authors" constitutes the second chapter in a book of forty-two chapters, second only after the first chapter on *Percy's Reliques*; naming *Reliques* as a significant influence on one's work was a veritable tradition by this time, notable forerunners being writers such as William Wordsworth and Walter Scott. And in turn, to place a chapter on "Irish Authors" as its natural successor seems a nod toward the paradigm in which Irishness was placed in English popular, as well

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[50] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland," 1839, 385-386.
[51] Mary Russell Mitford, *Recollections*, 1852, 22-24.

as in literary, culture – a paradigm that linked Irishness to Romantic-period poetics as defined by ethereality, nature, ancientness, music and mystery.[52] Significantly, the third chapter is titled "Authors associated with *Places*" – making these meditations on "place" the ultimate endpoint in a chain of associations that began with Percy's *Ancient* "*English*" *Poetry*, before moving to "Irish" Authors and then to "place".

Twenty years after Mitford's *Recollections*, Ireland is again placed in a Romantic paradigm similar to that seen in *David Copperfield*, in an article published in *The Leisure Hour* in 1875 by the organist and musicologist E. F. Rimbault. The article constitutes a "slight sketch" of the "national music of Ireland", the bulk of which is a quite technical account of the theory surrounding the types of scales and rhythms by which Irish melody might be defined, and which includes mention of Irish music publications such as that by: "William" Bunting (Edward Bunting) who published his collections of Irish melodies in 1796, 1809 and 1840; *The Dance Music of Ireland* by R. M. Levey published in two volumes in 1858 and 1873; George Petrie's *Collection of Irish Music* published in 1855; and Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* (published in 10 volumes between 1808 and 1834).[53] Yet despite the technical analysis that occurs, this article concludes with the type of florid language seen in previous articles:

> … [t]he national music of Ireland is eminently beautiful – "so unapproachably unique, so exquisitely graceful, so unlike any other music of the nations around us." The Irish tunes bear the impress of better days, when the native nobles of the country cultivated music as part of their education; and amid the wreck of Irish national history are perhaps the most faithful evidences we have still remaining of the mental cultivation and refinement of a most remarkable nation.[54]

Here again is the description of Ireland's music as ethereal, other-worldly, and as "unapproachably unique". Ireland's music, and by association Ireland itself, is imagined as separate from the other nations "around us", it is treated as singular and held up as beacon of an antiquity that is somehow outside this prosaic world – and

[52] Mitford, *Recollections*, 1852, v.
[53] Edward F. Rimbault, "VII – The National Melodies of Ireland," 1875, 639.
[54] Ibid. (the quote within the quote is not referenced in Rimbault's article).

this imagery is reflected in many of the street-ballad texts. Ireland's foundation story is one inherently bound with its music; and in Ireland, the "impress" of the days when its ancient nobles "cultivated music as part of their education" is still evident in its music – where a sparkle of incandescence might still be found. The "wreck of Irish national history" is acknowledged, but Ireland's tragedy only increases the extraordinary enchantment of its ancient past. It seems that Ireland becomes in these accounts by English writers, an unconscious projection, borne out of the anxiety of progress in the face of England's irrevocable change; less unbearable to hold an imagined Ireland up as (British) retainer of last precious remnants of some unremembered, intangible essence of human artistry despite its "wreck" of history, than to acknowledge, or write about, the loss of such an essence in the ruin of England. Present-day Irish culture was also sometimes praised, but it was praise that linked Ireland to attributes that were seen to have been once present, but now lost, in English culture. One example can be found in *Vagabondiana* (1817) in which the author praises Irish culture for its humane treatment of beggars and disabled people, as well as Irish people for being "truly valuable examples of industry" – in comparison to the "the eternal disgrace of the commonality of the English."[55]

It is perhaps unsurprising that such mythical depictions of Ireland were most heavily criticized in Ireland itself. In a review of Thomas Moore's *The Fudges in England* (1835), the author of a *Dublin University Magazine* article veers from the topic in hand to write scathingly about Moore's song lyrics – and specifically their fantastical depictions of Ireland and what the author perceived as their idealisation and eroticization of revolution:

> Who would not be a convert to those dulcet politics so sweetly anti-salique, where the dear reward of insurgent daring was – a smile, the punishment of base dastard loyalty, a death-dealing frown; and where the terrific paraphernalia of sedition were so mingled with flowers, that, somehow or other, conspiracy became inextricably associated with kissing, and fighting the king seemed the natural and necessary prelude to flirting successfully with his loveliest subjects. Erin became, to the universal imagination, a novel

[55] J. T. Smith, *Vagabondiana*, 1817, 1874, 32-33.

> modification of the Mohammedan paradise, where the war and the wooing went on together; houries, in their genuine green, beckoned through the dim clouds of every new Vinegar Hill; and the gallows that once terminated each avenue of treason, rose gracefully wreathed with shamrocks, and shaded into a blower of bliss. Oh! Those delectable days, when each morning's register of fresh murders, was glorified by the ardent imagination of Mr Moore's fair votaries … [56]

This reviewer was evidently over-satiated with the flowery depictions of Ireland, but their subsequent prediction that "these days are irrecoverably past" and that "emancipation has removed its last poor pretext from rebellion" and that this "theme has lost its spirit and its purgency" [*sic*] was evidently, as seen nearly 200 years later, erroneous.[57]

In England, these themes only became more popular – as evidenced from the 1850s onward in the dawn of the "ballad concerts" and in the regularity with which songs with Irish themes were sung there. Fifteen years after publication of *The Fudges* review, around the year 1850, and soon after publication of Thomas Davis' publication of "Máire Bhán A Stóir"[58] (also published in Mitford's *Recollections*, 1852), a song with a similar name, "Molly Astore", became very popular on the English stage and was also printed for street sale (for example by London printers Birt, Such and Fortey). The positive reception that this song received is evidenced in its inclusion in the programmes of numerous "Ballad Concerts" of the mid-nineteenth-century which echoes the reception of other Irish songs at these concerts. The tone of an often re-printed advert that first appeared in *The Observer* in 1853, is revealing both in its account of the song's reception, and in its implicit positive appraisal of "national Irish" song:

> "Mary Astore," Words by Mrs. Crawford, Music by Stephen Glover. – This exquisite ballad, tender and expressive, as it is elegant in its construction, has become a general drawing-room favourite. Miss Dolby, the most charming of

[56] "The Fudges in England" [review article], 1835, 298-299.
[57] Ibid., 299.
[58] Thomas Davis, *Irish National Ballads,* 1848, 54.

> English vocalists, creates a furore as often as she sings this song, over which her interpretation throws a feeling most intense, and adds fresh graces to the conception of the elegant writer and composer; indeed, "Mary Astore," although a new song, is already classed as a national Irish ballad.[59]

"Ballad concerts" took place from the mid-1850s onward, but were organised in earnest from the mid-1860s – most notably by the music manuscript publishers Boosey. The concert programmes were published in newspapers before and/or after the event – and they repeatedly reveal the type of enthusiasm for Irish songs shown in the reception of "Mary Astore". Not only were Irish songs nearly always part of the programme, they were often greeted with rapturous applause and calls for "encore". For example, in January 1869, at one of the Boosey ballad concerts in St. James's Hall, the song "Thady O'Flynn" by Irish composer James Lynam Molloy (Mr. Molloy) "pleased so much that the audience, after hearing all four verses repeated, actually wanted to hear the song a third time."[60] Songs by Irish lyricists such as Thomas Moore, Samuel Lover and James Molloy were frequently sung at these events – as well as songs with Irish themes by English authors such as Claribel (Charlotte Alington Pye Barnard). In response to the second concert organised by John Boosey in 1867, one newspaper article proffered the following theory for its overall success: "If we are a nation of shopkeepers, we are also a nation of ballad singers." This emphasises the point that people enjoyed singing themselves as a form of entertainment as much as they did listening, and from this it can safely be suggested that people bought street-ballad sheets in large part to learn the lyrics themselves, or to give them to someone else to learn and sing.

This second concert organised by Boosey was held in St. James' Hall, and was "literally crowded in every part." It consisted of a programme that included a number of songs with links to Ireland: two songs by the Irish composer Balfe – "Power of Love" and "When other lips"; the Irish melody "Savourneed Deelish"; a new song (that was repeated) by Mr. Molloy named "Clochette"; and Claribel's songs "Oh, Bay of Dublin." The call for encore at the end of the concert was responded to with an

[59] "Mary Astore", 1853, 3.
[60] "London Ballad Concerts," 1869, 3.

arrangement of Thomas Moore's "the Last Rose of Summer."[61] A decade later in 1878 at another of John Boosey's "London Ballad concerts" in St James's Hall, the whole second half of the evening was devoted to Irish songs and ballads in a programme that included, "Come back to Erin" (by Claribel, encored), "The Minstrel Boy" (Moore, encored), and "Kate Kearney" (by Sydney Owenson). Like the concert mentioned above, it ended with a musical rendition of Moore's "Last rose of summer" (arranged by Sigismond Thalberg) that was "so much to the taste of the audience that they called her [the pianist Mdme Arabella Goddard] unanimously back to the platform when she favoured them with "Home, sweet home."[62]

To conclude this section on Irishness in nineteenth-century England, it is worth acknowledging that taken on their own, these examples of English enthusiasm for Irish themes are not necessarily noteworthy, but collectively, they illustrate the extent to which Ireland was not just a neighbouring or (included) British nation, but an imagined entity – a symbol or artistic trope that was used as muse, re-moulded and given meaning. The idea of appropriation might come in here, in the writing, for example, of Irish themes by songwriters such as Charlotte Alington Barnard (Claribel) or Eliza Cook (see chapter 4), or even in the playing of Irish tunes by English instrumentalists. But this thesis focuses instead on the reasons why Ireland was such a widespread theme and on why people might have wanted to "try on" an Irish identity; it seeks to explore what people imagined and what they identified with when they sang or played or danced "Ireland".[63] As these examples show, the "fetishization of culture as the basis for national unity" was not something that occurred only within the borders of the nation being imagined; and analysis of the phenomenon of imagining place (Ireland) – in another place where that imagining did not directly serve a nationalistic agenda (or where it might even be viewed as antagonistic) – serves to provide a unique perspective into the impulses that lie beneath the desire to institute socio-political change via the idea of nation.[64]

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[61] "Mr. John Boosey's Ballad Concerts," 1867, 11.
[62] "London Ballad Concerts," 1878, 143.
[63] Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," 122.
[64] David Dwan, [on Isaiah Berlin and Friedrich Meinecke] "Romantic Nationalism," 731

A BRIEF ARCHIVAL METHODOLOGY

The physical artefacts upon which this thesis is built lie in various libraries in the United Kingdom and the United States. They were accessed via visits to archives in Manchester, Oxford, London, Cambridge and Cardiff; via the digitized images gifted by one library; and via public access online – the latter method being the most regularly utilized throughout the project.

Searchability

As a project that explores a specific theme within a large body of dispersed texts, some categorization of themes within that body was a necessary precursor to analysis. However, because the main focus of my research was the historical contextualisation and analysis of reception, there was limited scope for large-scale, quantitative archival categorization as was originally planned. As a result of this constraint, those digital collections that are searchable online proved the most useful in identifying and tracing the development of key themes. Bodleian Ballads Online (BBO) served as the essential starting point, being searchable in various ways such as via date of printing, theme, subject, title, author, location of printing, and imprint. As such, although the song texts themselves are not searchable via BBO, and although the researcher therefore relies heavily on the unavoidably subjective categorizations given by the library, BBO nevertheless provides an essential launch point for getting an overall impression of the type of material sold on the streets, and for getting preliminary answers to questions such as how often an individual song might have been printed (indicated by a song being extant in the collection on different ballad sheets printed by different printers). Findings gained from the Bodleian could then be checked against results in other collections. For example, if a song such as "Exile of Erin" was found a certain number of times in the Bodleian (25 times in total in a collection of approx. 30,000 songs) its presence in similar numbers in the comparably-sized Madden collection (checked via the Madden's "Author Index" and found 23 times in this collection of 25,000 songs) shows that "Exile of Erin" seems to have been genuinely widely printed (and was not, for example, just a favourite of one ballad collector who donated to the Bodleian).

Those collections that enabled the search of song-texts (rather than just via preordained categorisations) via OCR technology or via transcription, were also invaluable, namely: an album of street literature (OCR) held in University of California Libraries and available via Internet Archive; "English Ballads" in the Library of Scotland (transcriptions searchable via Google); and the Crampton Collection held in the British library (OCR) and available online via their main catalogue. All of these resources were useful when, for example, searching for songs that contained specific key words, or when searching for ballad sheets printed by specific printers.

Scanned images of the Holt collection (approx. 900 songs on 400 sheets) and the collection of street ballads held in Manchester Central Library (approx. 14000 songs on 700 sheets), that were both kindly donated by Chetham's Library, also proved useful – especially at the beginning of the project when the Holt collection (being a relatively small collection compared to the Bodleian and Madden collections) was used as a case study to establish the proportion of Irish-themed songs compared to other songs (such as soldier songs, patriotic songs, or songs about the "condition of England") in post-mid-century Manchester.

Printers' catalogues, obtained from a variety of sources, proved another valuable resource for exploring how representative extant collections may (or may not) have been of the material actually printed and sold. Being essentially lists of songs, they were utilized in a similar way to the Madden collection's "Author Index" in that (once their scanned images were uploaded through OCR software via Evernote) they were searchable which proved useful when, for example, checking whether a specific printer had printed a song even if it wasn't extant in any collection. Examples of catalogues obtained from archival visits include the 1832 catalogue of songs printed by J. Catnach in London extant in the Madden collection, and the 1872 catalogue printed by Thomas Pearson of Manchester held in Manchester City Library.

Different collections were useful as windows into the type of material printed in different time periods and in different locations. Again, the Bodleian collection provided an essential starting point being the largest collection of street ballads in existence, and including street ballads from throughout the duration of the nineteenth

century and from a wide variety of locations including Manchester, London, Glasgow, Leeds and provincial towns. And again, the Madden collection being a similar size and consisting of similar material, served as one of the main corroborating devices (again via its "Author Index"). But as time-specific collections, the Holt collection, consisting almost entirely of sheets printed by John Bebbington (after c.1855) and Thomas Pearson (after c.1860) was significant for exploring themes popular in the second half of the century in Manchester, as was the vast Crampton collection that consists mainly of sheets printed by Henry Such after 1849 (as well as other post-1850 London printers such as Henry Disley and W. S. Fortey). One of the few collections consisting of earlier material is the album of street literature held in the University of California libraries that consists entirely of early- to mid-century London printers (namely, Jemmy Catnach, John Pitts, Ann Ryle and Elizabeth Hodges) who operated between the 1820s and 1840s.

Song selection and analysis

After getting acquainted with the archives as a whole, the main songs for analysis were chosen according to two criteria: those that seemed the most representative of wider Irish themes seen in the collections, and those that seemed to have been the most widely printed – either being printed multiple times by the same printer, or printed by multiple different printers, and/or by printers in a wide variety of locations. Some quantitative analysis (of the smaller collections as well as via BBO) was also undertaken as background research to help choose songs for analysis and to explore how Irish themes evolved over time.

Very few of the songs are transcribed online, so once songs were chosen for analysis they were copied exactly as printed by a specific printer (usually chosen by a printing's provenance or because of a specific woodcut or textual context) to provide an accurate starting point for how the song would have been encountered on the street. The textual analysis of each individual song occurred before wider contextual analysis was undertaken, the latter involving research into: authorship, textual variations, melody, printing dates (which involved exploring dates of all extant printings of the song found in collections via printer-operation dates), dating of musical scores and publication of the song in other song collections, and contemporary accounts of the song including accounts of performance and reception.

At this point, the online platform of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library proved an invaluable resource for exploring different print, manuscript and media sources including transcripts noted down by folk-song collectors (at the end of the nineteenth century) and early-twentieth-century audio recordings. The British Book Trade Index (BBTI) was another helpful digital resource, specifically when attempting to narrow down the printing dates of individual ballad sheets via the dates that printers operated from specific addresses (addresses that were usually listed on ballad sheets as part of the printer's imprint). However, street-ballad printers left few, if any, records and so the dating of ballad sheets, even of those produced by the main printers (such as Catnach or Pitts), is not always straightforward. For example, while some operation dates of the father of Jemmy Catnach (John Catnach) can be found on BBTI, to date (September 2019), his own dates of operation in London are not entered in the BBTI database (likely because they are not verifiable via contemporary trading lists).

This methodology has formed the central core of this project around which the wider contextual and theoretical arguments have been developed.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

The structure of this thesis is based upon a loose chronology of the patterns of Irish representations as they emerged in English street balladry throughout the nineteenth century. Taken as a whole, these images are various and sometimes contrasting, but a pattern is evident in the new layers of representation that emerged to contribute to, and blend with, previous imaginings. Each new layer of representation corresponds relatively closely to what was happening on stage, in literature and in politics. At their broadest, they can be thought of as corresponding to the cultural trends that we now conceive of as Romanticism and Victorianism. Dismantled further, this thesis shows that the century begins with a far higher proportion of comic Irish songs in street balladry than occurred in later decades – a reflection of the popularity of the stage Irishman in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Moving into the first decades of the nineteenth century, a clearly "Romantic" aesthetic – mythic, tragic, heroic, sublime, bucolic – emerges in songs with Irish themes. Then, beginning in the 1840s, a clear shift away from these Romantic-nationalist depictions occurs in the new songs printed, as seen in the increase both of sentimental, as well as of contemporary political themes (political in the sense that they contain explicit references to contemporary socio-political trends and events, as illustrated in wider street-balladry in the "condition of England" songs).

Printing dates for individual ballad sheets can most often only be narrowed down to within a decade or two corresponding to the dates that the printer was in operation, or when they operated from a specific address (although sometimes these printer dates are unknown or conflicting). If a song is by a known author, and if information exists on composition, publication or performance dates of specific songs, then these can contribute to more accurate dating of printed sheets. Most straightforwardly, if a song is about a specific event (for example, royal visits, train accidents or the sinking of ships), then dating of that song or other songs printed on the sheet is clearer. However, most songs on nineteenth-century ballad sheets contain universal themes – and are songs that Henry Mayhew describes as "ballads" as opposed to "ballads on a topic."[65] Many songs were repeatedly printed by the same and different printers

[65] "Two distinctions, indeed, are recognized – 'Ballads' and 'Ballads on a Subject.' The last-mentioned is, as I have said and shown, the publication which relates to any specific event; national or local,

throughout the entirety of the century (such as "Exile of Erin" or "The Minstrel Boy"), so the categories presented in the following chapters overlap considerably, and although tastes changed, a universality of taste across the century is also evident. The chronology given here reflects the order in which the songs emerged and the time-periods in which they were most prevalent; the new songs that emerged in each decade or two reflected certain cultural trends that were in turn the paradigms in which the songs were received.

Chapter 1: Simplicity

Chapter One contains analysis of the comic songs that were prevalent in street balladry during the late-eighteenth and very early years of the nineteenth century. It argues that at this time, comic Irish songs were received in England against the backdrop of a literary and political culture in which the idea of "simplicity" – encompassing the ideas of native rusticity, honesty, authenticity – was a central trope. As a chapter on comic song, it is inevitable that many of these songs began life on the stage with the stage-Irishman. The chapter begins with two examples of these songs, "Corporal Casey" and "Sprig of Shillelagh", and explores the reception of the stage-Irishman, as well as the connection between Irish comic-songs and bawdry, and it proposes that the two were received in a similar vein in the audiences where both were heard. Yet far away from the urban/socialite venues associated with the stage in the eighteenth century, and in the rural areas more associated with orally transmitted songs, comic Irish themes were also evident, especially in those songs, common in both England and Ireland, that were narrated by young male narrators – either about merrymaking and carousing, the adventures of soldiering, or about falling into the life of a highwayman. While these songs had English equivalents (although shifting associations over time will be shown), the next section explores a sub-genre of comic song that was uniquely Irish – songs about St Patrick or St. Patrick's Day. This section analyses how these songs might have been received in England and argues for the possibility that they were participated-in as celebrations of patriotism in circles in England where the kind of oppositional patriotism that developed in the eighteenth century was still active. These songs about St Patrick are notable, because very few

criminal or merely extraordinary, true or false. Under the head 'Ballads,' the street-sellers class all that does not come under the description of 'Ballads on a Subject,'" Henry Mayhew, *London Labour,* vol. I, 1861, 300.

songs of this kind – celebratory but with no overt sectarian element – were printed for street-sale in England after the first decades of the century. The chapter ends with analysis of two songs by known, but very different, authors – Charles Dibdin and Sydney Owenson – with the former being used as an example of the type of song that was not deemed commercially viable for street sale. The contrast in tone between Dibdin's didacticism and Owenson's bawdiness, and the resultant success of the latter compared to the former, illustrates how tastes in Irish-themed material echoed the wider taste for comedy in entertainment.

Chapter 2: Disconnection

Chapter Two again focuses on songs printed for street sale in the early decades of the nineteenth century, this time on songs that emerged out of the events surrounding the Irish revolutionary movements of the 1790s and that centred upon the theme of exile – and more widely of dispossession and of disconnection from place occurring as a result of political decision-making. This chapter argues that the reason that some of these songs were so widely disseminated in England, was because they were received within a socio-political paradigm in which people were faced with the unstoppable dispossession and displacement that had occurred for a number of decades as a result of industrialisation and changes in rural life such as agricultural mechanisation and enclosure – and that although the writing of these songs had been triggered by political events in Ireland, the song themes resonated in England. These changes were both so immense and disempowering that it took a few decades for coherent resistance to come together in the form of the Chartist movement; in the meantime, these Irish songs of exile acted as metaphor for a similar emotional landscape that had occurred for those people, and their descendants, forced to move into urban and industrial lives. These ballads, most of which were written (as well as printed) in the first decade of the century, are different to those emigrant ballads composed in the mid century and analysed in Chapter Four, in that they are more explicitly political; they either relate directly to the situation of political exile, or relay the harrowing results of political oppression in Ireland, such as seen in the song "Mary le More". This chapter is divided into three sections, with the first exploring the theme of exile and centring mainly upon one of the most popular Irish-themed songs of the entire nineteenth century in England, "Exile of Erin" by Thomas Campbell. The second section explores the songs of "Mary le More" by Edward Rushton and their relation

"Ellen O More". Apart from the fact that these songs were widely disseminated in England, the point that both "Exile of Erin" and "Mary le More" were authored outside Ireland, illustrates the extent to which events in Ireland were present in the psyche of the time in Scotland and in England, and provides further evidence of the strong levels of identification with Irish themes that occurred on the neighbouring island. The last section explores the theme of the wanderer that (as seen for example in Wordsworth's work) was a lived experience for many people in England at the time, via another widely printed, but this time anonymous, street ballad titled "The Irish Stranger".

Chapter 3: Nation

Chapter 3 centres upon the theme of place, home, and the nation in songs that emerged on the street around the 1830s. It explores the Romantic-nationalist aesthetic in street-song and argues that Ireland was the most visionary representation of "place" in English street-balladry at the time. It illustrates how Ireland represented an idealised image of nationhood in the street-balladry of the 1830s and suggests that people in England identified with this as an alternative vision of nationhood. The chapter begins with analysis of two songs considered to be part of the English patriotic tradition, "Hearts of Oak" and "Rule Britannia" – as a kind of control study against which the Irish songs can be compared. The following section on the songs of Thomas Moore begins with a comparison between his "Minstrel Boy" and two comparable English songs "Harry Bluff" and "Tom Bowling", before continuing to analyse the way in which Moore's songs epitomized the Romantic-nationalist aesthetic defined here as being mythic, heroic and containing the (stock) imagery of nature both wild and bucolic. The way that these songs were sometimes decorated on ballad sheets provides a visual presentation of the somewhat incongruous combination of comic and Romantic depictions of Ireland that existed in popular culture in the first decades of the century. A further sense of incongruity is seen in the next section, in those songs that paradoxically use Irish-nationalist themes to celebrate British unity. This section shows that the Romantic aesthetic of nation – the faded grandeur, the idealised nature, and the ancient heroism – was applied also to the idea of union and to the idea of Britishness, but argues that ultimately, this Romantic aesthetic was, and is, more suited to national distinction and separation, than to the idea of unity. The final section moves forward in time to analyse those Irish-nationalist street-songs that

retained the Romantic aesthetic into the second half of the century – those songs with roots in the Irish-language *aisling* tradition. These songs combined a Romantic-nationalist aesthetic with more overtly sectarian (and ergo more overtly political) themes. The elements of oral-song conventions in these songs indicates their potential for popular appeal and the ease with which they could be sung, and this section argues that these songs were a manifestation not only of the increasingly separatist and revolutionary nature of Irish nationalism at the time (as evidenced in the emergence of the Young Ireland movement), but that they were received in England against the backdrop of increasing social division in the decades post 1850 (division that is explored more in chapters four and five).

Chapter 4: Sentiment

This chapter explores the Irish-themed songs of parting that were evident from the beginning of the century onward, in which a clear divide can be seen between the songs of sensibility that had roots in eighteenth-century song and that contained elements associated with orally-disseminated song, and the sentimental songs that came to prominence within Irish-themed song just before the mid-nineteenth century (and remained in print for the rest of the nineteenth century). In contrast to the exile ballads discussed in chapter two, all of the songs analysed in this chapter lack overt political references, and in cases where authorship is known, all authors were women compared to an all-male authorship for those earlier songs of exile analysed in Chapter Two. This phenomenon coincides with what Derek Scott describes as the "rise of the woman ballad composer" that occurred between the 1840s and 1860s.[66] The Irish emigrant genre contains some of the best-known and loved songs of the nineteenth century overall. A number of these songs were by Anglo-Irish women, but some were also by English women with no connection to Ireland at all, for example the well-known popular Chartist poet Eliza Cook. This is a significant point in the exploration of reception; while authorship of these songs might be explained in terms of charitable awareness-raising (in English middle-class women) especially after 1845 with the advent of the famine in Ireland, the actual printing of these songs as street-ballads shows that their themes likely resonated in English popular culture in ways beyond the charitable impulses that may have triggered their authorship and that by

[66] Derek B Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 60-80.

the 1850s and 1860s Ireland had become a regular symbol of emigration. This chapter argues that the songs of sensibility and the songs of sentimentality represent a potential class division within street-ballad customers, and that those with more oppositional political leanings would have been drawn to the songs of sensibility, while those customers that were more socially-conservative and more economically comfortable, would have been drawn to the sentimental songs. But as a whole, these songs of parting represent the loss of relationship that was regularly undergone by people in the nineteenth century on a scale not seen before; and in turn, the scale of the popularity of these songs can be seen as reflection of the societal upheaval felt. The analysis of "Teddy O'Neal" and "Terence's Farewell" in the last section, suggests that street-ballad customers generally preferred songs that retained elements associated with orally disseminated song and with sensibility – such as the inclusion of unsentimental themes of parting such as betrayal and comedy – even when those songs were by known authors.

Chapter 5: Resistance

Chapter Five explores the other significant category of Irish-themed songs that emerged alongside the sentimental songs in the mid-century – songs of resistance. This chapter presents five forms of resistance as they appear, roughly chronologically, in Irish-themed street-balladry, and that correspond to five sections within the chapter: physical resistance, political resistance (political songs about Ireland), interconnections (between English-radical and Irish political themes), pathos (emigration as resistance), and revolutionary resistance (songs of sympathy for Irish revolutionaries and Fenians). The argument is made here that the songs printed for street sale, contributed to Ireland becoming one of the most recognisable signifiers of resistance in English popular culture in the nineteenth century. The first section explores the tradition of Irish songs in praise of the shillelagh and of recreational fighting, and shows how this genre of song, as it appeared in English street balladry, changed from the beginning of the century when it was associated with comic song and the stage, to becoming associated with resistance against oppression and xenophobia in the 1840s. These songs reveal an identification in English popular culture not only with the collective radical politics of early nineteenth-century Irish nationalism, but also with a radical individuation that moved outside and beyond the realm of national politics. From around the 1840s onward, Ireland was increasingly

associated with explicit political resistance in English street-song, rather than with the idealized Romantic-nationalist imagery of Moore's songs; specifically these were songs that called for repeal of the 1801 Act of Union, and that celebrated the leader of that campaign, Daniel O'Connell. The third section forms the primary focus of this chapter in its analysis of those songs that, in various ways, associate Irishness with political reform in England. These songs provide an insight into the associations made within sectors of English culture between Irish themes on one hand and with anti-establishment radicalism on the other. In this context, Irish nationalism was admired, and associated with radical politics rather than viewed from the perspective of an antagonistic nationalism. The penultimate section shows how after around 1850, the blend of pathos and resistance that had become associated with Irish-themed songs as a whole, began to emerge in songs of English emigration such as Eliza Cook's "English Emigrant" or the anonymous "English Exile". Unlike the sentimental songs of emigration analysed in Chapter Four, all of the songs analysed in this section contain an element of resistance in their mention of the socio-political reasons necessitating emigration. The chapter concludes with analysis of songs in sympathy with Irish revolutionaries and the Fenian martyrs specifically and reveals how although these songs were related to nineteenth-century gallows literature; unlike this literature they entered the ordinary body of songs sold as ballad sheets – suggesting both that these songs were actually sung, as well as some level of identification with the song themes. This section suggests that the reason these rebel songs were so freely circulated was because by the 1860s, Ireland as a symbol had become ensconced in English popular culture as a signifier of radical reform and resistance.

This thesis analyses the visions of Ireland in English street balladry, and explores the possible receptions that these representations and imaginings of place had among the street-ballad buying classes – classes who in the nineteenth century incorporated the poorest people as well as the wealthier middle classes, women, men and children. The diverse nature of the songs means that many were as familiar to wandering vagrants as they were to literary figures or members of the professional or aristocratic classes, and so the explorations of reception that follow attempt to reflect this wide scope.

Chapter 1. "Sprig of Shillelagh and Shamrock so Green": Irish comic song in the English-printed street balladry of the early-nineteenth century.

Analysis of the main extant street-ballad collections has shown that comic songs, including songs of bacchanalian merry-making, insouciant physicality, revelling, rambling, and roving, formed a significantly larger proportion of Irish-themed street song in the early nineteenth century than they did in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. A survey of Irish-themed songs printed by two early-century London printers, Pitts and Evans before *c.*1820, reveals a ratio of nearly 70% comic songs to 30% other Irish-themed songs, whereas a survey of the Holt and Crampton collections of street-ballads printed after 1850, show these proportions reversed.[67] Although new Irish-themed comic songs, including stage-songs, were still printed as street ballads from the mid-century onward, they were far outnumbered at that time by the themes of exile, Romantic-nationalism, sentiment and resistance that form the core of the following chapters. This chapter places its focus on comic street-ballads printed before 1820, during a time when street-balladry was still heavily influenced by the ballad and political conventions of the eighteenth century.

The analyses that constitute this chapter begin with those street-songs that were linked to the stage – either because they formed a prominent role in stage-plays or operas, or because their printings as street-ballads mentioned specific performances or stage-Irish figures. The two sections that follow turn away from the stage somewhat to explore the two most significant categories of comic-Irish song in that time period: first, the songs of carousing and roving that were popular in what is thought of as oral tradition and largely indistinguishable from similar songs that did not have any Irish connection; and second, the songs linked to the celebration of St Patrick. The carousing/roving songs were often written in the first person, and about young men making their way in the world as individuals with varying degrees of criminality,

[67] The survey of the ballad-printers Pitts and Evans consisted of approx. 900 extant ballad sheets accessed via BBO. The Crampton collection (available via the British Library website) consists nearly entirely of printings by Henry Such who began trading in the year 1849, and the Holt collection (held in Chetham's Library) consists of approx. 450 ballad sheets printed by Manchester printers Bebbington and Pearson who began trading in 1855 and 1860 respectively.

ineptitude or success, while those songs about St Patrick tended to celebrate group identity. Yet, despite these categorisations, it is quite possible that nearly all of the songs analysed in this chapter were performed as stage-Irish songs, and so this chapter concludes with a return to the stage in one of the best-known Irish comic songs of this period – "Kate Kearney" by Sydney Owenson – which, via its authorship, illustrates the contemporary proximity of the street-ballad and the literary worlds.

In terms of reception in its widest sense, the analyses that follow consider the possibility that these comic depictions of Ireland were not always received in England in terms of colonial denigration. Instead, it proposes that comic songs may have played a role in fostering a sense of connection within England, to Ireland, and that although the act of laughter has the ability to reinforce national stereotypes and to create division, it also has the power to act as connecting force by cutting through otherwise impenetrable cultural barriers in ways beyond the conceptual. While postcolonial analyses of how the stage-Irishman was received in England tend to view receptions in terms of Plato's superiority humour, or Freud's tendentious humour (rather than in terms of incongruity theory, or Freud's innocent humour), this chapter suggests that the widespread printing of these songs suggests an affinity in England with the song themes.[68] It proposes that this affinity is further evidenced when the song is performed by English singers whose intimacy with the theme occurs via their embodiment of the lyric through voice and breath. In a similar way, the hearer's embodiment of the song themes through the viscerality of laughter and the psychological release it triggers, provides the opportunity to connect theme and individual in a direct way across national barriers that otherwise divide.

More specifically, this chapter proposes that the Irish-themed comic songs printed for street sale between *c*.1800 and 1820, were positively received within the eighteenth-century paradigm of the "cult of simplicity".[69] This cultural phenomenon not only affected the renewed interest in popular poetry and traditional balladry (the "ballad revival") from the early eighteenth century onward, it also underscored and unified ideas of eighteenth-century patriotism, English identity and political radicalism.[70]

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[68] Noël Carroll, *Humour: A Very Short Introduction*, 2014.
[69] Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, 167.
[70] Ibid., 167.

Albert Friedman, in *The Ballad Revival*, notes that simplicity was hard to define, but that “the taste of the people was its touchstone.”[71] The paradigms of English authenticity versus foreign (French or Italian) flamboyance, and English rusticity (“rusticity and simplicity have always tended to be synonymous”) against polite society, could be found across the cultural spectrum in areas as diverse as in the project of national poetry-writing, antiquarian song-collecting, fine art, women’s fashion and radical politics.[72] Simplicity was linked to an imagined pre-Conquest epoch, and to the English constitutionalism that formed the basis of oppositional patriotism and the related concerns of radicalism such as “agrarian justice.”[73] And in the network of alehouse and convivial clubs that formed so central a role in the radical life of the 1790s, Irish comic song had the potential to be received as positive symbol within these paradigms of anti-establishment culture that revered the rustic against the modern, the authentic/honest against pastiche, and the grotesque in protest against the polite.

Increasingly throughout the eighteenth century, simplicity came to be expressed through “place” and nativeness. While in 1711, Joseph Adddison’s seminal article in *The Spectator*, equated the “simplicity” of the “old song of Chevy-Chase”[74] with its “classical” qualities,[75] later in the century this neoclassicism made way for a greater emphasis on the uniqueness of native style. For John Aikin, this emphasis was about making the classical elements in pastoral poetry more native; in his “Essay on Ballads and Pastoral Songs” (1772) Aikin declares that his aims in writing *Lyric Songs* was to combine the ballad, that “native species of poetry of this country” with (classical) pastoral poetry in order to “naturalise pastoral poetry.”[76] Part of this naturalizing process was to take inspiration directly from the nature around him; with intent that clearly foreshadows Wordsworth, Aikin argues that “it is unpardonable in a poet to borrow these [scenery and description] from any fountain but nature herself.” So for

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[71] Ibid., 177.
[72] Ibid., 179.
[73] See the tract of the same name published in 1797 by Thomas Paine. And see Malcolm Chase, *The People’s Farm*, 4.
[74] There are two versions of “Chevy Chase” in vol. I of Thomas Percy’s *Reliques* (1765), and the ballad was mentioned with approval by William Wordsworth in a letter to Sir George Beaumont in 1806, and in a letter from Mary Wordsworth to De Quincey in 1809: “He [Johnny Wordsworth] is learning to repeat “Chevy Chase,” and he tells me with great pride that he thinks he shall be able to “say it all, when Mr. De Quincey comes home.” De Selincourt, *The Letters*, I, 317. Quoted in Paul Brewster.
[75] Joseph Addison, articles in *The Spectator*, 1711.
[76] John Aikin, “Essay on Ballads and Pastoral Songs,” 1772, 26-40.

Aikin, simplicity is achieved by sourcing inspiration directly from nature and is expressed via a directness of language that serves to penetrate the essence of its subject:

> Pastoral song formed upon the ballad model, is capable of being made the most pleasing piece of the pastoral kind. The simplicity of language gives it an air of nature and reality, though the fictitious character be entirely kept up; and throwing the subject into a little tale, gives an opportunity of novelty in description from the variety of incidents. When the story has a tender and mournful turn, the ballad-simplicity has a peculiar happy effect … Perhaps the English alone, of all the moderns, have known how to unite the most perfect simplicity with real elegance and poetical expression.[77]

As the source of “native” poetry and nature, England (as locale, as home, as Britain) was inevitably, in this paradigm, the medium via which simplicity could best be expressed.

The three primary influences upon the street-balladry in the years between *c*.1780 and 1820 – the stage, traditional song and political culture – were all influenced by the idea of simplicity. Although the world of the stage had seen its own revolution of simplicity exemplified by the on-going popularity of John Gay’s *Beggar’s Opera* (as well as others), that same stage culture was seen as the source of the contamination of street-balladry via the increasing use of descriptive lyrics of sentiment (common on the stage) that in street-balladry displaced the older, narrative ballads. In the eighteenth-century collection of the latter (those “venerable old folksongs” that had been more commonly printed as street ballads in previous centuries), conflicting conceptions of “authenticity” (another term that can be viewed as synonymous with simplicity in this context) inevitably arose – such as seen in the conflict between Thomas Percy and Joseph Ritson about whether songs should be edited to suit polite taste or preserved as they were found.[78]

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[77] Ibid., 39.
[78] Albert B. Friedman. *The Ballad Revival*, 183.

Eighteenth-century street-balladry was itself a material manifestation of these discourses in its mixture of the long, narrative ballads, printed in the landscape format that had not changed for over a century (and that was usually printed with "blackletter" gothic type), and the new songs consisting of sentimental-pastoral and other stage songs that were printed in portrait format (and printed with "whiteletter" roman type). The on-going presence of the old ballads on eighteenth-century streets has been attributed variously to the "innate conservatism of the rural mind", or as William St Clair argues, to the copyright legislation and the "near complete monopoly" of the print market into the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[79] Either way, this on-going juxtaposition between old and new on English streets would have served as material reminder of cultural change, for better or worse. By the turn of the century, Wordsworth was mourning the visible decline of the old street-ballads, and his desire to preserve, through imitation, could be observed in the project of *Lyrical Ballads*. Simplicity was, of course, also a central tenet of Wordsworth's poetic style as set out in his "Preface" of 1802. He also looked to "common life" and to "rustic life", partly because he believed that in this "state of greater simplicity", a "more permanent, and a far more philosophical language" was possible.[80] And while *Lyrical Ballads* were never meant to be sung, in his invocation of the "ballad", Wordsworth was tapping-in to the notion, as Joseph Ritson puts it, of "*song* as the most ancient species of poetry … coeval with mankind" – that is, with something ancient, fundamental and therefore pure, and simple.[81]

Just as the old ballads declined, so did the bawdy ballads that had been so ubiquitous on eighteenth-century streets and in the alehouses and convivial clubs of the 1790s. In 1819, Ritson's stance on faithfully preserving the ballads that he found (in opposition to Percy's efforts to "improve" or civilize them) is echoed, somewhat ironically, in Francis Place's (social reformer and chief archivist of the London Corresponding Society) careful preservation of bawdy ballads from decades past that had declined on the streets, despite his incredulity that only a couple of decades previously "such songs should be allowed."[82] The decline of bawdry on the streets was due in large part

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[79] William St Clair, *The Reading Nation*, 80, 348.
[80] Wordsworth, "Preface" to *Lyrical Ballads*, 1802, vii, viii, ix.
[81] Joseph Ritson, "A Historical Essay on the Origin and Progress of National Song," 1783, 1.
[82] Ian Newman, "Civilizing Taste: 'Sandman Joe,' the Bawdy Ballad, and Metropolitan Improvement," 437.

to the influence, and the flooding of the market, of the Cheap Repository Tracts on English streets from the 1790s to the 1810s. As Ian Newman highlights, an inherent sense of loss is revealed by the preserving impulse, despite the narrative of "civilizing taste" espoused by those involved, and moreover, "… ambivalence about the improvement in street balladry might betray ambivalence about the project of improvement as a whole."[83] So again, the idea of simplicity is inherently tied-in with the idea of bawdry, and its loss. More pertinently, these tensions between old/new, authentic/pastiche, bawdry/refined, narrative/sentimental were seen in the stage-Irish character himself in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth, in the tension between the comic versus the increasingly sentimental elements of his character.

SONGS OF THE STAGE

"Corporal Casey"

Two well-known comic Irish street songs that began life on the stage, "Corporal Casey" and "Sprig of Shillelagh", epitomise these tensions. "Corporal Casey" is the older of the two and may have originated in Ireland – Andrew Carpenter places this song in a section titled "Chapbook verse of the 1780s" in his collection of *Verse in English from Eighteenth-century Ireland*.[84] Subsequently it became associated with stage-Irish tradition when it was embedded in the play *The Surrender of Calais*, first staged in London 1791. In this production, the song was performed by the famous Irish tenor John Henry (or "Irish" or "Jack") Johnstone who made his name on the Dublin and London stages between 1773 and 1820 (he had arrived in London in 1883), as was the other Irish song of the play, "Savourneen Deelish". Together, the two songs represent both facets of the comic/sentimental stage-Irish paradigm or imageme so prevalent at this time, and in this play, Joep Leerssen's description of the stage-Irishman as "endearing, artless, a bit of a wastrel or vagrant, perhaps, but likeable and full of the most commendable emotions," fits.[85] The comic "Corporal Casey" is a light-hearted, flippant ditty on soldiering and the narrator's love for his "Sheelagh", while "Savourneen Deelish" is a lament by the soldiering narrator who

[83] Ibid., 439.
[84] Andrew Carpenter, *Verse in English from Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 398.
[85] Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, 63.

has returned from battle to find his lover dead.[86] Looking back on this play in 1839, the memoirist of one of Johnstone's colleagues (the comedian John Bannister), reveals the appetite for the Irish character in general on the London stage at the time and hints at the affection held for Johnstone's performances:

> According to the fashion which then [1791] began to prevail, Jack Johnstone was lugged in as an Irishman … For all the use he was of in the drama, any person of any country, – a page, or the handsome little animal now-a-days called a tiger, – would have done as well; but they who heard him sing his pathetic air, "Oh! the moment was sad when my love and I parted" ["Savourneen Deelish"], or his rattling rant, "When I was at home, I was merry and frisky" ["Corporal Casey"], would find, upon reflection, that he should have owed little thanks to the critic for a fiat which had caused their retrenchment.[87]

The superfluity of Johnstone's character to the play's narrative, emphasises the popularity of the stage Irishman's role as a whole, and Bannister's appellations of "pathetic air" and the "rattling rant" give some indication of the positive enthusiasm with which these highly representative stage-Irish songs in particular were received. Both centre upon the character of the soldier, reflecting the high numbers (approximately one third according to some estimates) of Irish soldiers in the British army at the time. In a sense, as well as representing the two types of stage-Irish character on the late eighteenth-century stage, they also represent the two extremes of soldiering experience – on one hand grief and the lament of losing friend, lover or country, and on the other hand the surrendered, nonchalant expressions of triumph over adversity. The folk memory of Johnstone's performances no doubt contributed to the popularity of both songs on ballad sheets even decades later. The comic "Corporal Casey" seems to have been the more popular of the two in the early nineteenth century as it was printed a number of times (in separate printings with different woodcuts) by Pitts in his later period (1819 to 1844) and by Armstrong of Liverpool between 1815 and 1824. "Savourneen Deelish" on the other hand, seems only to have been revived later in the nineteenth century by street-ballad printers such as Henry

[86] Samuel Arnold, *The Surrender of Calais* [sheet music], 10.
[87] John Adolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister*, vol. I, 1839, 266-267.

Such (after 1849) and Harkness (after 1838) – supporting the findings from extant collections that show higher proportions of Irish songs of sentiment, as opposed to Irish comic songs, as the nineteenth century progressed.

One reason for this relative decline in comic song might be attributed to a perceived problem among English singers in performing them – especially because audiences were used to seeing stage-Irish characters (especially in Romantic-period London) played by Irish actors. By 1839, one unknown author writing for the London-published *Monthly Chronicle; A National Journal of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, was commenting that comic songs were "less understood in England" than sentimental songs or songs of "calamity":

> The comic songs of Ireland are less understood in England, and, indeed, every where out of Ireland, than those which are of a sentimental or pensive cast. The language of calamity is, perhaps, universal, while humour depends on local associations, idioms, and immediate sympathies. But were it otherwise, it would be difficult for any race of men to enter with a complete zest into Irish humour, nurtured as it is amidst circumstances which elsewhere would destroy the capacity for enjoyment, and utterly extinguish the susceptibility to the ridiculous. Irish humour, like Antaeus, seems to spring with increased elasticity from the ground, and the greater the depth of misfortune the higher the spirits mount into the air… An Englishman meets trouble with an air of business, because his whole experience, his thoughts, feelings, hopes, and projects, run in the channels of business. An Irishman, having no business, having no sordid interests of any sort, living upon chance, and practicing the philosophy of laughter, to keep him in good humour with his destiny, turns off his troubles with a jest, because he knows that he cannot remedy them. Absolute hopelessness makes him a wit…[88]

The equation here of Irish hardship with comedy and English "trouble" with "business" epitomises the burgeoning view of Celt versus Saxon that was expanded

[88] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland," 1839, 386.

upon by Matthew Arnold in 1861.[89] In romanticizing the idea of the "Irishman" as someone with "no business", "living upon chance" whose practice of the "philosophy of laughter" is completely intertwined with locality and circumstance – the author equates Irishness with rustic simplicity as if the "Irishman" is himself one of Percy's "effusions of nature."[90] The author's conclusion that "any race of men" would find it difficult to enter Irish humour with "complete zest" further mystifies Irish humour as deeply connected to locale and "race". As such, the author's view of Irish humour as something of the "ground" – something that might be described as "racy of the soil" – denies class, in favour of national distinctiveness that ignores any possibility of identification with these qualities occurring within England.[91]

Yet, Irish comic songs were sold on English streets and sung by rural singers, and the idea that the English soldiering classes might not identify with a song such as "Corporal Casey", especially during the twenty years of war at the turn of the century, is unlikely. As the anecdote from Bannister and the street-ballad printings show, the song was popular, and its message of the eventually triumphant underdog is both typical of comic-Irish song and especially universal. The song opens with the usual tropes of the stage-Irish song – "merry and frisky", "pig" and "whisky" ("When I was at home, I was merry and frisky; / My dad kept a pig, and my mother sold whisky") – flagging the song as comic as much as it flags it as Irish. The narrator's blithe home life was soon to end when he was "enlisted by Corporal Casey". As he was marched away, he thought of his "Sheelah" with a heart that was "sinking", but self-indulgence being not permitted was "forced to look fresh as a daisy, / For fear of a drubbing from Corporal Casey." Despite this, the narrator embodies that "philosophy of laughter" and the Irish characteristic so perceived, of turning off troubles "with a jest", in his humorous declaration that the "blows" that fell on his "pate", "bother'd [him] rarely."[92] And with the characteristic luck of the previously hapless underdog, all of his troubles are overcome in the third and last verse when his Corporal dies before him – leaving him to fight "asy" for "eight years." This last line displays that characteristic "intermingled" and "agitating" effect that the author of "Ballad Poetry

[89] Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature and on Translating Homer*, vol. 2, 1861, 1895.
[90] Thomas Percy, *Reliques*, vol. I, 1765, vi.
[91] "Racy of the soil" was the epigraph for *The Nation* – the newspaper (c.1842-49) of the Irish nationalist "Young Ireland" movement.
[92] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland", 1839, 386.

of Ireland" declares peculiar to Irish song – manifest in the narrator's new-found freedom from tyranny being replaced only with the internment of eight more years in military service.[93] So the interpretation in this song of the soldier's life – and its mixture of humour, capitulation, and the "hopelessness" that "makes him [the narrator in this case] a wit" – was universally relatable across national boundaries because of the specificity of situation and place, and because of its implicit representation of the local via the soldiering Irishman.

"Sprig of Shillelagh"

Possibly the best-known Irish comic song to have been printed as a street-ballad in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and one that remained in print until at least the mid-century, was "Sprig of Shillelah and Shamrock so Green" later shortened to "Sprig of Shillelah" [*sic*].[94] It does not seem ever to have been embedded in a play, but it nevertheless started life on the stage and was evidently popular in street-ballad form because it was printed numerous times by early nineteenth-century printers such as Pitts (at his early address between 1802 and 1819), W. Armstrong of Liverpool (1820-24), Lane and Walker of Norwich, T. Birt, and by printers in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Preston, Exeter and New York.

The earliest extant street-ballad printing is by London printers Laurie & Whittle who operated at 53 Fleet Street from 1767 to 1818 on a sheet dated October 30th, 1807 (unlike other ballad printers, this printer often added dates of printing as a matter of course).[95] This sheet can be found in both the Harding and Johnson collections in the Bodleian and in the Crawford collection in the National Library of Scotland, so it was a sheet that was likely printed in relatively high numbers. It is printed in a format, typical of the first decade of the nineteenth century, consisting of an engraving or woodcut covering a large proportion of the page – one half or two-thirds of the top part of the page – and produced by early-century printers such as Pitts, Sheppard and Evans.[96] The engraving depicts two smiling men revealed as Irish by the three-leaved foliage they both wear on their hats and one also on his coat. Facing each other, they

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[93] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland", 1839, 386.
[94] The spelling of "shillelagh" in the eighteenth/nineteenth centuries varied between the spelling most commonly used in the twenty-first century and "shillelah".
[95] Dates of operation for printers Laurie & Whittle were obtained from the *British Book Trade Index*.
[96] "Sprig of Shillelah and Shamrock so Green" as printed by Laurie & Whittle. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/00856.gif

shake hands while each holds their other arm raised in the air holding a stick of sorts. One holds a very substantial-looking stick in his fist while the other holds what looks like a twig between his fingers. The background contains two tents; in the closest tent sit a trio drinking at a table – possibly two men and a woman. An indistinguishable flag flies from a building a little further in the distance and there are various figures in the background – a couple standing with their back to the frame, a small boy sitting low to the ground playing a fiddle and a couple in front of him dancing. There is also an unusually proportioned figure with a dog. In the bottom right-hand corner lies what looks like a broken bottle. A clay pipe has either been thrown nearby or accompanies the artist's signature. It is likely a depiction of the Donnybrook fair mentioned in verse two. The title of the ballad-sheet reads "SPRIG OF SHILLELAH AND SHAMROCK SO GREEN" with "Tune – 'Black Joke'" appearing in brackets underneath. The subheading reads "*Sung with unbounded Applause by Mr. JOHNSTONE, of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane*."

In many aspects this is a typical stage-Irish song in that it celebrates the protagonist's love of courting, marrying, drinking and fighting – especially, as depicted in many street ballads – at weddings or fairs: "He meets with a friend, and for love knocks him down, / With his sprig of shillelah [*sic*] and shamrock so green." The overall impression given by the engraving on the Laurie & Whittle printing is one of honourable sociability; the emphasis is on the friendliness of the fight between the two men who are smiling and engaged in an almost gentlemanly handshake. The Irishman's "clothes spick and span new, without e'er a speck" and his "neat Barcelona" emphasise this respectability. And the lines "His heart is good-humour'd, 'tis honest and sound, / No malice or hatred is there to be found" emphasise a certain brand of non-threatening joviality despite the physicality of the impending fight. Also emphasised in the engraving is the place of fighting as just one of the attractions of the fair and in turn just one of the pleasures of existing in physical form – an experience that contributes to the full embodiment of life alongside going home to "his Shelah" [*sic*]. The mark of a good day at the fair is when he returns homeward "at evening" to Shelah with his "heart soft with whiskey" and "his head soft with blows." This celebration of physicality – of the merry abandonment of sobriety on the one hand, and the seemingly nonsensical disregard for bodily preservation on the

other (regardless of the production of a “fine baby” who cries “How d’ye do, Father Pat”) – epitomises the philosophy of robust hedonism.

This celebration of viscerality can be extended to the link made on this ballad sheet to bawdry, in the naming of the tune to which the song is to be sung as “Black Joke” – a well-known eighteenth-century bawdy song in which the “joke”, “yoke” or “joak” refers to female genitalia.[97] In the twenty-first century, a link between the two songs remains in the inter-changeability in traditional or folk-music circles between the tune that is known either as “Black Joke” or “Sprig of Shillelagh.”[98] Vic Gatrell argues that the popularity of “Black Joke” in the eighteenth century was reflective of the eighteenth-century libertine movement that “gave the lie to all that was conventionally polite or religious,” and as such viewed itself as “emblematic of Enlightenment itself, for it was centrally an Enlightened creation.”[99] Gatrell adds that if the libertine of the Restoration and early eighteenth-century had “often been homosexual,” by 1800 “manliness was felt to express a ‘natural’ heterosexuality that coexisted relaxedly with the codes of clubroom, tavern and pugilists’ ring”– a point that reveals a culture readily receptive to songs such as “Sprig of Shillelah” and “Black Joke”.[100] The latter was certainly widely popular in the eighteenth century with both song and melody referenced in numerous images and collections of songs and tunes. In 1735 for example, Hogarth’s “The Tavern Scene” in *A Rake’s Progress*, depicts a pregnant ballad singer holding a ballad sheet titled “Black Joke”, while a negro prostitute at the other end of the scene, smiling, puts her finger to her mouth in tacit acknowledgment of the “joke”.[101]

With the bawdry conjured by the melody “Black Joke”, one recent commentator writes of “Sprig of Shillelagh” that the lyrics “can certainly be read as sexual innuendos with an Irish touch” – with the view that “Sprig of Shillelagh” acts as phallic compliment to the original.[102] Whether or not it was interpreted in such bawdy terms by the wide demographic that would have encountered the song as a street-

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[97] Paul Dennant, “The ‘Barbarous old English Jig’: The ‘Black Joke’”, 300.
[98] “The Sprig of Shillelah,” *The Session*.
[99] Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, 306.
[100] Ibid., 317.
[101] Paul Dennant, “The ‘Barbarous old English Jig’: The ‘Black Joke’”, 314.
[102] “Bunch of Rushes, and A Sprig of Shillelah, and Shamrock so Green,” *Isaiah Thomas Broadside Ballads Project.*

ballad in the nineteenth century cannot be known, but the association with something risqué no doubt came across in the first performances given by John Henry Johstone. Later in the century on the other hand, the song's bawdy associations likely declined as the memory of the earlier song was forgotten. What "Sprig of Shillelah" clearly provides however is an example of the conceptual link in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century song-culture between the physicality, rusticity, earthiness (and in turn native authenticity), "natural heterosexuality", and recreational violence on the one hand, and Irishness on the other.

The association of Irishness with bawdry specifically, is still evidenced in the 1830s in a collection of songsters published in that decade and held in The British Library. Each songster consists of 48 pages of bawdy songs published by printer William West who had previously printed "Juvenile Drama" – sheets of "small characters and scenery of the popular plays of the day."[103] How many of these booklets had been published in previous decades by other printers is unclear, but they reflect the type of songs that had been sung in ale-houses and debating clubs of various kinds since at least the eighteenth century. They would have been considerably more expensive than ballad sheets – which meant that the booklets themselves would have had a smaller cohort of customers than ballad-sheets. But like ballad-sheets, they contain a large proportion of Irish material. Examples published in the edited collection of these songs, *Bawdy Songbooks of the Romantic Period*, include: "The Irishman's Pipe" ("A celebrated Irish Amatory Ditty, sung at the Shades") to the tune of "As Beautiful Kitty"; "The Priest of the Parish" ("An original Comic Ditty") to the tune of "St. Patrick's Day"; "Paddy Daly, the Bricklayer, Now being brought up nightly a Policeman" to the tune of "Darby Kelly"; "Paddy Will You Now? Or, Take Me While I'm in the Humour" (A capital Chaunt, sung at Private Meetings) to the air "Oh, Cruel"; and "Pat Fagan' – a Parody upon "Tom Moody" sung with great applause by Mr. Sinnott.[104] These titles reveal the same practices used in street-songs, of using well-known tunes such as "St. Patrick's Day" for comic and parodic effect.

Despite the dearth of bawdy songs in the nineteenth-century street-ballad repertoire, the singing of songs including bawdy songs, in establishments known as Song-and-

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[103] George Speight, *Bawdy Songs of the Early Music Hall*, 10-11.
[104] All published in: *Bawdy Songbooks of the Romantic Period*, vol. 4, edited by Derek B. Scott.

Supper Rooms, Cider Cellars, Coal Holes, and "Free and Easies", took place until at least the 1840s. Between them, these establishments catered for the full span of society – from "the aristocracy, professional men, bohemians and university students", to "clerks, tradesmen and like amateurs" and the "working classes" – at least in London.[105] A few decades after this printing of "Sprig of Shillelagh" was first printed, the "penny gaffs" in London were frequented with children from the ages of around eight to twenty in the 1840s ("above three-fourths" of whom were "women and girls" according to Mayhew) for whom ribald songs were an expected staple of the evening's entertainment.[106] Short plays, dancing and singing were performed in the "gaffs", but by Mayhew's observation it was the singing that was by far the most popular with gaff audiences:

> The 'comic singer,' in a battered hat and the huge bow to his cravat, was received with deafening shouts … the 'funny gentleman' … sang a song, the whole point of which consisted in the mere utterance of some filthy word at the end of each stanza. Nothing, however, could have been more successful. The lads stamped their feet with delight; the girls screamed with enjoyment … When the song was ended the house was in a delirium of applause. The canvass front to the gallery was beaten with sticks, drum-like, and sent down showers of white power on the heads of the pit. Another song followed … The most obscene thoughts, the most disgusting scenes were coolly described, making a poor child near me wipe away the tears that rolled down her eyes with the enjoyment of the poison … There were three or four of these songs sung in the course of the evening, each one being encored and then changed … it was absolutely awful to behold the relish with which the young ones jumped to the hideous meaning of the verses.[107]

So evidently, bawdry was the norm in these establishments – and economically accessible to all by the 1840s, at least in London. However, Mayhew's evident horror corroborates the lack of bawdry in extant nineteenth-century street-song collections,

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[105] L. Senelick, *Tavern Singing in Early Victorian London: The Diaries of Charles Rice for 1840 and 1850* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1997), pp. xxii-xiii. Quoted in Spedding, *Bawdy Songbooks of the Romantic Period*, xx-xxi.
[106] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour*, vol I, 43.
[107] Ibid., 43.

and provides further suggestion that bawdry was not something heard routinely on nineteenth-century streets as it had been in the eighteenth century. The picture of squalor depicted by Mayhew in this extract, perhaps illustrates a tradition of bawdry that had by the 1840s fallen out of favour in radical circles. Yet in his description, Mayhew reveals the way in which Irish bawdry would also potentially have been received. And the description of the "canvas" being "beaten with sticks, drum-like" reveals that the carrying of sticks, or shillelaghs, was so commonplace it would have passed without comment had they not been wielded during the applause.

It has been noted that despite the "alignment of radical and pornographic publications in this period … any politicized purpose [in these songs] is hard to discern" – and this is certainly true of Mayhew's description of the penny gaffs.[108] However, although bawdry has obviously been part of composers' and writers' repertoires since the beginnings of literature (in latter years from Chaucer to Shakespeare, Henry Purcell to Robert Burns as seen in his *Merry Muses of Caledonia* published shortly after his death in *circa* 1800)[109] at the time when "Sprig of Shillelagh" was printed by Laurie & Whittle in 1807, bawdry was integral to radicalism, and the circumstances in which these songs were performed finds roots in the informal debating clubs held in the taverns and alehouses of the 1790s and beyond – clubs that were inherently anti-establishment.[110] According to the *Leeds Mercury* in 1802, the practice of meeting to drink ale and discuss public affairs had "long been claimed by free Britons and acknowledged by all administrations."[111] Iain McCalman argues that "the ultra-radicals in London developed the convivial debating club into a distinctive political structure, strategy and culture [and] … that the deployment of these clubs helped ultra-radicalism to survive from the mid-1790s through to Chartism."[112] Moreover, there were strong connections with Ireland: "Between 1797 and 1803, groups of United Irishmen, United Englishmen and Sons of Liberty held 'free-and-easies' and debating clubs" in venues all over London.[113] The Seditious Meetings Act of 1795 restricted the size of public meetings to fifty persons – in any case not a difficult

[108] Simon Kövesi, Review of *Bawdy Songbooks of the Romantic Period*.
[109] George Speight, *Bawdy Songs of the Early Music Hall*, 9. See Robert Burns' *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*.
[110] Iain McCalman, "Ultra-Radicalism and Convivial Debating-Clubs in London, 1795-1838," 309-333.
[111] Ibid., 312.
[112] Ibid., 311.
[113] Ibid., 312.

figure to adhere to in small venues – but as McCalman notes, "alehouse debaters could convey anti-establishment sentiments in oblique and elliptical ways that were difficult to prosecute in a law-court."[114] For example:

> The spy John Tunbridge reported in 1798 that a committee of United Englishmen and Sons of Liberty who drilled at night in the garden of the Seven Stars, made it 'a rule to begin singing as soon as they had done business, that people might have less suspicion of them and might think it a club.' Negotiations between United Irishmen and United Englishmen took place at Furnival's Inn Cellar in 1797 under a front of 'singing and carousing and joking and merrymaking.'[115]

The connotations of the date of the year in which this took place – 1798, the year of the Irish Rebellion in which thousands of United Irishmen, French and British soldiers died – is obvious. The "joking and merrymaking", and therefore also the bawdry, was both an act of wider cultural subversion (against polite norms), but was also actively "a front" for insurrection. The context in which these songs were sung is as relevant as the text in determining reception – and the content of these comic (in a similar way to the Romantic-nationalist songs that appeared in later decades) cannot be completely separated from political ideology.

During the Restoration, bawdry became part of libertarian discourse in the backlash against puritanism, and in the nineteenth century (despite the fact that it no longer had such an obvious presence in street song) it still formed part of the same plebeian political thought that defined the broad anti-establishmentism of mid-century street-balladry. This chapter suggests that the "rough theoretical framework" described here by Iain McCalman, was not only the framework within which bawdry existed but that it was also the framework within which Irish comic song was received:

> Like most radicals up to mid-century [nineteenth century], these ultras [ultra radicals] operated within a rough theoretical framework derived primarily

[114] Ibid.
[115] Quoted in McCalman, "Ultra-Radicalism and Convivial Debating-Clubs in London, 1795-1838," 318.

> from eighteenth-century 'Country Party' critiques of political corruption, and given demonological force by Cobbett. This was coupled with elements of Cartwright's popular constitutionalism and of the natural rights agrarianism of Paine and Spence. Contemporary social, economic and political ills were attributed to the monopoly of political offices, lands and money accrued by a small political 'banditti' of kings, priests, aristocrats and fundholders. Speakers harked back nostalgically to a time when the king had been an elected servant of the people and everyone had possessed a piece of land. They demanded a restoration of their independence through some form of land redistribution accompanied by an elected – preferably republican – parliament based on universal male suffrage.[116]

The celebration of bawdry in this environment was deliberate. As McCalman notes:

> … one gets the impression that much of the coarse, violent language at places like the Hopkins Street Chapel was deliberately intended in order to flout taboos. Like seventeenth-century Ranters, ultras [ultra radicals] flaunted their roughness. Anyone who attended the Mulberry Tree well dressed was accused of being a spy. Wedderburn[117] admitted that 'he had been endeavouring to offend that they might ring it in the ears of Kings, Lords, Princes and Commons. He strove to puncture dominant symbols of authority and to eradicate social deference.[118]

In this radical, anti-authoritarian culture – in necessarily subversive meetings and in the atmosphere of ale- and coffee-house revelry – any thinly-veiled celebrations of Irish rebellion through comic or bawdy songs of jocund, bacchanalian pugilism, would not have been out of place.

Communal identification with the themes of revelry and pugilism in "Sprig of Shillelagh" through tavern-singing was likely to have cultivated an affinity with what

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[116] Iain McCalman, "Ultra-Radicalism and Convivial Debating-Clubs," 323-4.
[117] "Robert Wedderburn … son of James Wedderburn Colvile and an African-born slave Rosanna. Wedderburn Colvile sold Rosanna when she was five months pregnant but her new owners deemed Robert free from birth," see "Robert Wedderburn, Profile & Legacies Summary".
[118] Iain McCalman, "Ultra-Radicalism and Convivial Debating-Clubs," 324.

Ireland represented – an affinity that paradoxically not only allowed for unionist sentiment but that in this song also actively fostered it. The expression of Scottish, Irish and English union against the French during the Napoleonic wars was commonplace, but also continued in street-song for decades after 1815. In the continuing climate of political protest during which, for example, Peterloo, the Cato street conspiracy, Daniel O'Connell's campaigns and the beginnings of Chartism occurred, the intertwining of Irish and English radicalism lent itself, at least within England, to a sense of union that could be expressed in jocose ways, as evident in the last verse of "Sprig of Shillelah":

> Bless the country, says I, that gave Patrick his birth,
> Bless the land of the oak and its neighbouring earth,
> Where grows the shillelah and shamrock so green.
> May the sons of the Thames, the Tweed, and the Shannon,
> Drub the French who dare plant on our confines a cannon!
> United and happy at loyalty's shrine,
> May the rose and the thistle long flourish and twine
> Round a sprig of shillelah and shamrock so green!

A tone of political irony emerges in the line "[u]nited and happy at loyalty's shrine" which is further emphasised in the last lines that make Ireland the metropole around which the rose and the thistle "flourish and twine." So despite the celebration of union against the French in this verse, it also simultaneously expresses a sense of anti-colonialism in its reversal of England's dominance within the union.

The positive reception and sense of affinity that "Sprig of Shillelagh" evoked in audiences was likely promoted by the famous Johnstone's original performance and the subsequent imitation of it by other singers. The song's wide range of interpretive possibilities or points of relatability – from its innuendo, to its political satire, to its role as mere pugilistic entertainment – and its jocular tone would also have been significant contributing factors to its range of potential receptions. Although there is a chance that the song could be interpreted by some individuals in terms of tendentious (rather than innocent) humour, it is unlikely to have been a common reaction within popular culture – especially considering that on the early-century sheet printed by

Laurie & Whittle, the much-loved Johnstone's name appeared as advertisement. At the time of this printing (1807), Johnstone was engaged at Drury Lane where he played opposite English actor John Bannister in *The Irishman in London*. Johnstone had moved to Drury Lane in 1803 after leaving Covent Garden (where he had been for twenty years) with a number of other actors in protest against changes made in the running of the latter.[119] He had made an impact on the London theatre scene since his arrival in 1783, especially via his appearance in Charles Macklin's farce *Love a la Mode*. Johnstone's popularity during these decades provides insight into how songs such as "Sprig of Shillelagh" were received in England:

> Johnstone … flashed upon the town, the blaze of a new luminary. His perfect brogue, his exquisitely comic manner, and his agreeable voice in singing, formed an irresistible charm, which was much enhanced by his handsome person and free military address. His two ballads in *Love a la Mode*, -- "You never did hear of an Irishman's fear," and "Let other men sing of their goddesses bright," – added to his other qualifications, excited the ambition of dramatists and song-writers. Many a part was produced with little pretension to wit or humour; but its success was deemed certain if Johnstone talked about the crature, shilelahs, and petticoats, and sung smalilou, bubberoo, whack, or gramachree.[120]

This extract provides further evidence for the enthusiasm with which audiences in England received Irish comic themes, and makes clear how Johnstone's "irresistible charm" and "handsome person" – not characteristics usually associated with the stage-Irishman today – made him a particularly good advertisement for any ballad sheet.

Although he was one of numerous male and female Irish actors in London in the eighteenth century playing the full range of dramatic roles, he was known as the "greatest impersonator of Irish characters" – his "chief roles" being "Sir Lucius O'Trigger [Sheridan's *The Rivals*]," "Callaghan O'Brallaghan [Macklin's *Love à la*

[119] Highfill et al, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, 211-121.
[120] John Adolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister, Comedian*, vol. 2, 1839, 106-107.

Mode[121]]," "Maj.O'Flaherty [Cumberland's *The West Indian*[122]]," "Teague [Howard's *The Honest Thieves*]," and "Tully" [John O'Keeffe's *The London Hermit: or Rambles in Dorsetshire*].[123] He was also "welcomed in Dublin in 1803 in 'genuine' Irish roles … and became known as 'Irish Johnstone' for his superiority in Irish parts."[124] This separation of the Irish actor from "'genuine' Irish roles" and "Irish parts" reveals a distinction between the two that was in part a class distinction (with Johnstone putting on a strong brogue during his performances) as well as a conscious distinction between the cartoonish depiction of national character and the actual individual.

Evidently, audiences in Ireland as well as in England revelled and delighted in the former and in the predictable, stock nature of the parts of plays in which the stage Irishman appeared, as a chance for hilarity – especially if it involved audience participation. Later in the century in 1874, the decline of the stage Irish character was noted in an article in *The Orchestra* in which the author laments that "life is becoming gravely level." After noting that even the recent parliamentary election, "that old food for comedy," has "just passed over the land with scarcely a ripple of excitement," and that the "old deeds of violence and springs of action are being ironed down and pressed out of existence," the writer adds:

> Even nationalities are being erased, thanks to international education. The stage Irishman is dying out and will soon be extinct as the stage Frenchman – the mounseer who lived on frogs and capered like a dancing master and spoke an impossible dialect of *double entendre*.[125]

The erasure of nationalities did not occur, arguably, but the sense of loss of national distinctiveness that this writer expresses, persists in the twenty-first century – evident in the fears around the idea of a European Federation if nowhere else. It is notable however, that in this case at least, it is not the writers' own Englishness that is lamented, but rather the most cartoonish versions of Irishness and Frenchness. That this was a universal, and irrational fear in the face of organic cultural shifts, is

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[121] "Mr. Johnstone As Sir Callaghan in Love Ala Mode" *Collection online*. The British Museum.
[122] "Mr Johnstone as Major O'Flaherty" *Search the Collections*. Victoria and Albert Museum.
[123] Elliot O'Donnell, *The Irish Abroad*, 1915, 132-137.
[124] "Johnstone, John Henry," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.
[125] "The Decline of Incident," 1874, 314.

illustrated somewhat by the event, a full thirty years after the writing of this extract, when King Edward VII broke his chair laughing at a performance of George Bernard Shaw's *John Bull's Other Island* (where in fact despite the depiction of a stage Irishman, the very idea was interrogated by Shaw). So the writer of *The Orchestra* extract was somewhat premature in his prediction of national difference being "ironed down."[126]

As Ann Saddlemyer outlines, Shaw's experience and criticism of Irish stereotypes in England provides one example of the restrictions placed upon Irish identity in England from both positive and negative stereotypes in the late nineteenth century,[127] and in the Romantic period, Oskar Cox Jensen argues that as Johnstone's own fame grew, he was forced ever more deeply into playing the stage-Irish stereotype.[128] However, as noted by Mervyn Busteed, in the street-ballad repertoire a number of alternative and "contested" Irish identities emerged with "several varieties of Irishness on offer", and in turn, presumably several varieties of Irishness perceived.[129]

An account of a street performance of "Sprig of Shillelah and Shamrock So Green" emerges in London thirty-two years after the printing by Laurie and Whittle, with the publication of a second volume of John Thomas Smith's *Vagabondiana*.[130] The engravings are a mix of copies of earlier prints, and sketches "from the life" completed by Smith "some years since" – presumably around the time when the first volume was published in 1817. The "Sprig of Shillelah" engraving depicts a man in a ragged coat and a hat decorated with foliage. He assumes the pose of a dancer – his left leg points forward, and in his right arm he dangles a shillelagh and a pile of slip songs. From his left hand hangs another slip song. The caption reads "The Dancing Ballad-Singer with his Sprig of Shillelagh and Shamrock so green." The accompanying text reveals that the singer's name is Thomas M'Conwick and that he "sings many of the old Irish songs with excellent effect, but more particularly that of

[126] "The Decline of Incident," 1874, 314.
[127] Ann Saddlemyer, "John Bull's Other Island: 'Seething in the Brain'," 221.
[128] Oskar Cox-Jensen, "The Diminution of 'Irish' Johnstone," 2017.
[129] Mervyn Busteed, "Songs in a strange land," 660.
[130] J. T. Smith, *Vagabondiana*, vol. 2, 1839, 67-68.

the 'Sprig of Shillelah and Shamrock so green,' dances to the tunes, and seldom fails of affording amusement to a crowde auditory."[131]

Vagabondiana provides a snapshot of early nineteenth-century street culture. Smith comments that M'Conwick had a "joke or repartee at almost every question put to him, duly attempered with native wit and humour."[132] M'Conwick informed Smith that "when he came to London … the English populace were taken with novelty, and that by either moving his feet, snapping his fingers, or passing a joke upon some one of the surrounding crowd, he was sure of gaining money." This early example of stand-up street improvisation provides a hint toward the potential role that Irishness played in the history of comic practice in England. M'Conwick's performances evidently relied heavily on the stage-Irish stereotype, but a rebuttal of potential denigration also seems to have been an intrinsic part of his act: "now and then, to please his benefactors, he will sport a bull or two, and when the laugh is increasing a little too much against him, will, in a low tone, remind them that bulls are not confined to the lower orders of Irish." So M'Conwick here creates an affinity of sorts between the "lower orders" of the Irish and those of the English – in a way that emphasises class in favour of nation. This would have resonated differently with different individuals in the audience, which, like the street audiences of today, would have consisted of members of all classes apart from, perhaps, the most aristocratic. His example also illustrates one of the ways that early nineteenth-century street performers raised an income – in M'Conwick's case selling matches alongside slip songs and performing, so that he did "not come under the denomination of a pauper."[133]

Irish commentators of the educated classes did not necessarily receive "Sprig of Shillelah" with the same enthusiasm as described here; one commentator writing in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1825, complains about what they see as the incongruity between fantasy and reality in the "great favourite" of "Sprig of Shillelah":

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[131] Ibid., 67.
[132] Ibid., 67.
[133] Ibid., 67-68.

> I suspect the author of never having been in Ireland … from these lines: – 'Who has e'er had the luck to see Donnybrook fair …' for I have had the 'luck' to see that fair, and I never could see any glory in it. It is a paltry thing … a nuisance which gather the blackguard men and women … to indulge in all kinds of filth … The squalid misery, too, which is mixed up with the drunken riot of the fairs of Donnybrook, has always been quite revolting to my eyes, and I should rather see the magistracy of Dublin employed in suppressing it, than hear silly song-writers using their rhymes in its panegyric.[134]

Enjoyment of this fair was evidently subjective and linked to class, occupation and/or individual temperament. But this extract highlights a central tenet of this thesis as a whole, and acts as reminder that it is an analysis of representation, and of place (Ireland) as it is imagined, and as it is desired to be – especially by those outside it, rather than, as this author tetchily observes, place as it actually is (either as Othered place or as Own place). As such, it is an exploration of visions and desires, sometimes semi-utopian, of how hearers universally imagine, and yearn, for place and society to be.

Dissemination of "Sprig of Shillelagh" was not confined to stage or street performance, or to street-ballad printings – and evidence of its popularity can be found in the tune being used for other songs – for example for a bawdy nineteenth-century street song named "A Damsel's Adventures"[135] (printed by Catnach, W. Pratt of Birmingham and John Gilbert of Newcastle among others), and more significantly, in the tune entering English folk-music repertoire as evidenced by its inclusion in John Clare's fiddle-tune manuscripts.[136] It was also evidently well-known in Ireland because when the Irish poet William Allingham first came to London in 1843 at the age of 19 (having been schooled in Ballyshannon and Co. Cavan and having worked briefly in Armagh, Strabane and Enniskillen), he wrote in a letter to his father that the first tune he heard upon arrival in London was the "tune" of "The Sprig of Shillelagh"

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[134] M. OD., "ODOHERTY ON IRISH SONGS," 1825, 318.
[135] "'A Damsel's Adventures' TUNE – '*The Sprig of Shilelagh*'" as printed by Catnach. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/19394.gif
[136] George Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, 365.

which it seems he heard on the street.[137] Another example of the song's popularity is evidenced in its appearance as part of an Old Bailey court case in 1844 – which will be explored in chapter five amongst the songs of resistance that appeared later in the century.

Both the narrators of "Corporal Casey" and "Sprig of Shillelagh" were potentially appealing to audiences in terms of what Clifford Montague described as a "sprit of Irish nationality" that is, or was, "more" than "a sense of the comical, the ludicrous, the fantastic, the ridiculous" but rather, an expression of the "universality" of "all mankind, regardless of nationality."[138] In direct opposition to the author of the article in the *Monthly Chronicle* above, who declared "the comic songs of Ireland … less understood in England," Montague, writing in the twentieth century, reflects a more generous attitude to "the ridiculous" in England than the earlier author allowed.[139] Both authors essentialize nationality, but the twentieth-century writer provides an example of the way in which people outside Ireland identified with the comic, stage-Irish character within the paradigm that includes, for example, the court jester. And as seen above, whether the Irish dimension was received in terms of ridicule or not, it was also potentially received within the paradigm of anti-establishment resistance. The fact that audiences sometimes veered, as M'Conwick expressed, "a little too much against" the stage- or comic-Irish character, reflects that series of uncomfortable exchanges, or pushing-of-boundaries, between performer and audience that form an integral part of comic performance in general – and that are inherently political. All the more so in cases where nationality is performed outside its usual boundaries, making the performance inherently, to a greater or lesser degree, about the performance of Otherness; when M'Conwick first came to London he recognized himself as a "novelty" and played upon that in his performance, using "Sprig of Shillelagh" as his signature song.

[137] "William Allingham, The Diaries*,* 1824-1846," 42.
[138] Clifford Montague, "The Comic Shillelagh; Only the Irish Can write Comedy!" 115.
[139] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland", 1839, 386.

ROVING BLADES

Apart from songs associated with stage-Irish characters, another significant sub-category of Irish-themed comic street-song in the early nineteenth century was the category that consisted of songs with male narrators who roved, robbed and caroused their way across the country – a category that took on an increasing association with Irishness during these decades that had not existed before. As a whole, these songs (without Irish references) were relatively common in orally transmitted song of the eighteenth century – although the stage also had its share of highwaymen as seen most famously in Gay's *Beggar's Opera*. However, the songs analysed here existed separately from the stage – they were not embedded in stage-plays and did not appear on ballad sheets that listed specific performances such as the "Sprig of Shellelah" sheet above.

"Arthur O'Bradley's Wedding"

The first of these songs, "Arthur O'Bradley's Wedding", illustrates both an appetite for the ridiculous within English popular song, as well as the shifting perceptions of Irishness during the Romantic period in its spanning of the English-Irish divide. The first extant nineteenth-century street-ballad version was printed by John Pitts, twice from his early address, that is, before 1819, and also later by Catnach, Russell of Birmingham and again by Pitts from his later address. But the origins of the song are far older – being alluded to for example in: Thomas Decker's *Honest Whore*, 1604 as "Arthur *of* Bradley"; in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, again as "Arthur *of* Bradley"; in Richard Brathwaite's *A Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615 as "Arthura Bradley"; in the 46th stanza of "A new Ballad of Robin Hood, his Birth, Breeding …" c.1650-1680 as "Arthur a Bradley"; and in Edward Gayton's *Festivious Notes to Don Quixote*, 1654, it is referred to as "that song of --- 'Heigh, brave Arthur o' Bradley, / A beard without haire looks madly.'"[140]

It is a comic drinking song of which there are a number of versions that all centre on the "swaggering royster" of a character, Arthur "of", "a" or "O" Bradley – a young man of thirty famed for "fun, for frolic and whim" who gains consent of his

[140] J. Woodfall Ebsworth, editor, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. 7, part 2, 1891, 313.

sweetheart to marry despite his lack of inheritance and breeding.[141] The versions vary in emphasis between those that focus on the time before the wedding – the struggles Arthur has in gaining consent from the potential bride's mother and the meagre items he brings to the marriage such as "barrels", "brooms", a dozen "wooden spoones" and an "old spade" – and those versions that focus solely on the wedding day itself and on the absurdity of Arthur's attire, conduct, and of the celebrations that follow the wedding.[142] It is likely that all versions reflect a longer song, or songs, from oral tradition. The version published in *An Antidote against Melancholy: Made up in Pills*, 1661,[143] focuses on the wedding day, as does Pitts' version although they are the same only in title and overall narrative. The earlier versions have more potential for bawdy interpretation as the nineteenth-century antiquarian Robert Bell noted, a "good deal of vulgar grossness has been at different times introduced into this song, which seems in this respect to be as elastic as the French chanson, Cadet Rouselle, which is always being altered, and of which there are no two copies alike" – as sure a sign as any of oral dissemination and widespread popularity.[144]

Robert Bell's 1846 *Ancient Poems Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England*, refers to an "obscure music publisher"[145] who printed the same version of the song that was printed by Pitts (beginning "Come neighbours and listen awhile, / If ever you wish'd for to smile") and who advertised the song as having been sung by a Mr Taylor – a "comic actor in London" who sung the song "between 1816 and 1822."[146] Bell seems to suggest that the song may have been sung to the tune of "Mad Moll" (which he notes was possibly a reference to Mary, Queen of Scots) that can be found in Playford's *Dancing Master* (1698), because it is mentioned in the Pitts/Taylor version of the song. On the other hand, William Chappell, in his *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1859), writes that when he first read the lyrics of "Arthur of Bradley" it struck him "immediately that it must have been sung to the tune of "Roger de Coverley" but added that the one "certain" thing is that it "*must* have been sung to a tune in 9/4 time" (and that "9/4 time is common to English jig and hornpipe tunes).[147]

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[141] Ibid., 312.
[142] Ibid., 315.
[143] *An Antidote against Melancholy*, 1661, 21.
[144] Robert Bell, editor. *Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England*, 1857, 139.
[145] Ibid., 138.
[146] J. Woodfall Ebsworth, editor, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. 7, part 2, 1891, 312.
[147] W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, vol. 2, 1859, 539.

When it was performed by The Full English at the BBC Folk Awards in 2014, they chose to sing the lyrics to "Mad Moll" in 9/8 as it (the tune) was published in Playford's *Dancing Master*.[148] With so many textual versions of the song, it was likely also sung to a number of tunes, but the version of the text that was printed by Pitts was evidently the most commonly-heard version in the nineteenth century – and is the version that another ballad scholar, J. Woodfall Ebsworth, noted "used to ring in our years during early boyhood" (Ebsworth was born in 1824, so these dates fit with the street-ballad printings of this song).[149]

So this song, with its narrative originating in historical Suffolk (according to Ebsworth), and its presence on the Elizabethan stage, and its varied print history, evidently had a long and rich history in England.[150] But its inclusion in this chapter is warranted by its publication in *The Universal Songster* in 1825 (under the title "O! Rare Arthur O'Bradley, O!") in the Irish section of the index.[151] So, both this placing in the Irish section, and the ever-increasing emphasis on the "O" as opposed to the "of", illustrates the increasing associations of the carousing genre with Irishness during the early decades of the century. Yet at the same time, this song also provides an example of the long and rich history that such a celebration of excess, absurdity, and the grotesque, had in England, and the popularity there of a type of comic character who was in many ways similar to the stage-Irishman or Irish rogue – one who remarkably came out on top at the end of the day despite his chaotic ineptitude and clownish appearance (his coat half yellow, half blue, his cuffs "the longest that ever were seen", his hat tied under his chin "with an old cow's hide" and his boots one leather and one tin).

"The Frolicksome Irishman"

A less ridiculous, but just as jovial character already met in "Corporal Casey", is the comic soldier, whose narrative, like the roving blade, often involves first leaving home, and then some kind of homecoming. Far more widely printed for street-sale than "Corporal Casey", "The Frolicksome Irishman" had various titles and spellings

[148] "The Full English – Arthur O'Bradley at Folk Awards 2014." *You Tube*, uploaded by BBC Radio 2, 19 Feb 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qi71lWaqC1Q
[149] J. Woodfall Ebsworth, editor, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. 7, part 2, 1891, 312.
[150] Ibid., 313.
[151] *The Universal Songster; or, Museum of Mirth*, vol. I, 1825, 1834, xiii.

including, “Frolicsome Irishman”, “Paddy’s Ramble”, “Irish Recruit”, “Irish Soldier”, “Raw Recruit” and the “Kerry Recruit” – all of which begin with some version of the line “About nine [or four] months ago I was digging the land.” Printing of this song began early – evidenced by printings from Pitts’ early address (1802-1819) and by two other early-century printers J. Jennings of London (*c*.1802-1809) and Lane & Walker of Norwich (*c*.1812) – and it continued potentially throughout the century in its various manifestations evidenced by printings from Hodges, Ryle & Co, Paul and Fortey. It was also printed widely within Ireland, for example by: Haly of Cork (as “The Kerry Recruit”), Birmingham of Dublin (as “The Kerry Recruit”), and J. Moore of Belfast (as “The Irish Soldier”). In Ireland, Haly of Cork was likely the first to print the song at some point during the 1820s or possibly earlier.

There are no references to stage performance on any of the street-ballad printings, but the song’s narrator is in many ways a stereotypical stage-Irish character in his guileless naivety – evident to greater or lesser degrees in the different versions of the song. However, he is also representative of the many insouciant young male characters in roving or highwayman songs such as “The Jolly Roving Ploughboy” (M. Birt), “Daring Highwayman” (Pitts), or “Captain Grant” (Pitts). The first version of “The Frolicksome Irishman” printed in London by both Pitts and Jennings is a simple, seven-verse, song that relays the basics of the narrative of the subsequent versions. The Irishman is “digging the land” when he thinks to himself “It’s a pity to see, / such a genus [*sic*] as I digging land by the way.” So he goes to the fair where he meets a sergeant who asks him to enlist into the army – more an act of coercion than impressment, with the shaking of hands and the confusion over “guineas”, “a score” and “quarters”. But what follows the narrator’s enlisting, is a series of misunderstandings and minor blunders that get worse as new versions of the song appear but that are relatively tame in this version where they are confined to a play on the term “quarter” (a quarter coin and army quarters), and to the narrator’s ineptness during drill: his declaration that he has “legs and arms of [his] own” and that the devil “may take all the wheeling” for him (wheeling and “right- and left-wheel” being marching terms and commands).[152] In the next verse, there is room for an Irish

[152] And possibly also a reference to “cartwheels”, a nickname for the penny and twopence copper coins that were minted at the soho mint between 1797 and 1799.

nationalist interpretation in his apparently deliberate ineptness when fighting the rebels at Vinegar Hill:[153]

> At Vinegar Hill I had very good luck.
> With my clogs full of stones, in a battle of muck.
> The smoke was so thick, and the battle so hot
> But I dare not fire for fear of being shot.

The subsequent and last verse includes the generic "Success to Old England & God save the King" – an expression of monarchical loyalty that was present in many street-songs with Irish themes, as well as in songs of popular resistance. As Georges Zimmerman argues in relation to Irish rebel songs in Ireland, the villains in these songs were not "kings or queens, ministers or other politicians, but the 'enemies' encountered first hand by the peasants: the landlords and the parsons, the 'peelers', and more especially the land agents, bailiffs and proctors who were employed to grind the poor."[154]

> Success to old England, let Ireland remain,
> Since I have got home to dig murphies again
> Success to Old England & god save the King
> If the wars were all over I would go again.

More significant than the monarchical reference, the song ends not only with a return home, but a return back to the simple life; the "murphies" are a stereotypical comic-Irish trope on the one hand, but they also represent the kind of access to the natural/simple way of life that underpinned so many strands of radical political thought – as expressed in the conclusion to Dr Watson's speech at Spa Fields in 1816: "If a Man has but a spade, A Hoe, and a Rake and turns up his Mother Earth – He will be sure to find the means of averting Starvation."[155] The last line of the verse comprises of an Irish bull of sorts – the narrator's declaration that "if the wars were all

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[153] The Battle of Vinegar Hill was an engagement that took place in Wexford during the Irish Rebellion of 1798.
[154] Georges Zimmermann, *Songs of Irish Rebellion*, 26-27.
[155] Quoted in Malcolm Chase, *The People's Farm*, 189.

over [he] would go again" provides at the same time the hint of a more sober message *and* the figurative wink of the stage-Irishman.

"The Frolicksome Irishman" or the "Kerry Recruit" is a character that would have been interpreted within the paradigm of disparagement or tendentious humour by some (who viewed themselves as comfortably superior to the protagonist in question), but interpreted by others in terms of comic self-recognition or even admiration as a character who survives adversity with jovial nonchalance in a similar way to, for example, Arthur O' Bradley who enjoys a rip-roaring wedding despite his numerous defects. The references to jokes about military drill would have chimed with the very many Irish soldiers who formed such a large cohort in the British army, but also with the very many soldiers from England and other nations who were involved in the Revolutionary (including Ireland) and Napoleonic wars. For those of a libertarian bent, or for the many disaffected by the economic hardships that followed the wars, the individualistic and mildly anti-authoritarian sentiments expressed would likely have been a source of identification rather than disparagement.

Within the well-worn parameters of the comic-Irishman's character, different aspects of his personality have been emphasised in different contexts, and contemporaneously, he attracted varying levels of enthusiasm and criticism. In recent scholarship, analysis of the reception of the comic Irish figure has been viewed along national lines – and along lines that tend to view depictions of comic Irishness as the result of colonial denigration or British or American prejudice.[156] Within this discourse, the presence of the trope within Ireland has, if acknowledged, been viewed in terms of re-appropriation. Writing on "The Kerry Recruit" for example, Roly Brown notes that "in all copies there is a bias towards a joke involving the Irish" and adds that Irish songs such as this were "a numerous class, all amused at the antics of a perceived misfortunate or feckless character in a way which we would probably now think patronising …"[157] However, Brown's eagerness to recognize and condemn the denigrating potential of the song ignores the potential receptions explored above, in which segments of both Irish and English audiences identified with the character

[156] For example see Mary Helen Thuente, "Development of the Exile Motif in Songs of Emigration and Nationalism," 12.
[157] Roly Brown, "No. 5: The Kerry Recruit," par. 2.

depicted. Brown then makes an attempt to minimize the popularity of the song in England by declaring that it had a minor "impact on singing habits", but in doing seems to prove the opposite; the presence of the song in late-nineteenth century rural England, shows that it was popular enough to enter oral tradition. During the folk revival of the turn of the twentieth century, "The Kerry Recruit" was collected from a number of singers, for example from: a Mr Carpenter in Sussex in 1912; from a Marina Russell in Dorset in 1907 (as well as another song of the same name beginning "When I was in Ireland I'd very good luck"); from a John Childs in Hampshire; and from a James Kelly in London in 1908 (collected by Cecil Sharp).[158]

The many Irish performances of the song in the twentieth century show that its appeal persisted – at least in Ireland, for example in a television performance by Ronnie Drew in which he introduces the song with a comment on Dublin people versus people from the country.[159] Perhaps tellingly, the printings of Cork and Dublin name the song as the "Kerry Recruit" as opposed to the alternative titles – Kerryman jokes being a long-standing tradition in Ireland, a similar version of which exists in many countries in which jokes are made about inhabitants of especially rural or isolated part of the nation.[160] Many of these jokes play on the idea of simplicity and wisdom. Christie Davies makes the argument that jokes about country bumpkins increased with industrialisation – a time when workdays and life in general was becoming more regulated. Davies places these jokes within an anti-industrial, or even pastoral tradition, as well as within a comedy of self-disparagement that reinforces antagonism against increased regulation of public life and technology – a sentiment also seen in other nineteenth-century street-songs.[161] The East Friesian joke "Q: Why is no 'Ostfriese in Parliament? A: They are not so dumb" is reminiscent of the wily Irishman jokes in which the protagonist subverts and rejects common societal desires in favour of his own eccentricities and ultimately his independence.[162]

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[158] See the *Vaughan Williams Memorial Library* website.
[159] "The Kerry Recruit." *YouTube*, uploaded by guarunteedubliner, 16 July 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BnrmdvrOoTA
[160] For example jokes about people from Ostfriesland in Germany: "East Frisia Jokes a fad in Germany" *New York Times*, 1971, or "Kerryman Jokes" http://www.fionasplace.net/irishjokes/Kerrymanjokes.html
[161] Christie Davies, *Jokes and their Relation to Society*, 65.
[162] "Jokes on 'Ostfriesen'" http://www.crazy-german.com/Jokes-on-Germans/-Ostfriesen-/-ostfriesen-.html

“The Jolly Blade” and “The Wild and Wicked Youth”

A significant sub-category of young-men-a-roving songs that were more popular even than the soldiering songs is that of the highwayman songs that were printed for street sale. If Arthur (of Bradley) and the Kerry recruit are rather clownish characters, the “jolly blade” is less so. Instead, he is blithe and merry in his pursuit of women and wealth, but less comic, in part because he is generally (at first) more successful in his endeavours than the previous characters, but also because he often pays for his “wild” ways by hanging. “The Jolly Blade” and “The Wild and Wicked Youth” are two songs that appear to have the same origin, and despite the ultimately tragic narratives of both, their comic-sounding titles, and intermittent comic tone means that they warrant analysis in this chapter. Both songs declare their Irishness in the fist lines – “The Jolly Blade” begins “In Dublin city where I was born, / On Steven's Green must die in scorn,” and Pitts’ version of “Wild and Wicked Youth” begins “In Newry town I was bred and born; / In Steven’s Green I die with scorn.” There are a number of alternative titles (all of which are similar versions) including “Rambling Boy”, “Newry Highwayman” and “Reckless Rambling Boy.”[163] Pitts’ early printing (between 1802 and 1819) of a version titled “Wild and Wicked Youth” beginning “I AM a *wild* and wicked youth, / I love young women and that’s the truth” has no mention of Ireland which raises the possibility that the Irish connection was added later in a similar way that occurred for “Arthur of Bradley”. Both Irish-themed versions analysed here were also published by Pitts, and later by numerous other ballad-publishers throughout the century.

All versions of the song contain a tension between the first-person, comic narration of the protagonist’s wayward lifestyle and the lament of his fate on the gallows that is reminiscent of the “last dying speeches” in verse that were sold as ballad-sheets in large numbers at public executions; in Pitts’ earlier version, the gallows are only mentioned in the last verses, but in the Irish-themed versions that were subsequently printed, the protagonist’s death is mentioned in the first lines. In both the later versions printed by Pitts, the protagonist “took a wife” and goes to London in order to “maintain her fine and gay” (“Wild and Wicked Youth), after which he robs “Lord Onslow” and “Lady Neptune in Monmoth Square” (“Jolly Blade”) or “Lord Golding”

[163] “Lyr Add: Jolly Blade,” The Mudcat Café, https://mudcat.org Accessed 14 Sept. 2018.

and “Lady Mansfield in Grosvenor Square” (“Wicked Youth”). The songs’ potentially eighteenth-century origins are evident in the narrator’s downfall being due to “old blind Fielding did me pursue” (in “Jolly Blade”) or “Fielding’s gang did me pursue, / Taken I was by the bloody crew” (in “Wicked Youth”). In the latter, the wicked youth’s arrest takes place as he goes to “Covent Garden” with his “blooming bride to see the play.” “Fielding’s gang” refers to Henry Fielding’s Bow Street Runners (in his capacity as magistrate) who were essentially London’s first professional police force founded in 1748 and who continued until the “peelers” (The Metropolitan Police) were formed in 1829.[164] Given the antagonism toward both “Fielding’s gang” and later Robert Peel’s police force, the subtle celebration of the highwayman’s lifestyle – his freedom and his carefree audaciousness in opposition to authority – make these songs clearly anti-establishment in tone however subtly this might play out in the song’s contextual performance.

Highwayman songs such as this were extremely popular in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, even beyond street-balladry, and as the authors of *English Folk-Song and Dance* (1915) write:

> The highwayman generally claimed the sympathy of the folk-song maker on the ground that – ‘He never robbed a poor man upon the King’s highway,” and that his takings from the rich were distributed among the poor. This atoned for all crimes against person and property that were committed by such men as “Brennan on the Moor,” the hero of a very favourite ballad.[165]

The “very favourite” ballad of “Brennan on the Moor” contains obvious Irish references within the text and was unsurprisingly printed by all the main Dublin printers of the nineteenth century (J. F. Nugent & Co, P. Brereton, and W. Birmingham), but was also widely printed in England by all the main printers of the second half of the century. The Robin Hood theme itself on the other hand (and the very many “Robin Hood ballads” of the eighteenth-century and before) had declined in street balladry by the nineteenth century; in London, they were still printed by early-century printers such as Pitts, Catanch and Evans, but not by printers in the

[164] “Policing in London,” *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 1674-1913.
[165] Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Fold-Song and Dance*, 1915, 2012, 64.

second half of the century. So it seems almost as if the Robin Hood theme became increasingly associated with Irishness in street balladry as the nineteenth century progressed – as seen in the "Wild & Wicked Youth" nexus of songs as well as in the later-century examples such as "Brennan of the Moor". Pitts' non-Irish version of "Wild & Wicked Youth" is the only one in which the protagonist explicitly states "I never robbed any poor man yet" – a point that places it closer to the Robin Hood tradition that was still relatively active at the time of printing, and a point that provides further evidence of its potential provenance. In turn, the provenance of this version, and the decline of the name of "Robin Hood" with the concomitant increase of various Irish indicators (in this song and in street-song in general), seems to support the increasing association of the Robin Hood sentiment with Irishness – (perhaps when the association of Ireland with political resistance gained prominence) and in turn provides insight into how Ireland came to be perceived in English popular culture as symbol of resistance against injustice.[166]

The devil-may-care attitude of these songs and their celebratory titles make them reminiscent of songs such as "Frolicsome Irishman" or "Arthur O' Bradley" and conducive to performance at any jovial gathering. The different versions contain varying levels of regret and remorse and the mention of the sentence of death acts, as it does in the last-dying speeches, as a warning against the lifestyle: "I wish that I had obeyed the Lord / And never done anything but what is good" ("Jolly Blade"). However, the overall sentiment is one of spirited individualism and singularity of action that can be seen in the delight that the narrator takes in looking back upon his criminal activities, but also in the requests he has for his own funeral; for example "Six blooming girls to bear my pall / Give them gloves and ribbons all" and "Six highwaymen to carry me, / Give them broad swords and sweet liberty" (Pitts' version beginning "In Newry town"). As a motif, the highwayman had been an admired figure in narrative print forms since the seventeenth century, but was replaced in the nineteenth by more moralistic depictions of criminals, for example by Dickens' depictions of criminals as "sinister and devious".[167] However, in street-verse, sympathy for the character persisted well into the nineteenth century in fictional

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[166] "Wild and Wicked Youth" as printed by Pitts. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/07663.gif
[167] Stephen Basdeo, "The Rise and Fall of Highwaymen in Print," par. 10.

portrayals such as these; and sympathy for criminals condemned to public hanging was standard in the gallows verse that was sold until public executions ended in the 1860s.

COMIC SONGS ABOUT ST PATRICK

A cohort of songs that differ from the "roving blade" songs in that they are much more communal in tone, in part because they use the plural "we" rather than the singular "I", are songs about Ireland's patron saint, St Patrick, and about his patron day, the 17th of March. They form a significant cohort of comic Irish songs printed for street sale in early nineteenth century England, and their provenance in the eighteenth century is clear in their patriotic celebration of Ireland and in their other similarities to stage-Irish song (use of the Irish brogue for example).

In Ireland, celebration of St Patrick's Day, replete with the wearing of crosses and shamrocks, had been a popular phenomenon among Ireland's catholic population since at least the 1680s. By the late eighteenth century however, and during the time when many such songs were performed as part of stage-Irish acts, Jacqueline Hill argues that St Patrick and the shamrock "contained an appeal not just for Catholics but for the state, members of the establishment in general, and for protestants of 'enlightened' views."[168] This non-partisan view of St Patrick changed again after the 1801 Act of Union, when the promised Catholic emancipation failed to materialize, and when conservative protestants alarmed at the prospect of Catholic emancipation increasingly associated themselves with the (exclusively protestant) Orange Order and thus set themselves against Patrician traditions. So in the interim period until Catholic emancipation in 1829, Patrician and Williamite traditions became increasingly divided along religious lines. This partisanship became less pronounced again when, after catholic emancipation in 1829, the state began to support Patrician celebrations – seen most symbolically in the new tradition of the Viceroy for Ireland attending St Patrick's Day events in Dublin, appearing, for example, in 1832 "with a shillelagh in his hand and a shamrock in his hat."[169] In this way, it was Patrician tradition that

[168] Jacqueline R. Hill, "“National Festivals, the State and ‘Protestant Ascendancy’ in Ireland, 1790-1829," 32.
[169] Ibid., 48.

ultimately became the sole and (supposedly) unifying symbol of Irish identity that both Catholics and "respectable protestants generally" could get behind in Ireland.[170] Hill writes that in this way, by "extending recognition to the popular celebrations of St Patrick's day, successive viceroys were able to identify themselves belatedly with the popular (i.e. catholic) side in the struggle," which ultimately "paid dividend in helping retain popular allegiance to the office of viceroy … and, beyond that, to the monarchy which it represented."[171]

In English popular culture, especially with the establishment backing of Patrician tradition, the celebration of St Patrick and his patron day would have been associated more clearly with Ireland as a whole – and in turn with the various things that Ireland represented. Yet, reception in England (and Scotland) of these songs about St Patrick and the inherently religious element that they contain, cannot be discussed without reference to the anti-Catholic petitioning that was taking place in the lead up to Catholic emancipation in 1829. That this anti-Catholic petitioning was in part due to anti-Irish sentiment is evidenced by the fact that the cities with highest levels of Irish immigration, Glasgow, Liverpool, Dundee, Manchester and Paisley, all returned a very large number of signatures; it was said that in Dundee, every protestant signed the petition, while in Liverpool, the petition was "so enormous that the House of Commons porter could barely lift it."[172] As Linda Colley argues however, "anti-Irish sentiment, whether founded on economic grievances [the undercutting of wages] or ethnic prejudices, scarcely explains the sheer scale of the agitation against Catholic emancipation."[173] Petitions came in from all over England, including the most rural areas that had seen no Irish immigration – pointing to the possibility that the signing of these petitions was more to do with a protestant structure of feeling in England, and with people's attachment to their protestant identity viewed in terms of a centuries-old "tradition of resistance to Catholicism", than to anti-Irishness.[174]

If this is the case, in England, especially during a time before the more nationalist Young Ireland movement was founded in 1842 (and therefore when Irish calls for

[170] Ibid., 49.
[171] Ibid., 51.
[172] Linda Colley, *Britons*, 336.
[173] Ibid., 336.
[174] Ibid., 336.

separation and sovereignty might have been viewed in some quarters of both England and Ireland in more antagonistically sectarian terms), it is conceivable that these St Patrick's Day songs were received within the paradigms of eighteenth-century patriotisms – Irish Grattanite and English oppositional. These songs do not contain the (more or less) subtle sense of political outrage that characterise the exile and national songs explored in the next two chapters of this thesis, nor the sectarian elements seen in the *aisling* songs. Instead, they can be viewed in the same light that Leerssen describes Daniel O'Connell – as both a jovial, charming, quasi stage-Irish figure, and one of the last patriots (due to his emphasis on political representation and equity rather than complete severance with Britain). As such, the positivity of these songs may have been just as politically effective as O'Connell in terms of rallying support for the idea of Ireland as separate nation and in turn for repeal of the Union (although this was not something that O'Connell himself ultimately achieved).[175]

In contrast to the sense of national definition displayed in St Patrick's Day songs, they were printed in England during a time between *c*.1800 and 1830, when English national identity was in a state of insecurity. As Linda Colley notes, the sense of jingoistic victory that might have been expected in the aftermath of Waterloo, failed to materialise because of the "severe slump in agriculture, trade and manufacturing" that followed."[176] These factors were likely to have challenged, disordered and re-established English people's view of themselves as "English", and reinforced the radical and anti-establishment identities that led, as Colley describes, to the "bitter" nature of protests in the decades leading to 1850.[177] Even during the wars, caricature against the British establishment thrived alongside caricature against France – and the two were not always as clearly opposed as might be expected. For example, James Gillray's 1803 caricature of Buonaparte's head on a pike held by John Bull titled "Buonaparte 48 hours after landing," contains what might now appear a paradoxical image of the sombre head of Buonaparte on a pike, held by an oafish-looking John Bull with the patriotic song title "Britons Strike Home" emblazoned on his hat. So, despite this supposedly being anti-French propaganda, Gillray doesn't fully degrade Buonaparte and in fact, Gillray's depiction of both Buonaparte and his Irish Chieftain

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[175] Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, 22, and, "Notes Towards a Definition of Romantic Nationalism," 13.
[176] Linda Colley, *Britons*, 327-8.
[177] Ibid., 327-8.

character printed in 1798, appear more flattering – more noble or heroic than depictions of John Bull.[178] Although these depictions were partly a matter of convention – Buonaparte being portrayed, as the French so often were during the wars, with the "lanthorn jaws" (i.e. prominent jaw and gaunt-like appearance) and John Bull as the self-satisfied glutton – they are striking in their unflattering depiction of the ordinary Englishman.[179]

Yet, as the embrace of "John Bull" in England shows, characters meant originally as figures of ridicule, were repeatedly re-appropriated as patriotic figures of pride, and the original early eighteenth-century figure of ridicule of the typical English farmer created by the Scottish John Arbuthnot around 1712, has long been forgotten. In the early nineteenth century, John Bull represented the rough, uncultured man in, for example, Rowlandson's "John Bull at the Italian Opera" (1811)[180] or in comic songs such as "Gloucestershire Bumpkin"[181] printed by Pitts before 1819; but he simultaneously represented in those artefacts an anti-establishment celebration of the ordinary, politically powerless yet stoic, patriotic classes. Later, in the mid-century, his image was to become more closely intertwined with political resistance in songs such as "John Bull and the Taxes" printed by many printers including Pitts.[182] In a similar way, these comic depictions of St Patrick and St Patrick's Day celebrations in street-song – sometimes evoking the grotesque and the corporeal – were replaced in subsequent decades by the more political (whether mythic or explicitly resistant) versions of Irishness.

"St. Patrick was a Gentleman"

The first two songs about St Patrick explored here – "St. Patrick was a Gentleman" and "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning" – continue in the tradition of revelry seen in the section above. "St. Patrick was a Gentleman" was a standard favourite in

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[178] Ibid., 288.

[179] James Gillray, "Buonaparte, 48 Hours after Landing!" Speech Bubble: "Ha my little Boney! – what dos't think of Johnny Bull now? Plunder Old England hay? Make French Slaves of us all! Hay? Ravish all our Wives & Daughters hay – O Lord help that silly Head! – to think that Johnny Bull would ever suffer those Lanthorn Jaws to become King of Old Englands Roast-Beef & Plum pudding!" 1803.

[180] "John Bull at the Italian Opera" *Collection Online*. The British Museum.

[181] "Gloucestershire Bumpkin" as printed by Pitts (before 1819). BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/07436.gif

[182] "John Bull and the Taxes" as printed by Pitts between 1819 and 1844. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/06245.gif

published song collections from at least as early as 1825, and can be found in extant street-ballad collections, printed by a variety of ballad-printers operating between 1819 and the 1840s in London, and up to the 1870s in Manchester and Preston.[183] According to the Irish antiquarian Thomas Crofton Croker (1798 – 1854), it originated in Ireland as the "impromptu joint production of a late Mr. Henry Bennett and Mr. Toleken, of Cork", and was "sung by them in alternate lines at a masquerade in that city, where they appeared as ballad-singers in the winter of 1814 or 1815."[184] Croker prints six verses in his *Popular Songs of Ireland* in 1837, and adds that the original song by the ballad-singers consisted of just three – the first, second and fifth verses as printed by Croker. There are two separate printings by Pitts in the Bodleian collection (both from his later address 1819-1844) – one of which appears in the older ballad-sheet format consisting of a slip-sheet containing a single, short song topped with a decorative woodcut.[185] Pitts' other printing of this song is formatted in the newer style consisting of two columns of text, in this case four songs and no woodcuts.[186] The first printing consists of the three original verses as set out by Croker, while the other consists of four; it is possible then, that Pitts first printed the song at some point before the publication of Croker's six-verse version in 1837 (and the printed format of the shorter song indicates that it was likely printed closer to 1819 than 1844) and the second printing after. All the other street-ballad printings contain between four and six of the verses. Street publication in England may have been promoted by the song being sung by the Irish character Mr O'Sullivan in the play *Trip to America*, performed in London in 1824 – a point that demonstrates how the direction of flow did not always go from stage to street, but also how street songs entered stage tradition.[187]

Another factor that suggests the song was not only suitable for the stage but that it was perhaps sung more by professional or regular singers than by those who were less used to singing, is the lively nature of the melody. The twentieth-century recordings

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[183] *The Universal Songster*, vol, I, 10.
[184] Thomas Crofton Croker, *Popular Songs of Ireland*, 1837, 1886, 25.
[185] "St. Patrick was a Gentleman" printed by Pitts [1] http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/10163.gif
[186] "St. Patrick was a Gentleman" printed by Pitts [2] http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04308.gif
[187] The play was written by playwrights James Smith and R. B. Peake about comedian Charles Mathews' trip to America. It was first performed in 1824 at the Strand Theatre (known then as the English Opera House).

perform the song in the fast-paced, dance-like style of comedic song – in a major key with a 2/2 polka rhythm. The music given in Davidson's *Universal Melodist* (*c*.1850) has the same time signature, but the melody is in a minor key (D minor, Aeolian mode) with a raised 7th (creating a minor harmonic scale).[188] The effect of the more brooding minor key combined with the surprise of the raised 7th (C #) and the comic lyrics, potentially create an effect of mock seriousness that, arguably, adds to the comedy of the song. There are two places with dramatic octave drops (C to C) – a musical trope relatively common in comic Irish song (for example in the song "As I roved out")[189] that means the singer has to be relatively vocally dextrous for convincing performance, providing further suggestion that the song was sung by regular singers – especially regular *comic* singers.[190]

Despite the song's origination in Ireland, it contains all the potentially denigrating tropes of the contentious comic-Irish genre popular on the stage. The names of individuals used to indicate Irishness – Patrick, Wollagan and O'Grady – appear alongside the Irish-sounding place-names such as Dublin, Kinaghan, Antrim, Enniskillen. Irishness is also made explicit in the last verse "No wonder that we Irish lads then are so blythe and frisky." The typical stage-Irish tropes are present in the "bogs" (second verse) "frisky"/"whiskey" rhyme (last verse), in the opportunity for performance of the Irish accent that is made explicit in some printings – such as decent/dacent or vermin/varmint (the latter examples both printed by Harkness of Preston) – and in the recognisable, non-lexical, Irish "scat" – "Tooralloo, tooralloo, O whack falderallallido." Anglicized Irish-language words also appear in the "sheebeen shop" – an Irish-language phrase that can be translated as an unlicensed distillery or bar. Yet, the song was popular in Ireland – "popular", as defined in the anonymous article "Ballad Poetry of Ireland" (1839), as including the "songs of the middle classes and the peasantry", the latter being those "true depositaries of Irish lyrical poetry."[191] The author cites this song as one of the few "really popular" songs in Croker's collection – popular "in the full sense."[192] This popularity is emphasised by the fact that it was still (or also) sung in Ireland in the twentieth century – recorded for

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[188] *Davidson's Universal Melodist*, 1850, 205.
[189] "Blackthorn – 'As I roved Out'." *YouTube*, uploaded by Markus Thøgersen, 21 Mar 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YsSu4qdHgX0
[190] *Davidson's Universal Melodist*, 1850, 205.
[191] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland," 1839, 396.
[192] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland," 1839, 396.

example by the Wolfe Tones in 1981, and performed on numerous occasions by Christy Moore.

In the context of the popular Catholic Patrician tradition in Ireland, in which the Catholic church is denigrated via the humorous levelling of the patron saint, this song, despite being mildly anti-clerical, ultimately celebrates St Patrick and the church, as well as Ireland as nation. In England, reception, and a sense of affiliation, was more likely to have occurred within the paradigm of the song's subtly anti-establishment tone. Unlike the songs analysed above that all consisted of first-person narratives by young men, all of these St Patrick songs contain what Leerssen describes as the "tell-tale" first-person plural (in the chorus and in the second and third/final verses) that might indicate the song's intended performance context as "intra-Irish."[193] Leerssen's analysis of Charolotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789) (in which he makes his "tell-tale" comment) makes some concession to the idea of British readership, and highlights the point that Brooke hoped that her work might "contribute to better Anglo-Irish relations", but ultimately stresses that "Brooke's intended readership is obviously Irish." However, unlike in the case of the more conceptual and individualistic act of reading … listening, hearing or participating in street performance is an inherently more communal activity than reading poetry whatever audience the author had in mind when the lyrics were written. And this communality had an especially wide potential listenership on the street where hearing of the song sometimes occurred on a non-voluntary basis.

So, various interpretations of these pronouns in performance and reception are possible. Within Irish (especially Catholic) communities they either represent a self-assured togetherness of a cohesive group, or (as in the case of Brooke's work) they can be seen as part of a wider Grattanite project to create cohesiveness within an Ireland divided between the Anglo-Irish, Gaelic Ireland, and the Ulster protestants. In turn, part of this first-person-plural patriotism could be seen as a more antagonistic effort to present a cohesive "we" to the Other – making it inherently a more performative "we" with one eye fixed upon the other, rather than a subjective celebration. Alternatively, outside Ireland, although this is a song that was "really

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[193] Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, 31.

popular" there, there is always the potential for songs such as this, in repetition, to be interpreted in derogatory terms against Irish identity. Yet, for a street hearer to want to stop and listen for the sake of enjoyment the opposite was also potentially the case, and it is likely that in these instances a sense of affiliation with the theme occurred on some level. "St Patrick was a Gentleman" was relatively widely printed for street sale in England – for example by T. Birt and Elizabeth Hodges in London (as well as by Pitts), by Harkness of Preston and by Bebbington of Manchester; so in the context of comic performance and singing in England, hearers potentially included themselves in the "we" and "ours" that such a context would invite. As such, it might have been received as a comic nonsense song – with the recognition that a saint who taught anyone to "drink whiskey" and who had a father with a name like Wollagan and a mother who kept a "sheebeen" shop (interpreted as a nonsense word by those who didn't know it was Irish), was inherently humorous.

Interpretation may have been contingent on the nationality of the performer. In England, we can't know how often this song was sung by Irish street singers compared to English singers – and whether the nationality of the performer influenced how English hearers perceived the song. For some individuals, such as the author of "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland" who wrote that it would be "difficult for any race of men to enter with complete zest into Irish humour," would have considered performance, as well as reception, of Irish comic song by English people, incongruous, while on the other hand, for those less conscious of the song's otherness, the nationality of the performer would have been less important.[194] For some commentators, even the singing of Irish songs by Irish singers or actors did not constitute national authenticity. Even the renowned John Henry Johnstone met with criticism for not being authentic enough; his fellow Irishman and friend, John Philpot Curran (Master of the Rolls in Ireland 1806 to 1814 who defended a number of United Irishmen against the charge of High Treason) complained that Johnstone did not "deliver the genuine brogue", but instead "… *translates* it … for the English ear," adding: "he [Johnstone] is perhaps right; for it is very difficult to represent a genuine Irishman to the satisfaction of a British audience. In truth, the Irish brogue is a very

[194] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland", 1839, 386.

sweet liquid – but it won't bear to be put into English bottles."[195] Here, the middle-class and professional Philpot Curran displays a similar idealization of Irishness to the English author of the article above in his belief in the existence of a "genuine Hibernian."[196] Yet, this is an idealization based inherently upon class rather than upon nationality – and so class, or rather how individuals viewed themselves in relation to class, evidently also played a crucial role in reception of these comic-patriotic songs. To whichever class hearers belonged, Curran's observations on Johnstone's performances offer a glimpse into how Irish comic songs were performed and received in England – the fact that a "British audience" expected to see a "genuine Irishman" represented on the stage, reveals a kind of fascination with Irishness, and in turn with the idea of national authenticity. The fact that people themselves (from Curran to the "British audience") had an idea that such authenticity existed and of what it looked like, brings us back to the eighteenth-century "cult of simplicity" and to the phenomenon in which people hankered for things in their (imagined) simple, pure, and originary forms – and in turn, to the fact that Irish comic songs were received within this paradigm.

"St. Patrick's Day in the Morning"

"St. Patrick's Day in the Morning" has definite roots in the eighteenth century and is as such older than "St. Patrick was a Gentleman". The tune appeared, possibly for the first time, in James Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion* – a series of tune books printed in London in 12 volumes between 1743 and 1759.[197] Significantly, it also appears as the *first* tune in another London-printed collection titled *Rutherford's Compleat Collection of 200 of the Most Celebrated Country Dances in 1756, suggesting that it was popular enough to act as advertisement for this book of "most celebrated" dance tunes.*[198] *Rutherford's collection is one that includes the "newest and best figures and directions [dance instructions] to each tune" – a point that reveals the practice of a type of embodiment of Irishness – through dancing – that*

[195] Anne Mathews, *Anecdotes of Actors*, 1844, 234.
[196] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland", 1839, 389. These debates surrounding Irish authenticity, especially on the English stage, increased as the nineteenth century wore on – seen for example in criticisms of the works of Dion Boucicault or George Bernard Shaw.
[197] James Oswald, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*. See "Table of Contents" for full tune list: https://www.scotlandsmusic.com/Product/SM-7R7F16/the-caledonian-pocket-companion
[198] David Rutherford, *Rutherford's compleat [sic] Collection of 200 of the most celebrated Country Dances*, 1756, 1.

arguably creates a yet greater intimacy with an imagined Ireland than the singing of an Irish song.[199] *Further testament to the tune's popularity was Thomas Arne's use of it in his opera Love in a Village in 1762 for the melody of the comic song "A plague of those Wenches".*[200] The melody still survives today, as a jig played in traditional music sessions, known either as "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning" or "St. Patrick's Day."[201]

The lyrics, as seen on the nineteenth-century street ballad, also first appear in print in the eighteenth century, at least as early as 1782, in John Fielding's *The Convivial Songster*, published in London along with the same melody as previously printed.[202] Subsequently, these lyrics appeared in numerous songbooks such as *The Royalty Songster* (London, 1788), *The Lyric Miscellany* (London, 1788), *The Buck's Pocket Companion* (New Haven [Connecticut], 1798), *The Offspring of Wit and Harmony* (Dublin, 1800), and in *The Charms of Melody, or Siren Medley* (Dublin *c*.1796-1798), and as a street ballad in the nineteenth century by Liverpool ballad-printer Armstrong at some point between 1815 and 1824. So this was evidently a well-known melody and lyric in England from the mid-eighteenth century onward.

When tune and lyrics combine, they are sung in the fast-paced style typical of comic song in jig-time:

> Ye lads and ye lasses so buxom and clever,
> Who come from Hibernia of famous renown"
> Put on your best bibs and be coming together,
> So nately yourselves all adorning.
> The music shall be so sweetly a playing,
> Each shall be dancing and skipping around;
> Green shamrock shall shine, sir,
> To make us all fine, sir,

[199] Ibid., title page.
[200] Thomas Arne, *Love in a Village A comic Opera*, 1763, 56.
[201] There are numerous versions of "Saint Patrick's Day" on *The Session* website – https://thesession.org/tunes/385 – which are all the same as each other, as are the online performances of "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning". Possibly printed for the first time in James Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion* (12 volumes between 1743 and 1759). See "Table of Contents" on the webpage.
[202] *The Convivial Songster*, 1782, 296.

Salt fish and potatoes,
Shall smoke my dear cratures,
And nothing be wanting that's there to be found.
Full bumpers of whiskey,
To make us all frisky,
On St. Patrick's day in the morning.

As in the case for reception of the stage Irishman, performance of this song in Ireland (the evidence for which lies in the Dublin-based publications listed above) would not have been interpreted in terms of national othering. However, it is, like "St. Patrick was a Gentleman," replete with what can be described as stage-Irish conventions that have the potential to be interpreted in terms of superiority theories of humour: the stage-Irish brogue – "nately", "cratures", "Ah! hub aboo, sir", "mammy & daddy"; tropes such as the "sweet" music, dancing and skipping, the "salt fish and potatoes"; and the usual rhyming of "whiskey" and "frisky."

A less stereotypical comic-Irish performance with which the song may have been associated for theatre goers, was Richard Brinsely Sheridan's farce, *St. Patrick's Day; or, The Scheming Lieutenant*, first performed in the Covent-Garden Theatre in 1775 – which provides an example of representations of Irishness in England that were arguably less divisive.[203] The farce, which takes place in "a town in England", depicts the largely harmonious habitation and mingling within a military company made up of Irish and English soldiers, and between the soldiers and the local community. The action takes place on St Patrick's Day – a day that is marked even by the English sergeant Trounce as a day to "drink St. Patrick's … health" (Act I, Scene I), and a day on which he hopes that "St. Patrick would have given … [them] a recruit or two" (Act II, Scene I). With regards to the latter, Trounce is duly rewarded with a pair of English "countrymen" who appear on the scene as potential recruits and are portrayed as the most docile and naïve characters in the play; the one of the two being the most "clever" at "learning" having read only "Jack the Giant Killer, and the Dragon of Wantly" (popular eighteenth-century chapbooks) in the way of "warriors and heroes" – to which Trounce condescendingly replies "Wonderful knowledge!" (Act II, Scene

[203] Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *St. Patrick's Day; or, The Scheming Lieutenant, A Farce*, 1775.

I). Justice Credulous is also aware of it being St Patrick's Day, and seems in fear of some kind of attack as a result: "O the villains; this is St. Patrick's Day, and the rascals have been parading my house all the morning. I know they have a design upon me; but I have taken all precautions: I have magazines of arms …" (Scene II). The year of this play's first performance, 1775, was the year that in Ireland the second wave of Whiteboy activity (violent protestors against enclosure, unjust landlords and tithe collectors) "reached a crescendo."[204] The eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century in general was *also* a time when the rural worker in England "was often found [to be] protesting his (or her) lot."[205] However, the behaviour of Justice "Credulous" was likely a satirical mockery by Sheridan of the hysteria that sometimes arose in the comfortable classes on hearing of such protest in the press – especially irrational in England where protest overall tended to be less directed at property than it was in Ireland.

In fact, the Justice's real fear is Lieutenant O'Connor's romantic pursuit of his daughter. O'Connor is portrayed here as the typical Irish lothario on one hand ("given to wenching" as Trounce puts it in Act II, Scene I), but he is also a lieutenant liked and respected by his men. Moreover, his determination in gaining Lauretta's hand by any means is what finally gains him the Justice's grudging respect and capitulation: "Sir, I give my daughter to you, who are the most impudent dog I ever saw in my life" (Scene IV). Anti-Irish sentiment is evident in the Justice's declaration that "an Irishman and a soldier" are the "two things on earth" that he most hates (Scene IV), but by the same token, the Justice is himself portrayed as a cowardly, fussy hysteric. In many ways then, the lyrics of "St Patrick's Day in the Morning" fit with the theme of this play, and with the tradition of wily Irish characters overcoming resistance and gaining the upper hand with an air of relative nonchalance.

Yet, the difference between the play and the song reveals the complexity inherent in any study of images of Ireland in England that often might be more usefully deconstructed along class and economic lines than national. For example, the actions of the song's narrator – the "smuggle and kiss" and "pull" and "haul" and "tenderly

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[204] J. S. Donnelly, "Irish Agrarian Rebellion: The Whiteboys of 1769-76," 294.
[205] Carl J. Griffin, *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700-1850*, viii.

maul" "each pretty miss" – reveal behaviour dismissive of polite expectations, making the actions of Lieutenant O'Connor seem relatively deferential by contrast – especially in his pursuit of marriage. So while the play's O'Connor is an evidently attractive male figure of relatively high social ranking, the song's narrator expresses a more perverse mixture of aggression and celebration that is potentially more delinquent – but that might also be interpreted in some (especially male) circles in terms of opposition against the social norms of the middle classes or against the sexual dogma of the church. Interpretation of the second-person use of "so none of your sneering and scorning" in the second verse is also ambiguous. One one hand, the narrator may be addressing the "lads and lasses so buxom and clever, / Who come from Hibernia of famous renown", and therefore referring to their irreverent sneering at St Patrick – which would be the likely interpretation taking place within Ireland. On the other hand within England, "sneering and scorning" may be interpreted as a nod towards negative receptions of all things Irish, including St Patrick.

It is possible that the low numbers of extant examples of this song may be a result of changing tastes in the kinds of stock-Irish tropes that were sought or tolerated in the nineteenth century. While the kind of friskiness evident in these songs may have been interpreted in the eighteenth century within a culture of mockery in which satire and carnivalesque were elevated, by the nineteenth century and with increasing calls for social reform, these overt displays of clownery may have been deemed forced, contrived, or politically old-fashioned.

"Seventeenth of March"

The last St Patrick's Day song explored here, "Seventeenth of March", represents a song that was more widely printed as a street ballad in the nineteenth century, and although also comic, contains a greater emphasis on nationalist politics via its inclusion of the phrase so closely associated with the 1798 rebellion, "Erin go Bragh". "Seventeenth of March" was potentially first printed in the 1790s by London printer Jennings, and was then printed by John Pitts at his early address at some point between 1802 and 1819.

In English public spaces, the "Erin go bragh" of the first line of the song being "*our* motto", was contingent upon the English audience's knowledge of Irish politics, their

political or national affiliations (if any), and the performer's style of singing (as reflection of their own national or political affiliations). As in "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning", the personal plural pronouns might be interpreted by the audience either as inclusive or exclusive, but a sense of shared group identity is immediately communicated in the first verse that potentially includes its entire audience in the new united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. So although the opening phrase potentially linguistically and politically excludes all non-Irish-speaking and loyalist hearers, it might alternatively be viewed in linguistically-inclusive British (rather than English) terms. Either way, a collectivism of sorts is expressed via the first-person plural – whether in service to a radical (patriotic or nationalist) or conservative (British-nationalist or military) agenda. So the general tone and sentiment of a song such as this is one of togetherness and community, and the extent to which the hearer feels part of that community, depends more on the performance moment than the text itself – and upon factors such as the venue and the individual situation of the hearer.

Any sense of incitement to violence induced by inclusion of the phrase "Erin go Bragh" would also have been affected by the factors outlined above. And the revolutionary elements in the song might either have been embraced or circumvented by factors such as the sense of inclusion felt by the hearer, or their reception of the comic melody or performance setting. Yet, in the juxtaposition between the cry of revolution and the outpourings of "sweet" comic sentiment (the "gay raptures", "sweet little Ireland", "whiskey", "frisky", "merrily ring", "och!") reminiscent of the stage-Irishman, it is as though the comic figure himself subverts his role to take up the mantle of political-nationalist resistance – in a similar way that John Bull becomes a figure of popular resistance:

> "Erin go bragh!" shall be ever our motto,
> Encircling so sweetly an Irishman's heart,
> And St. Patrick's Day will sure ne'er be forgot, och!
> Nor the sight of the Shamrock e'er cease to impart
>
> > Such joys and such feelings we all must delight in,
> > And sweet little Ireland shall merrily ring,
> > While her sons and her daughters gay raptures are quite in;

For St. Patrick's day in the morning.

According to the ballad-sheet printed by Jennings, the text was to be sung to the tune of the song analysed above, "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning", the familiar associations of which would have contributed to the comic effects of this text. Also in this song, the fast-moving pace of the 6/8 time signature (a jig) necessitates a fast execution of the text and reinforces the running rhythm of the poetry. The singer is left with no option but to sing with abdominal strength and lightness if they are not to become breathless. The dactyls that serve to emphasise "Erin" in the first line, provide both an immediate emphasis on the subject matter as well as an indication of how it will be treated. The trisyllabic pattern in the text ensures a rhythm that trips forward "E-rin go BRAGH shall be E-ver our MO-tto / en-CIRcling for E-ver an I-rishman's HEART" – and joins each pair of lines into a single sentence serving to further quicken the pace if one is to finish it in one breath. This style of singing is still familiar today in traditional Irish comic song and (however subtle or not the politics) it epitomises the stage-Irish stereotype of fast-paced wit, the character with the "gift of the gab."

In the last lines, potential comic satire against the British establishment emerges: "So success to our country, the Shamrock, and whiskey, / And contented heart, and *no cause for complaint*" (my italics). Again, interpretation of this line might veer in opposite directions depending on performer as well as hearer. On one hand, it can be absorbed as a statement of socially conservative obedience, on the other, the mention of "cause for complaint" leaves the option of the performance of comic irony, and of the potential for reception, in terms of resistance, that exists more widely in Irish comic song:

No wonder by night if we all should get frisky,
Each Irishman's heart is elate for our Saint,
So success to our country, the Shamrock, and whiskey,
And contented heart, and no cause for complaint.

Such joys, &c.

OTHER COMIC SONGS

"Erin go Bra" by Dibdin

As seen in the example of the Irish street-performer Thomas M'Conwick and his signature song "Sprig of Shillelagh", Irish people were certainly among the performers of comic Irish songs on English streets. Inevitably, these performances were viewed as somehow more authentic by some commentators who emphasised the unique skill of the Irish comic performer, and considered successful performance of Irish comic song to be contingent upon ethnicity. The author of "Ballad Poetry of Ireland" writes that comic song is "composed of three elements – Words, Music, Intonation – the absence of any one of which *destroys its truth and nationality* [my italics]. The slightest change in the words to moderate their excesses, or *anglicise* [original italics] them, is fatal to their fresh and racy spirit."[206] Furthermore:

> … intonation is equally important; for on the enunciation of the syllables, and on the artful way of managing with the voice the involutions of the humour, much of its sly and arch effect depends. This intonation is peculiar to Irish humourists, and we believe it may be asserted that it cannot be acquired by strangers. Very few instances have ever occurred of a successful imitation.[207]

An example of a song titled "Erin go Bra" [*sic*] by Charles Dibdin, suggests that the same principles as outlined here on Irish performers, might be applied to authorship of Irish comic song. Although we can't be sure that the authors of the lyrics for "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning" and "Seventeenth of March" were Irish, at risk of being essentialist, this attempt by the English Charles Dibdin was certainly less popular. It was first published in 1803 in Dibdin's collection named *British War Songs* that formed part of his *Britons, Strike Home!* Entertainments – but it did not subsequently appear on the street.[208] Analysis of this song here, serves to provide some insight, through contrast, into possible receptions in England of those Irish comic songs that did achieve more widespread appeal.

[206] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland," 1839, 392.
[207] "The Ballad Poetry of Ireland," 1839, 392.
[208] Derek B Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 34.

The song's clumsy metre and narrative tone, and its lack of mnemonic appeal, make it especially unsuitable for street performance and subsequent oral dissemination. Some attempt has been made by Dibdin to imitate what Dickens later called the "Irish fun" that was evident in street balladry, but the didactic tone serves only to distance the hearer from the song's political message:[209]

> …
> Than in Ireland where nobler accomplishments meet,
> Let them show me the country who can:
> 'Tis the region of wit, hospitality's seat,
> And for courage they'll fight to a man.
> But as health breeds excrescences, spots dim the sun,
> And the diamond exhibits a flaw,
> By indulgence to errors our hearts shall be won,
> While old England sings 'Erin go bra.'

Performance by the charismatic Dibdin himself likely gave the lyrics an air of authenticity that does not appear in print – but if this is the case it, at least partially, supports the performance-problem raised by the author of "Ballad Poetry of Ireland" despite the performer in this case being English. Sung by any singer other than Dibdin, it seems hard to imagine the song being received in terms other than haughty condemnation of Irish nationalism – especially in the "diamond" exhibiting a "flaw", and use of the third person plural ("for courage *they'll* fight like a man", my emphasis) that distances the narrator from the Irish subject matter in a way that seems incompatible with comic performance. As propaganda, the aim of this song was to "flatter" as Derek Scott puts it, or persuade Irish nationalists and those who would support them, to "shake off disaffection and to duty be true" – promising listeners that if this be achieved, then "True glory shall court you, gay commerce shall smile, / And the world shall sing 'Erin go bra'."[210] However, in comparison to other songs in this chapter, this song's publication history, or lack thereof, seems to prove that listeners both in Ireland and England did not find the message particularly appealing, humorous or entertaining. Potentially, it shows that English hearers were more likely

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[209] "Street Minstrelsy," 1859, 577.
[210] Derek B Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 34.

to enjoy song that celebrated Irishness within its established paradigms, even when these paradigms were anti-Unionist.

However, David Kennerley argues that Dibdin was in fact far from the ultra-loyalist he has often been portrayed to be. The whole persona that he nurtured during his performances was of an "independent loyalism" that was "keen to point out the vices of contemporary authority figures" rather than wholeheartedly pander "to the dictates of a corrupt and incompetent Establishment."[211] A pamphlet written by Dibdin in 1807 in protest at the revocation of his government pension declared that the acceptance of the pension had been a pragmatic decision in view of his impending retirement, rather than a desire to blindly serve the establishment. He admitted that by the time of his *British War Songs* (1803), people already were "tired with … being schooled by me."[212] The truth of Dibdin's political language, as Kennerly points out, is that it contained "numerous resonances" with "contemporary radicals and reformers, since their calls for constitutional reform were frequently based on similar claims that they spoke from a position of true independence…" What emerges then, in the two decades either side of 1800, is a popular political culture that embraced strands of both radicalism and loyalty within the paradigm of an independently-minded John Bull character whose primary characteristic was "simplicity" defined in terms of natural honesty and pragmatism. Dibdin himself wrote that the purpose of writing his songs had been to aim for "truth, for nature, for simplicity, for strength, for sentiment and for character," and as such he reveals how he became such an icon of his age.[213] In turn, the example of his "Erin go Bra" and its absence from the street-ballad repertoire, also reveals something of the popular political culture of the time.

[211] David Kennerley, "Loyalism, Celebrity, and the Politics of Personality: Dibdin in the 1790s," 79.
[212] Charles Dibdin, *The Public Undeceived, written by Mr Dibdin; and containing a statement of all the material relative to his pension* (London, [1807]), 16. Quoted in David Kennerley, "Loyalism, Celebrity, and the Politics of Personality: Dibdin in the 1790s," 90.
[213] Charles Dibdin, *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin, written by himself, together with the words of six hundred songs*, 4 vols (London, 1803), vol. 1, xxiii. Quoted in in David Kennerley. "Loyalism, Celebrity, and the Politics of Personality: Dibdin in the 1790s," 81.

CONCLUSION & "Kate Kearney"

A song that was authored around the same time as Dibdin's "Erin go Bra" (*c.*1803), and that was also associated with the stage and written by a well-known author, was "Kate Kearney" by Sydney Owenson. In contrast to Dibdin's song, "Kate Kearney" was far more popular as a street ballad; in total, there are twenty-one extant English printings of "Kate Kearney" in the Bodleian (and potentially eight more on sheets that have no printer imprint), and it was printed as a street ballad from at least as early as 1807 by Laurie & Whittle and at least as late as the year 1860 (or later) by Henry Disley. A mark of its appeal is further evidenced in a parody titled "Answer" that was printed by Pitts at his new address at some point before 1844, and by Such at his new address at some point after 1863. "Kate Kearney" also provides another example of the link between Irishness and bawdry, and reveals that the underlying themes that these songs represented – as "effusions of nature" – chimed not only with the radical or the lower classes, but also with sections of the polite classes.[214] Sydney Owenson spanned both national and class divides, and the reception of her work spans both sides of the Irish-nationalist/unionist divide. Her father was an Irish Catholic and her mother an English protestant, and significantly, her father was a comic stage singer while she herself grew up to become a renowned literary figure and to gain a title through marriage. So although she is best known today for the Romantic vision of Ireland created in *The Wild Irish Girl*, she also wrote comic songs such as this, likely for her father. Other printers that printed it for street sale were Catnach (London), Hodges (London), Harkness (Preston), Walker (Durham) and Armstrong (Liverpool).

Owenson's tongue-in-cheek declaration that Irish womanhood is the "staple commodity of the country and superior to any fabric which foreign policy would impose upon us" (from her novel *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys*) is subverted via the grotesque in "Kate Kearney":[215]

> Tho' she looks so bewitchingly simple,
> Yet there's mischief in every dimple,
> And who dares enhale [*sic*] her sighs spicy gale,

[214] Thomas Percy, *Reliques*, vol. I, vi.
[215] Julie Donovan, *Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan and the Politics of Style*, 63.

> Must die by the breath of Kate Kearney.[216]

Although this unsavoury vision seems to form an opposite to Owenson's Romantic visions of Ireland, both rusticity (in all its manifestations) and visionary Romance might be seen as opposing manifestations of the same "return" to nature that Ireland represented in England. Elevation of rusticity among the middle classes was observed and parodied by Owenson herself in her *Dramatic Scenes from Real Life* (1833) and depicts the same preoccupations (albeit in different manifestation) with simplicity that were seen in eighteenth-century ale houses and ultra-radical circles:

> Mr Galbraigh, a land agent with no idea of what is in vogue, thinks Lady Emily is a chambermaid, for she wears a rustic-style linen gown, "and a little round-eared cap, such as worn by Irish country girls". Little does he know that the linen gown is a hideously expensive "petite robe, toute simple, de percale, peinte á l'Anglaise, and the cap a 'bonnet á l'enfant, point d'Angleterre,' both from the magazine of Victorine and Herbant.[217]

As this piece of fiction shows, the elevation of simplicity here, as rusticity, was evidently a phenomenon not only of the street-ballad buying classes, or of the politically radical classes, but also of the educated middle *and* the upper classes.

The analyses in this chapter have attempted to show that in the last decade of the eighteenth century and at the turn of the nineteenth, Irish comic song found a place in English popular culture via a vogue for, or "cult of", simplicity that included identification with rusticity and bawdry. The existence of these songs in extant collections reveals an appetite for the innuendo, the jocund treatment of adversity, the revelry, the satire, and the political resistance that they contain. But as the cultural paradigm shifted, so did the songs that appeared on the streets, and after the failed rebellion of 1798, the subsequent Act of Union, and during decades of increasing social instability in England that occurred after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, tastes

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[216] "KATE KEARNEY. O'Corolan [*sic*].(*the Irish Bard*.), *Sung with unbounded Applause, by Mr. Incledon, in his Wandering Melodist*" as printed by Laurie & Whittle. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/00858.gif

[217] From Lady Morgan, *Dramatic Scenes*, 40. Quoted in Julie Donovan, *Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan and the Politics of Style*, 63.

within the Irish-themed song cohort gradually moved away from comic song toward more sober topics.

Chapter 2. "Exile of Erin": Lyrics of displacement in English-printed street balladry in the first decades of the nineteenth century

Songs of propaganda such as Dibdin's "Erin go Bra" are brought into sharp focus when viewed against the backdrop of Robert Emmet's rebellion and execution in 1803 – the same year of the song's publication; and their effectiveness as propaganda seems especially questionable when viewed alongside the many songs of Irish political exile and dispossession that were authored around the same time and that appeared as street ballads in the first decades of the century. These songs of exile provide a starkly different image of Ireland than that contained in the comic songs of the eighteenth century; heavily influenced by the politics and the literary style of the United Irishmen, they display the Romantic-nationalist aesthetic that was later cultivated by Thomas Moore in his *Irish Melodies* (an aesthetic that will be explored in Chapter Three), with a stronger, more explicit expression of injustice. They also differ from those songs of *emigration* that were authored in the middle decades of the century (and explored in Chapter Four); while the emigration songs focus on the pain of parting from people, and in doing so, express sadness at the loss of romantic partners, friends or family, these songs written at the beginning of the century express more starkly the pain of involuntary leave-taking from *place* and all that "place" represents: home, nature, space (aesthetic, aural, visual), livelihood, identity, and culture. And place as "home" became an especially prominent theme in the first half of the nineteenth century – seen most obviously in the popularity of the song "Home Sweet Home" that was published in 1823 – and yet even in this iconic song about "home", the emphasis is upon displacement from that home. This chapter argues that the pervasiveness of these of songs of disconnect – of home and of exile – were not only a symptom of the political oppressions occurring in Ireland, but that they also constituted an echo of what was occurring in England at the time. It argues that the popularity of these songs (songs that were also published as music-manuscript and in song-book collections) reveals a structure of feeling (based upon the grief, displacement, isolation, trauma and outrage that they express) that grew out of a sense of powerlessness in the face of the monumental and irrevocable societal changes taking place in England at the time.[1]

[1] Raymond Williams, "Structures of Feeling", 1977.

As such, songs of Irish exile and displacement can be viewed as emblems of the socio-political dispossession, displacement and disenfranchisement that had occurred as a result of agricultural and industrial capitalism since the 1760s, but that had, up to the first decades of the nineteenth century, found little expression in street-song in England (in part, because it was only at this time that street-songs became more pervasive). In terms of socio-historical context, the decades in which these songs were printed were decades that had seen, and continued to see, fundamental changes in the ways that people lived their lives and the places in which they lived them. E. P. Thompson writes that the "older 'cataclysmic' view of the Industrial Revolution must still be accepted" and that during the period 1780 to 1840 "the people of Britain suffered an experience of immiseration" despite the "small statistical improvement in material conditions."[2] Thompson uses adjectives such as "struggle", "sharp" and "painful" to describe these years, arguing that "any evaluation of the quality of life must entail an assessment of the total life-experience, the manifold satisfactions or deprivations, cultural as well as material, of the people concerned."[3] Although capitalism in early-modern England enabled material prosperity, it was also a "deeply contradictory force" through which prosperity only came at the "cost of widespread *dispossession* and intense exploitation" (my emphasis).[4] Moreover, according to Thompson, in Britain, capitalism was a process "carried through with exceptional violence … [where] it was unrelieved by any sense of national participation in communal effort, such as is found in countries undergoing a national revolution."[5] Its occurrence under a centralized national power structure (compared to the rest of Europe) meant that those without enfranchisement or influence of any kind had very little power to resist. Factors such as the last wave of enclosures that occurred in England between 1790 and 1815,[6] the increased unsustainability of cottage industries due to industrialisation, and the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834, all served to inflict lasting change that resulted in less individual autonomy in the ways that people led their daily lives. When dispossession and displacement occurred, ultimately due to agrarian capitalism, individuals and families found themselves tied

[2] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 486.
[3] Ibid., 450, 486.
[4] Ellen Meiksins Wood, "The Agrarian Origins of Capitalism," 29.
[5] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 486.
[6] Rachel Crawford, *Poetry, Enclosure, and the Vernacular Landscape*, 11.

into poor conditions of wage-labour – especially in the years before the Factory Acts were enforced in the 1830s and 40s.[7]

Yet, whether these changes are viewed through a Marxist lens or not, the Romantic period was indisputably a time of upheaval that offered new opportunities only at the expense of old ways of life. Rural populations moved to urban areas only while the "old village economy was crumbling at their backs."[8] The language of "oppression" and "dispossession" was a staple of English radical rhetoric in a similar way that it was in the songs of the United Irishmen – as seen for example in a speech made by Allen Davenport (the Spencean) in 1815: "Things will continue as at present under any form of government, if whole parishes and towns – nay, whole counties are monopolised by individuals, whilst the great mass of the people are dispossessed. Landlords, and landlords only, are the oppressors of the people."[9] This class resentment could only gain strength with the general depression that followed 1815 and the end of the wars, and that "obliterated" any "triumphant sensation of national glory"[10] felt in response to the victory at Waterloo. The alienation felt by the "hundreds of thousands" of returned veterans, contributed, according to Linda Colley, to the "peculiarly bitter quality of popular protest in Britain in the twenty or even thirty years after" that battle.[11] Protest during these decades resisted the long-term societal upheavals taking place as well as the economic slump, and manifested in various ways such as: the Luddite protests (1811/1812); the Pentrich rising (1817); Peterloo (1819); the Cato street conspiracy (1820); the foundation of the "Rotunda radicals" (1830); the increasing rise of the "unstamped press" between 1830 and 1836; the Reform Act of 1832; the Coldbath Fields riot in 1833 (also known as the Calthorpe Street affair/affray) between radicals and the police; prosecution of the Tolpuddle Martyrs (1834); and the rise of Chartism after the publication of the charter of 1838. Malcolm Chase argues that for English radicals of this time, underlying all unrest was the idea that the "root cause of social, economic, and political injustice" could be traced "back to the pattern of land ownership".[12] He argues that effectively,

[7] See Ellen Meiksins Wood, "The Agrarian Origins of Capitalism."
[8] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 486.
[9] Address by Allen Davenport, 1815, quoted in Malcolm Chase, *The People's Farm*, 86.
[10] Quoted in N. Gash, "After Waterloo: British society and the legacy of the Napoleonic Wars," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 28 (1978), 146, and in Linda Colley, *Britons*, 327.
[11] Linda Colley, *Britons*, 327-8.
[12] Malcolm Chase, *The People's Farm*, 5.

this made English radicals "almost all … agrarians" in the sense that they believed these were the causes of injustice, even if they did not all agree that a return to land was the solution.[13]

So, it was within this climate of displacement and upheaval, a climate in which people widely believed that they had been robbed of the land, that these narratives of Irish exile were received. This was a socio-historical climate in which the motif of exile became a symbol through which disparate experiences of material and psychic dispossession could be expressed through song. Edward Said reminds us that it is customary to think of the exile as a "motif of modern culture," and goes further, stating that the "modern period itself" is "spiritually orphaned and alienated" – that we live in an "age of anxiety and estrangement."[14] But in the years spanning 1800, when the first large-scale and permanent ruptures away from settlements of generations into urban centres occurred, the "crippling sorrow of estrangement" described by Said seems especially apt.[15] In their mourning of domestic rurality via tropes such as – "green sunny bowers", "high lofty mountain", "sweetest flowers", "low cottage of clay", "sweet hours", "childhood" – songs such as "Exile of Erin" and "Poor Irish Stranger" expressed the sentiments of those in England who perceived their suffering in some way related to the "theft of the countryside."[16]

Nostalgia forms part of this "structure of feeling," and in these songs of exile, the isolation and yearning are all the more nostalgic not only because of the unreachable nature of the past, but because of the idealized nature of the place being mourned. Originally, the word "nostalgia" (from the Greek *nostos* as "home or the return home" and *algos* as pain) emerged in the seventeenth century as a medical term describing the sickness that resulted from a longing to return home. As scholars such as Linda M. Austin and Kevis Goodman have argued, during the Romantic period, the idea of nostalgia underwent a transformation "from pathology to sentiment, or from a disease that needs curing to a feeling to be indulged and even cultivated."[17] These songs embody both – via their narratives of the sickness and death caused by severance from

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Edward W. Said, *Reflections*, 173.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Marion Shoard, *The Theft of the Countryside*, 1980.
[17] Juliet Shields, "Highland Emigration and the Transformation of Nostalgia in Romantic Poetry," 766.

home and in the way that the listener (and sometimes narrator) is encouraged to cultivate the same sentiment within themselves.

All of the songs analysed in this chapter combine the sentiments of nostalgia and of resistance in varying degrees. Notably, the songs that became most popular as street ballads were more subtle in their political expression than those published, for example, in radical, or later Chartist, publications. Comparisons such as that below between George Nugent Reynolds' "Exiled Irishman's Address", that was mainly limited to Irish and English radical publications, and Thomas Campbell's "Exile of Erin" that was regularly published by English ballad printers throughout the nineteenth century – reveal a taste in street-song audiences for lyrics that place a heavier focus on sentiment than on political action. Yet, the fact that the theme of resistance was a crucial aspect in the appeal of these songs (in lines such as "O Erin, sad Erin, it grieves me to ponder, / The wrongs of thy injured Isle!" in "The Irish Stranger") is evidenced in the fact that their subtle mix of pathos and political critique was emulated in the street-balladry of the 1850s and beyond – in songs about English emigration (see Chapter Five). Songs such as "The English Exile" and "The Emigrant's Farewell" emerged as street ballads post-1850 against a backdrop of iconic Irish exile songs that had been widely printed for decades. Although these songs might be interpreted as a kind of reactionary appropriation as opposed to tributes to the better-known Irish songs, the similarities of their political tropes to the earlier Irish exile songs, reveals an affinity within English popular culture with the combination of resistance and nostalgia that the original songs expressed.

One of the ways in which the original Irish-themed songs induced nostalgia and sympathy in the hearer, was in their effective blend (reflective of that eighteenth-century literary paradigm) of sentiment and narrative. In his analysis of *Lyrical Ballads*, Robert Mayo provides contextual exploration in terms of what he views "objective" and "subjective" (narrative and lyrical), noting that these two types of song could be found "in profusion, often in adjoining columns" in eighteenth-century journals.[18] And as mentioned in Chapter One, this was also a paradigm made manifest in the eighteenth-century body of street-balladry as a whole. Although disagreement

[18] Robert Mayo, "The Contemporaneity of the Lyrical Ballads," 508.

between ballad collectors such as Percy and Ritson was often bitter, they generally agreed upon the existence of a dichotomy between narrative ballads associated with the objective, rustic, simple and native, and lyrical ballads associated with the refined and the sentimental (the latter sometimes also being associated with classicism, although this was also associated, especially earlier in the century by Joseph Addison, with old narrative ballads).[19] This dichotomy might be extended to perceived conflicts between song-writing and collection, between new and old, inauthentic and authentic, pastoral and native, literary and rustic. So as Mayo argues, Wordsworth's impulse to fuse narrative and lyrical was very much of its time. His desire to move away from the formulaic conventions of sentimental eighteenth-century verse, and towards a language that celebrated simplicity of form and theme, arose out of rich literary roots and a cultural context that had for decades been preoccupied with the juxtaposition between the two.[20]

As these songs reveal, this was a preoccupation that spanned the high-low cultural divide. For Wordsworth, his desire to create a new type of poetry can be viewed as a result of his desire to appeal to a wider audience and in doing, to affect positive social change. On at least one occasion, he specifically expressed the desire to have his poetry disseminated on the street, as in this extract from a letter to Sir George Beaumont in 1806:

> I have so much felt the influence of these straggling papers, that I have many a time wished that I had talents to produce songs, poems, and little histories, that might circulate among other good things in this way, supplanting partly the bad; flowers and useful herbs to take the place of weeds. Indeed some of the Poems which I have published were composed not without a hope that at some time or other they might answer this purpose.[21]

Wordsworth's work was only very rarely found plagiarized for street sale, but as the following analyses show, the dissemination of a socio-political message via a

[19] "Simple" sometimes being extended to ideas of authenticity, versus classical or sentimental "inauthenticity".
[20] See for example John Aikin's "Essay on Ballads and Pastoral Songs" in *Lyric Songs*, 1772.
[21] *The Letters of William and Mary Wordsworth*, "The Middle Years," 2, 1:248. Quoted in Linda Venis, "The Problem of Broadside Balladry's Influence on Lyrical Ballads," 621.

combination of narrative and lyrical sentiment was achieved, and especially effective, in these early-nineteenth century songs of Irish exile.

EXILE

"Erin go Bragh" by George Nugent Reynolds

Before exploration of the epitome of this genre – Thomas Campbell's "Exile of Erin – it is necessary to take a short chronological step back to analyse another song with which Campbell's song was thematically, contextually and melodically related, and with which it was in later decades in Ireland, often confused. "Erin Go Bragh; or, The Exiled Irishman's Address to his Countrymen" by Irish poet George Nugent Reynolds was first published in the Belfast newspaper of the United Irishmen – *The Northern Star* in 1796. It was prefaced on that occasion with the following: "ERIN GO BRAGH! The following popular song we present to our readers as in some degree expressive of the situation of an Armagh exile." Often simply titled "Erin go Bragh", it also appeared in the 1796, the 1798 and 1803 editions of the United Irishmen's songbook *Paddy's Resource*. As Mary Helen Thuente points out, a song of that title (possibly Reynolds' song but not definitively) was already well-known in Belfast before publication in 1796, being mentioned in a letter that year from Mary Ann McCracken to Henry Joy McCracken – "There were six prisoners brought to town this evening, for refusing to swear allegiance, and came in undismayed singing Erin go Bragh."[22] After publication, and in the decades after the 1798 rebellion and 1801 Act of Union, it was published again in numerous song collections in Ireland.

In England, Reynolds' song was first published in the United Englishmen's songbook titled *A Tribute to Liberty: or, A COLLECTION OF SELECT SONGS: Together with a Collection of Toasts and Sentiments. Sacred to the RIGHTS OF MAN* (edited by "R. Thompson") 1798 – providing an example of the association made in England between English radicalism and the cause of Irish nationalism.[23] In a satirical nod to Edmund Burke's anti-revolutionary conservatism, the collection's "Prefatory Address" is titled "TO THE PUBLIC, ALIAS THE "SWINISH MULTITUDE" echoing the United Irishmen's satirical habit of using this phrase to describe

[22] Mary Helen Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, 101-102.
[23] T. Thompson, *A Tribute to Liberty*, 1798, 86-88.

themselves (the phrase was used by Burke in his *Reflections of the Revolution in France*, 1790).[24] There is no author attributed to the song either in this collection (only the editor "R. Thompson" is mentioned, "Robert" according to Thuente) or in the Belfast publications – but it was later attributed to Reynolds.[25]

The tune associated with Reynolds' lyrics is "Savourneen Deelish" – a tune that had been "popularised" by John O'Keefe in London in 1782 before becoming "all the rage" when it was introduced by O'Keefe and William Shield in their 1783 opera *The Poor Soldier* to the lyrics of "Farewell, ye groves:"[26]

> Farewell, ye groves and crystal fountains
> the gladsome plains and silent dell
> Ye humble vales and lofty mountains
> and welcome now a lonely cell.
>
> And ah! farewell fond youth most dear
> thy tender plaint the vow sincere
> We'll meet and share the parting tear
> and take a long and last farewell.[27]

These lyrics, sung by the female love interest ("Norah") of the "poor soldier" (Patrick), give some indication as to the sentiment originally associated with the tune – a sorrowful song of parting from "groves and crystal fountains" as well as from the "fond youth".[28] The association of this melody with the grief of permanent parting was perpetuated in 1791 when George Colman (writer) and Samuel Arnold (composer) set it to new lyrics as part of their opera *The Surrender of Calais* – first shown in the Theatre Royal, Haymarket where it was performed by the famous Irish John Henry Johnstone (see Chapter One). It is this set of lyrics that includes the phrase "Savourneen Deelish" – creating an example of Irish/English macaronic song-writing that was to become more prevalent in the English-printed street-song of the

[24] Mary Helen Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, 23-5, 130.
[25] "Robert" Thompson according to a source given by Thuente, 23.
[26] W. H. Grattan-Flood, "Authorship of 'The Exile of Erin'," 232.
[27] William Shield, *The Poor Soldier, A Comic Opera* [music manuscript], 1783, 18.
[28] [John O'Keefe] *The Poor Soldier;* [play text, no music manuscript], 18--, 14-15.

nineteenth century. Colman was not Irish, but he was clearly aiming to recreate the type of English-language songs that included Irish-language phrases for emphasis (usually in the refrain) that were common in song-writing in Ireland, especially in the west of Ireland where so many people were bilingual. The song's narrative is a romantic tragedy in which a soldier goes to war and returns to find his sweetheart dead from the sorrow of his parting (verse 1):

> Oh the moment was sad when my Love and I parted
> Savourn na deligh shighan oh
> As I kiss'd off her tears I was nigh broken hearted,
> Savournna deligh shighan oh
> Wan was her cheek which hung on my shoulder,
> Damp was her hand no marble was colder,
> I felt that I never a-gain should behold her,
> Savournna deligh shighna oh.[29]

The song ends with the third verse and the line: "But sorrow alas! To her cold Grave had brought her. / Savournna &c." So, for those hearers of Reynolds' song who had previously heard the melody paired with these songs from *The Poor Soldier* and *The Surrender of Calais*, a palimpsest of these sentiments would have remained when any new lyrics were encountered, and the song's tone would have been set before the narrative even emerged.

Further association between Reynolds' song and the melody's most recent previous incarnation in *The Surrender of Calais* would have been made via the verse structure of the new song – especially in the Irish-language lines that exactly mirror the verse structure created by Colman. Reynolds replaced the second line of each verse "Savourn na deligh shighan oh",[30] translated as "Young Eileen the faithful sweetheart", with "Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh", translated in *A Tribute to Liberty* as "Ireland my darling for ever adieu."[31] In this way, the political song, almost

[29] Samuel Arnold, *The Surrender of Calais* [sheet music], 10.
[30] Later more commonly spelt "Savourneen Deelish, Eileen Oge!"
[31] References here, to this version of "Erin Go Bragh; or, The Exiled Irishman's Address to his Countrymen," take their spelling from the version printed in *A Tribute to Liberty*, London 1798 – a version which closely resembles other printings apart from some spelling differences and, for example,

in the tradition of parody that was so common in nineteenth-century popular street song, transforms the trope of the faithful and tragic lover into a metaphor for an Ireland similarly broken by grief in the face, ultimately, of political circumstance.

Reynolds' song also includes three more verses than Colman's "Savourneen Deelish", extending the length of the song from three to six verses. This extension is significant because it is at the point when the song moves into the first extra (fourth) verse, that the mood changes from one of resigned grief reminiscent of the older song to an awakened sense of injustice and outrage in the remaining additional verses; in the fourth verse (as printed by Thuente, the fifth as printed in *A Tribute to Liberty*), the repeated Irish-language lines change to the more confrontational "Bouy youd ma vourneen Erin go bragh", translated in the radical songbook as "Victory to you my darling Ireland for ever." As if to reject the impotent melancholy of the George Colman text, the narrator of the political re-writing finds his "cobwebs are broken, and *free* is my *mind* oh!" (original italics). Crucially, a call to action occurs here; unity is urged, specifically unity within Ireland as championed by the Society of United Irishmen: "EAST and WEST here's my hand, NORTH and SOUTH here's my heart oh! / Let's ne'er be *divided* by any base art oh! / But love one another, and never more part oh! / Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh" (original capitalisation and italicization). As the narrator awakens, he hears the "sounds" of "freedom advancing" and "DELUSION retreating" and responds with a visceral "my heart strong is beating". The song at this point, especially in the *Tribute to Liberty* printing, becomes a rousing appeal to emotion, made all the more evident in the capitalization of phrases such as "Let's WILL to be FREE":

> Too long have we suffered, and *too long* lamented,
> Bauy youd ma vourneen Erin go bragh.
> By courage UNDAUNTED it may be *prevented*.
> Bouy youd ma vourneen Erin go bragh.
> No more by OPPRESSORS let us be affrighted,
> But with *heart* and with *hand,* be firmly united;
> For by "ERIN GO BRAGH," its thus we'll be righted.

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the placement of the fourth and fifth verses being swapped when compared to their placements in the version printed by Thuente.

Bouy youd ma vourneen Erin go bragh.[32]

As was common in song collections of the time, *A Tribute to Liberty* names "Savourneen Deelish" as the air to which the song should be sung, but does not include the musical score. So for those who first encountered this publication as read or spoken verse, the repeat of the lines "E-rin ma VOURneen slan LAGHT go BRAGH", and "BOUY youd maVOURneen eRIN go BRAGH" give a sense of heavy-footed, yet gathering forward motion almost chant-like. However, when sung and heard with the melody, two things seem to happen. The melody as written in both operatic versions is in the mixolydian mode (a major key, with the seventh note of the scale dropped by a semitone) – a mode common to many songs in oral tradition in Ireland and Britain and one that lends a peculiarly surprising minor element to an otherwise major key. It is perhaps the internal jumps between major and minor in such songs that contribute to the common perception of "Irish songs and music" containing a "pervading tone of melancholy, amounting often to despair."[33] So, the melody of "Savourneen Deelish" and its associated melancholic narrative as manifest in the *Surrender of Calais*, forms a haunting emotional foundation upon which the political message in Reynolds' subsequent song is conveyed; but what also potentially occurs in performance is that the rousing nature of the new lyrics transforms the melody from one that is haunting and wistful (as in *Poor Soldier* or *Surrender of Calais*) to one that takes on a grander, anthemic tone. It is perhaps as a consequence of this that at some point early in the century, the melody began to be given the more political title of "Erin go Bragh" – as seen for example in a manuscript music book owned by a Mrs Eliza Everett in 1811.[34]

That this song was sung in Ireland is evidenced in anecdotes such as in the letter between the McCrackens cited above, and is inferred by its publication in collections of Irish songs such as *Crosby's Irish Musical Repository* in 1810,[35] *The Hibernian Cabinet* in 1817,[36] and *The Emerald; or, Book of Irish Melodies* in 1863.[37] It was also

[32] This is the last verse of "Erin Go Bragh; or, The Exiled Irishman's Address to his Countrymen" as printed in R. Thompson's *A Tribute to Liberty*, London 1798.
[33] Eliza Cook, "Irish Songs," 1852, 369.
[34] Eliza Everett's music manuscript, 1811, 25.
[35] *Crosby's Irish Musical Repository*, 1810, 231-232.
[36] *The Hibernian Cabinet*, 1817, 36.
[37] *The Emerald; or, Book of Irish Melodies*, New York, 1863, 64.

published in other large songbooks in England, making an appearance for example in *The Universal Songster* in 1834,[38] and in the *Cyclopaedia of Popular Songs* in 1866.[39] However, all of these songbook versions consist only of the first three verses of Reynolds' song, making them less politically provocative and less easily the target of accusations of incitement to insurrection. And so all of these songbook versions end by emphasising principles that might align with political orthodoxy – with, "principles pure, patriotic, and firm." And although they end with the theme of sacrifice for one's political cause (that is, with the possibility of death and the inevitability of exile) – that political cause is something safely sequestered to the past in the trope of "*OLD* IRELAND".

There are no extant English-printed, street-ballad printings of this song in the Bodleian or the Madden collections. The only extant street-ballad printing that exists in the Bodleian collection is a New York printing from c.1860 by the printer H. De Marsan (the same shortened version that appears in the songbook versions). This is not surprising, those nineteenth-century street songs that were political tended, at their least subtle, to be comic complaints, or laments, against socio-political conditions, rather than explicit calls to action as Reynolds' original song is. Yet, one of the arguments of this thesis is that those more subtle critiques were just as, if not more, effective in shifting people's political perceptions, and *eventual* calls to action (even if it took a generation or two), than songs that might have appeared heavy-handed in those recreational contexts where songs were most sung. Street-ballad customers seem to have preferred songs that offered directly accessible emotional tropes – melancholy, patriotism, comedy or pathos – rather than songs that evoked too realistically the everyday prosaic such as in the line (in the first verse): "At length came the day when our lease did expire." This is seen also in the fact that political movements such as the Chartists had their own hymns, and although these were sung at chartist events, they did not find their way to street publication in any great numbers.

It seems that as popular song, the street-ballad repertoire served the purpose of, at least momentary, escape and/or inspiration, rather than as any form of didacticism that

[38] *The Universal Songster,* Vol. I, 1825, 1834, 131.
[39] *Cyclopaedia of Popular Songs*, 1866, 162.

might act as anathema to the medium of these texts as melody – and to the transcendent potential of music. Richard Leppert's argument about music's change of function at the beginning of the nineteenth century from one of "action to inaction" suggests that this phenomenon is not a natural given. Leppert writes that in the nineteenth century, music "constituted the sonic replication of the divorce from larger reality that was possible for those of economic means," and that this move from "action to inaction" was one from political action to sentiment.[40] However, something different is going on in the popular culture of the streets, away from the "upper-class amateurs" that form the focus of Leppert's study.[41] While the music-making of the upper-classes may indeed have moved toward more passive forms – both in terms of lyrical subject matter as well as in terms of a shift toward passive listening rather than participation – the same can not be said for the majority of the street-ballad-buying classes in the nineteenth century for whom the polite restraint of music performance had not yet become a phenomenon and music was still more often a communal experience. More importantly still, as Leith Davis points out, Leppert's argument is overly dismissive of the role of sentiment in politics and of the power of sentiment to affect political change; and although a song's political affect is difficult to measure, "Exile of Erin" provides a good example of a song that succeeds in delivering political comment in a way that engages the listener without didacticism.[42]

"Exile of Erin"

Unlike Reynolds' song, Thomas Campbell's "Exile of Erin", which was also about Irish political exile, was unequivocally popular from the moment it was first published in the *Morning Chronicle* on the 28th January, 1801. After this printing, it was found almost immediately in circulation on the street and remained so, as well as appearing in numerous songbooks, throughout the entirety of the nineteenth century in Britain and Ireland. It was printed as sheet music for piano and voice, and is found in extant collections from multiple printers and locations. It appears in both the extant early catalogues of London printers Catnach and Pitts (published in 1832 and 1836 respectively), as well as in printer Henry Such's 1890 catalogue.[43] The Bodleian

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[40] Richard Leppert, *Music and Image*, 162. Quoted in Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 123.
[41] Richard Leppert. *Music and Image*, 2.
[42] Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 123.
[43] See "Printer Catalogues" section in Bibliography.

Ballad collection contains eighteen separate English printings, and the Madden collection contains twenty-one. As a measure of its popularity, these figures can be compared with printings of that unequivocally popular song of the nineteenth century, "Home Sweet Home" (see below), of which there are fifteen extant English printings of the original version (beginning "Mid pleasures and palaces") in the Bodleian. Although this isn't a completely fair comparison; the provenance of "Exile of Erin" gives it a head start in this numbers game, and if the parodies of both songs were to be included, "Home Sweet Home" would likely come out on top. Yet, these basic figures provide some numerical evidence and support for the argument that "Exile of Erin" was indeed a song that was very widely disseminated in England and as a result, familiar to many people. It also inspired at least two novels, the first written by Elizabeth Gunning and published in 1808, and the second written by William Frederick Deacon and published in 1835.[44]

Unlike Reynolds' song it epitomizes the qualities outlined above in its combination of sentiment and narrative, and in this way it succeeds in delivering a political message that engages the listener via narrative intrigue and narrative distance. As such, it provides a wider scope for varying, subjective interpretations than a song such as Reynolds' in which the narrator rails directly against injustice and calls directly for action. At various points in the nineteenth century, "Exile of Erin" was mistakenly attributed to Reynolds' authorship. The confusion was perhaps inevitable considering that not only did the songs share the theme of political exile, but they were written within a few years of each other, were both variously titled "Erin go Bragh", and both shared the same tune – "Savourneen Deelish" (which as noted above, was also variously known as "Erin go Bragh").[45] It was composed in Hamburg after Campbell met an Irishman there named Anthony MacCann who had been exiled after his involvement in the 1798 rebellion.[46]

A preface to its first publication in the *Morning Chronicle* reads as follows:

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[44] Elizabeth Gunning, *The Exile of Erin; a novel in three volumes*, 1808. William Frederick Deacon, *The Exile of Erin; or, the Sorrows of a Bashful Irishman*, 1835.
[45] "Exile of Erin" was only ever named "Erin go Bragh" in song collections, never on street-ballad sheets.
[46] William Beattie, editor, *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 1849, 325-340.

> The meeting of the Imperial Parliament, we trust, will be distinguished by acts of mercy. The following most interesting and pathetic song, it is to be hoped, will induce them to extend their benevolence to those unfortunate men, whom delusion and error have doomed to exile; but who sigh for a return to their native homes.[47]

As this preface suggests, the song's melancholy narrative was indeed full of sentiment and pathos, and for this reason it (and other songs like it) were (and often still are) readily dismissed as politically irrelevant. According to the historian R. R. Madden who knew Campbell in the 1830s, the poet himself regarded the various songs of 1798 "as he did the Jacobite lyrical relics of his own country, as containing references more than poetical to past sufferings or traits of heroic courage or mistaken patriotism, but which yet had not application to our times."[48] Furthermore, Madden relays that Campbell imagined that "what was censurable in them … had ceased to be mischievous," and that "some of their [the songs'] sentiments were contrary to his [the poet's], and he believed to the true interests of Ireland."[49] Yet, taken verbatim, these second-hand comments do not reflect the context in which they took place, and cannot reveal how far they were filtered through Madden's own opinions. It may be that they were the reflections of an aging and increasingly socially conservative poet distancing himself from a more radical youth, or perhaps a reflection of an author censoring his own work in the presence of a more socially conservative acquaintance.

Like Madden, Frank Molloy writing in 2004 also downplays the possibility of Campbell's sympathy for the Irish political cause, and also seems to assume that the tone of the preface in the *Morning Chronicle* reflects the poet's own sympathies. Molloy writes that, "the poet, it is clear, sympathized with the individuals, not their politics, and after some months in their company, wanted to plead their case – unsuccessfully as it happened," and "undoubtedly, Campbell was drawn to the pitiable condition of a particular refugee and did not perceive him as symbolic of any rebel political agenda."[50] This perspective denies both the potential of the poet's political impulse as well the idea that pathos might affect social change. Although

[47] *Morning Chronicle*, 28th January, 1801, 3, column 1.
[48] Not *Sir Frederick* Madden whose collection of street ballads lies in Cambridge University Library.
[49] R. R. Madden, *The Literary Remains of the United Irishmen,* 1846, 1887, 341.
[50] Frank Molloy, "Thomas Campbell's 'Exile of Erin'."

denial of the latter has been commonplace since the nineteenth century, the role of social media in the political events of the twenty-first has starkly revealed the error of believing that public opinion and political action are predicated purely upon conceptual analysis (although the use of sentiment is not being judged here). Whether Campbell himself believed the song to be capable of contributing to the Irish political cause or not, the date of its first publication during the month that the Act of Union between Britain and Ireland came in to effect, 28th January 1801, seems a political statement in itself. In this light, it seems more likely that the song's preface was an attempt by the Foxite editor James Perry to avoid charges of sedition – a sardonic kowtowing to Tory sensibilities rather than an accurate reflection of the author or editor's opinions. Moreover, the story that Campbell, after meeting the Irish exiles in Hamburg used the motto "Erin go bragh" forever afterwards to seal his letters, seems to negate the idea that Campbell did not have at least some political sympathy,[51] as does Madden's own anecdote of Campbell lilting "snatches of many of the rebel songs of 1798."[52]

An anecdote from Samuel Bamford's *Passages in the Life of a Radical* provides not only an example of the song's reception in England, but also of its association with political action.[53] In 1817, two years before what later became known as "Peterloo", Bamford and three other radicals from Salford and Manchester were accused of high treason and arrested. Their journey down to London to be questioned by the Privy Council could not have forewarned them of treatment to come on St Peter's Field two years later; they were fed and given porter and wine, and after breakfasting in Stockport where the horses were changed, one of their party, the Doctor, "so much enjoyed it that he said if that was being a State prisoner, he wished he had been one five years before." They also sang songs along the way, and were joined in singing periodically by their guards and other individuals encountered in the inns where they received refreshment. During their night journey, Robert Ridings, a weaver, sang "one or two pieces" of "pathos and solemnity." These pieces were hymns – themselves a form of dissent being only officially approved by the Anglican church in 1820. After these renditions, Edward O'Connor, publican of the Red Rose in Chadderton, "broke

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[51] W. H. Grattan-Flood, "Authorship of 'The Exile of Erin," 231.
[52] R. R. Madden*,* 1846, 341.
[53] Samuel Bamford, *Bamford's Passages in the Life of a Radical*, 1842, 91.

out into that mournful lament ‘Where is my cabin-door fast by the wild wood?’ [“Exile of Erin”] … To which we all responded as chorus – “Where is my cabin-door, fast by the wild wood?” As pointed out by Oscar Cox Jensen, Bamford quotes the fourth verse in full here, a choice that seems rather random until one realises that it is the only verse that doesn’t contain the word “Erin” – and therefore also not one of the three verses that end in the phrase “Erin go Bragh”. Since “Exile of Erin” has no chorus, the only refrain the prisoners could have joined in with was the repeated “Erin go Bragh”, and so Bamford’s choice of verse here was either an attempt at self-censorship or an attempt to distance himself from his own more pro-Irish-nationalist youth.[54]

The song’s presence in this circle, and its (albeit veiled) inclusion in Bamford’s memoir, reveals an awareness in radical circles of the song’s support for the Irish nationalist cause; for these radicals, the song’s political content was undoubtedly obvious. Yet, for the vast majority of people who knew very little of Irish politics or culture, the political content likely remained somewhat obscure; the exile’s involvement in the 1798 rebellion is implied only through his label of “exile” (as opposed to emigrant) and through repetition of the phrase “Erin go Bragh” (a common rallying cry in that rebellion) at the end of the first, second and fifth (last) verses. And so as stand alone text, the overriding sentiment is one of mourning for loss of that idealised home-place, “sweet Erin Go Bragh”.

The introduction in the song of a first-person narrator by a third person, and the mediation that the third-person narration provides between hearer and the first-person narrative, embodies the sentiment/narrative paradigm and lends itself to the evocation of sympathy in the hearer; the intimacy provided by the first-person narration (as seen in songs of sentiment) is mediated by the third-person evocation of the narrative intrigue found in the “old” ballads. Sympathy is evoked through the visceral imagery of the exile’s physical vulnerability – the “dew on his thin robe”[55] being “heavy and chill” as a result of being forced to “wander alone by the wind beaten hill.”[56] The

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[54] Oskar Cox-Jensen, “Music and Politics in Three Movements,” 9.
[55] As printed in *The Morning Chronicle*, 28th January, 1801, 3, column 1.
[56] As printed on the ballad sheet “Exile of Erin” as printed by J. Catnach. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01631.gif. The versions printed in *The*

exile's physical coldness contributes to the sense of isolation from his "own native isle of the ocean." And inclusion of the trope of the wandering stranger, in "heart broken stranger", evokes a grief in solitude that becomes yet starker when contrasted with the memories of "green sunny bowers", "sweet hours" and "wild woven flowers" that were lived and subsequently lost.

Yet, the rebel cry "Erin go bragh" exists in the midst of this pathos – its presence emphasised by its varying incarnations in each verse. First, it appears as sung text in the line "… once in the flow of youthful emotion, / He sung the bold *anthem* of Erin go bragh." Here, the resistance represented by the phrase is present but relegated to the past, once voiced in chorus with breath and voice as "anthem", now only remembered in distance and silence. As Thuente points out, this mention of the "… anthem of Erin Go Brah [*sic*]" potentially makes "Exile of Erin" a kind of continuation of Reynolds' song (the "anthem" being Reynold's "Erin go Bragh").[57] In the second verse, the phrase appears as melody in the "*numbers* of Erin go bragh." As melody, it represents something more ethereal than sung text, and the phrase as signifier and signified is again relegated to the past: "never again" will the exile "cover … [his] harp with the wild woven flowers" and inhabit that space of pure melody beyond the realm of language. In this verse, melody as representative of pre-linguistic purity of expression, and the imagery of pre-lapsarian nature and temporal freedom (the spending of "sweet hours" in "sunny bowers"), combine to represent the familiar image of Ireland as Edenic.

In the final verse "Erin go Bragh" appears twice. Firstly, it appears as name for Ireland itself in "*Land* of my forefathers, Erin, go bragh." Secondly, it is set in the future where it is both sung *and* played by the "harp-striking bard … aloud with devotion" in a declaration of emphatic and open resistance that transforms the exile's predicament into a martyrdom in sacrifice to a country for whom the fight is not lost. In this closing verse, "Erin go bragh" is also paired with the familiar-sounding phrase "Erin mavourneen" (or "ma vourneen" in the *Morning Chronicle*) – "mavourneen" having previously been heard in Reynolds' song, and a phrase that (like "Erin go

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Morning Chronicle and the various street-ballad-sheets are very similar. All subsequent quotations are taken from this ballad printing by Catnach.
[57] Mary Helen Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, 165.

Bragh") was to become more familiar on nineteenth-century streets in the coming decades (as seen in Chapter Four). It is an Anglicisation of the Irish phrase *mo mhuirnín*, meaning "my darling." Although this is a foreign-language phrase, even as pure sound, to native English-speakers (who are not Irish speakers) "ma" might conjure the intimacy of words such as "mother", "my" or "me" and the long vowels in the "vourneen" might seem an exudation of yearning. So, the song ends with an evocation of intimacy (represented by the phrase "ma vourneen") not only between the exile and his home country ("Erin"), but also with the rousing national impulse implied in the phrase "Erin go Bragh".

So despite the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*'s protestations, Campbell's song, even if it does not constitute a direct call for action, celebrates the exile's political conviction by placing the listener in intimate connection with his emotions. Yet, what is missing from this song is any mention of the concrete political foundations for the discontent in Ireland. Ireland is described as "sad", or "sad & forsaken", and is portrayed as a faded, bucolic idyll rather than a place oppressed through contemporary political policy-making. In exile, the protagonist has "no refuge from famine and danger", and in Ireland, his "[s]isters and sire" wept for his cabin's "fall", but the political events underlying these devastations remain obscure. Campbell also side-steps accusations of incitement to rebellion by avoiding the language of anger or blame inherent in language such as "sacrifice" or "oppression" – even if these tropes are implied. Instead, he uses the positive sentiments of love and devotion, and furthermore, of spiritual transcendence, in the exile's final act of blessing upon "Erin". The song's sacred connotations are also evident in the image of the "wild deer and wolf" fleeing to a "covert", which alongside the myth-inducing ("wild wood") and sublime imagery of nature ("sea-beaten shores") contribute to the song's Romantic-nationalist aesthetic (see Chapter Three). In this way, Ireland is given sacred legitimacy and mythicized as a bucolic idyll and a place of faded grandeur languishing temporarily in melancholic slumber, rather than a contemporary region adversely affected by contemporary political decisions. And with the implication that spiritual justice will eventually be served, the song proposes a kind of spiritual transcendence in the face of the overwhelming pressures faced by the individual suffering political persecution.

The widespread appeal of "Exile of Erin" is highlighted in the controversy that arose in the 1830s around the song's authorship; focused around the idea of nationality, it centred on the idea by some that it must have been written by the Irish George Nugent Reynolds rather than the Scottish Thomas Campbell. Some controversy was perhaps inevitable in Ireland where the song had been disseminated via letters from the exile himself in Hamburg possibly even before publication in the *Morning Chronicle*. However, as the essays by Grattan-Flood and Madden show, multiple sources from the exile himself, from his circle in Altona (Hamburg), and from Campbell's own accounts of the song's composition, show little doubt of the latter's authorship.

The 200 years between the "stout denial" by Father Tom Maguire that a "Scotch-man" "could have written a song so peculiarly Irish in imagery, Irish in its terms of domestic endearing tenderness, and Irish too in its expression of enthusiastic patriotism,"[58] and Frank Molloy's ready acceptance (in 2004) that Campbell was unlikely to have had sympathy for the exile's political cause, show how little essentialist attitudes about national characteristics changed in the intermittent period. Father Maguire's conviction in the innate and unique qualities of the Irish character, and Molloy's assumption that the Scottish author likely had little sympathy for the exile's politics – reveal on both sides the entrenched belief in natural and immovable national identities and affiliations. Despite having views of the song that clash somewhat (with Maguire seeing the song as innately nationalist and Molloy viewing it as containing little political drive), both writers display a measure of national essentialism that isn't mirrored in the song's geographical dissemination or reception.[59]

As with Reynolds' song above, the melody of "Savourneen Deelish", which Madden described as the "national air of Ireland, par excellence, and the most plaintive of all its melodies" undoubtedly played a role in how the song was received – although evidently the difference in reception between the two sets of lyrics shows that lyric is just as important as melody in determining a song's appeal.[60] As noted for Reynolds' song, the melody's multiple associations – comic stage-Irish, sentimental and political

[58] R. R. Madden, 1846, 337.
[59] Frank Molloy, "Thomas Campbell's 'Exile of Erin'."
[60] Quoted in Frank Molloy, "Thomas Campbell's 'Exile of Erin'."

– undoubtedly affected the song's reception. For London audiences of *The Surrender of Calais*, the juxtaposition of sentiment and comedy in that play was likely brought to mind; the character Julia's musings about "these artless ditties" being "[e]xpressive of a simple soul in love, That fills the mind with pleasing melancholy", and the character O'Carrol's observation that the song he is about to sing ("Savourneen Deelish") had been "played by honest Clamoran [possibly a reference to Turlough O'Carolan the Irish harpist, 1670-1738],[61] poor fellow, our minstrel, in the north" – are both echoed in the melancholy remembrances of harps and music in "Exile of Erin".[62]

So contemporaneously, the complex network of thematic interconnections associated with "Exile of Erin" provided a rich source of imagery that broadened interpretive potential. An anecdote in an article published in *St James's Magazine* in 1865, supports the evidence provided by the large numbers of copies in extant collections about the song's overall popularity on the street:

> There is a story told of Thomas Campbell, the poet, passing one evening through the streets of London with a friend, and being attracted by a crowd eagerly listening to a street singer. Pausing for a little, "I think I know that song," said Campbell. "Of course you do," said his friend; "it is your own 'Exile of Erin.'" "Ah!" regained the author of "The Pleasures of Hope," "I have not heard it these twenty years; this is popularity indeed."[63]

An early parody of the song printed by John Pitts at some point before 1820, is further testament to the familiarity with which it was held. Titled "The Cottage Maid; a parody on 'Exile of Erin'", it consists of the pleadings of a roving lover (Henry) on return home to a consequently indifferent sweetheart (Nancy). The text reveals a close study of the original, with the phrase "Cottage Maid" appearing in the same places that "Erin go Bragh" is found – forming the last words of the first, second and last verses ("But content ever bless my dear Cottage Maid"), as well as appearing at the

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[61] "Savourneen Deelish" was also the melody to a song named "The Song of the Last Harper" in *Crosby's Irish Musical Repository*, p. 28, although the melody is not written exactly as the versions in *The Poor Soldier* or *Surrender of Calais* (possibly erroneous rather than a different melody).
[62] George Colman, *The Surrender of Calais*. 1791, Scene III (online edition).
[63] R. T., "Street Songs and Their Singers," 1865, 190.

end of the fourth line of the last verse. The parody also echoes another song published by Pitts and others (probably at an earlier date – during the first decade of the century when the format of short, two-verse slip sheets was in vogue) titled "Henry's Cottage Maid" in which the female lover narrates (rather than the exile or the roving Henry) her distress at Henry's betrayal (although in this song she is named "Laura" rather than "Nancy" as in the parody). So, as an "answer" or parody to both "Exile of Erin" and "Henry's Cottage Maid", the parody ("The Cottage Maid") not only recreates Ireland as betrayed female lover, it also transfers the site of suffering from the pining female in "Henry's Cottage Maid" to the returning male in the parody. The resulting effect of the parody then, is to empower Nancy/Ireland through her rejection of the returning lover. A conservative reading might suggest that as a result, the parody places the blame for suffering at the feet of the rover/exile and that the exile's political actions amount to a betrayal of Ireland itself. Ultimately however, the creation of these parodies and moreover, the survival of the original song and the positive associations with Ireland and Irish-nationalism that it creates, is testament to the appeal of the image of Ireland that the song presents.

MARY LE MORE

Another prominent set of songs that were authored around the same time as "Exile of Erin" and also widely printed for street sale, are two songs by Liverpool poet Edward Rushton. Both known on the street as "Mary le More', these songs focus more emphatically on political wrongdoing, and the resultant trauma, in Ireland. They were published, along with another set of lyrics, as a trilogy by Rushton in his *Poems* of 1806, but it appears that they had been written some years previously in *c.*1799 or before.[64] The first song begins with the line "Ah! cold-hearted strangers your merciless doings," and was published in *Poems* as "Mary le More", and the second song begins with the line "As I stray'd o'er a common, on Cork's rugged border," and was titled "The Maniac".[65] A third poem titled "Mary's Death" formed the last of the trilogy but does not appear on any extant ballad sheets. As both of the former poems were known on the street as "Mary le More", they will be referred to here as "Mary le

[64] "Biographical Sketch of Edward Rushton," *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, 1814, 476.
[65] Edward Rushton, *Poems*, 1806, 52-63.

More I" (for the poem "Mary le More"), and "Mary le More II" (for the second poem "The Maniac").

The "Mary le More" songs focus upon the socio-political atrocities that occurred as a result of the rack-rent and eviction system in Ireland, especially from the 1780s onward, and that acted, in part, as political motivation for those involved in the 1798 rebellion. Their narrative of the eviction of "Mary le More" and her family, highlight the violence of dispossession and the psychological devastation that can occur as a result. The specificity of the narrative and the rawness of the subject matter in these songs is unusual in street balladry – and is closer to the works of Chartist poets such as W. J. Linton than to street-ballads.[66] Yet, in a similar way to "Exile of Erin", their narrative content, combined with the evocation of pathos, may be what contributed to their wide dissemination. Both of the "Mary le More" songs that were printed for street-sale are narrated by a direct observer who, although affected by the events that occur ("All *our* wrongs, all *our* sufferings, he felt most severely", "Mary le More I"), is not the main victim of the narrative. The effect of the narrator's mediation here, in a similar way to that seen in "Exile of Erin", deepens the sense that the narrative is too raw for direct narration – especially in the second song where the victim, the "maniac", has become too psychologically broken to express anything but an almost animalistic grief.

"Mary le More" #1:

"Mary le More I" as printed by Pitts (and nearly identical to Rushton's original) centres upon the narrative of the violent eviction of Mary and her family from their home. For hearers on English streets, the scene of devastation is immediately set in Ireland, with mention of "Erin" in the first verse and "Ireland" in the last. In the stabbing and subsequent death of her father, and in the rape of Mary that follows, this song is unusually graphic for a nineteenth-century street-song, and the condemnation of those who inflict the violence is unusually explicit. Pitts' printing begins with a direct appeal to "Ye cold hearted strangers merciless doings, / Long may the children of Erin deploror [*sic*]." The "Ye" of the opening line in the Pitts printing is more logically interpreted in this line as "the" rather than "you", but all the other versions

[66] For example, see W. J. Linton's poems "Eviction" or "Rhymes and Reasons against Landlordism," in *The English Republic*, 1851, pages 187 and 92-4 respectively.

also open with various versions of denunciation, including Rushton's 1806 version: "Ah! cold-hearted strangers, *your* merciless doings, / Long, long, must the children of Erin deplore." The verse continues after this opening with the narrator's gaze upon the aftermath of the violence – Mary's destroyed home and the "black ruins" where her cabin "once stood" – [67] and with the news that Mary's father, a benign and honourable figure who had "loved Ireland most dearly", and who had, moreover, served Ireland in some way by standing united with "freedom's firm sons", is now "gone" ("God rest him!"). With the likely composition of this song at some point during or after 1798, the reference to standing united with "freedom's firm sons" is clearly linked to the Irish rebellion that year.

In the second verse, the narrator begins to relay the events leading up to this scene of devastation. The violation of the scene is emphasized by the tranquillity that precedes it; on a quiet "cold winter's eve" while Mary's father, Dermot, "sat musing" the family are disturbed by the "hoarse curses" of assailants who enter the home and straight away begin "abusing" him. When Dermot returns "their vile blows", they stab him. At this point the violence of the scene is brought into vivid perspective in Rushton's 1806 version (at the beginning of the third verse) by the "children's wild screams". However, Pitts' printing omits these lines, likely merely to save space, but as a result, the focus is placed more heavily on Mary's distress. The chaos of the scene is punctuated by scenes of gothic sublime; while Mary was "wildly throwing, / her arms round" her father's neck, his "life's stream was flowing", and the "rain fell in torrents & the wind blaw [*sic*] sore." No doubt is left as to the degeneracy of the assailants in the description of them as monstrous "inhuman banditti" – and their (upper) class-otherness is emphasised in the phrase "friends to the castle and foes to all pity." The horror of the scene is intensified when these "friends to the castle" set fire to the cabin where the injured Dermot still lies "reeking". The "mother & children" escape "half naked and shrieking" to seek shelter, but in a horrifying denouement, the "ruffians" bear Mary away to an outhouse where, despite all her "prayers & entreaties & sorrows," they "ruined [her] by force". The Pitts version emphasises the theme of rape with use of the word "hymen" three lines later when the narrator relays that now, after the destruction of her home, the murder of her father

[67] Edward Rushton, *Poems*, 1806, 52.

and her rape, Mary has become a "poor maniac" who "roves a wild common" warning "every woman" against "the cruel stranger" – and who "strains more than hymen" while singing of her father. In Rushton's 1806 version she instead "sings of her father in strains more than *human*" – presumably in tears of animalistic grief.

While the first verse opens with an address to "[y]e cold hearted strangers", the last verse addresses Ireland's "fair daughters" as Ireland's "salvation". As metaphor of the violence that Ireland suffers, Ireland's "daughters" are portrayed as besieged by the "waves of old Erin". The narrator calls upon the daughters to "[r]emember the woes of your long shackled nation" and the "wrongs of poor Mary-le-More". The song ends, in a similar way to "Exile of Erin" with the theme of death and resurrection – and with Ireland's resurrection portrayed through the imagery of nature. While the exile talks of being "buried and cold" at the same time as bestowing blessing upon the "green … fields" of the "sweetest isle of the ocean," the narrator of "Mary le More I" asks the hearer to "reflect" upon "the tree where delight still shall grow on / The soil where now wanders sweet Mary-le-More." Mary's grief and madness indicate her ruin, and the image of "soil" seems to augur imminent death, and yet, out of the desolation of violence (upon which Mary still "wanders") hope shall be nurtured anew, and "delight" will again grow upon the tree. This spiritual vision of nationhood, along with the imagery of sublime nature (including the vision of Mary herself), the depictions of the idealized, sentiment-filled feminine ("fair daughters", "bosom is glowing", "pity overflowing"), and the radical political language ("woes of your long *shackled* nation") epitomize the Romantic-nationalist song genre:

> Ireland's fair daughters your country's salvation,
> While the waves of old Erin does beat round your shore
> Remember the woes of your long shackled nation,
> Remember the wrongs of poor Mary-le-more.
> And whilst your blue eyes with pity overflowing,
> With strong indignation your bosom is glowing
> Reflect on the tree where delight still shall grow on

The soil where now wanders sweet Mary-le-more.[68]

The rich variation of printings and versions of "Mary le More I", both before and after Rushton's 1806 publication, indicate that the song was widely disseminated and must have resonated within Irish and English popular culture. In the first half of the century, it was printed by well-known street-ballad printers such as Pitts in London, Swindells of Manchester, and Dickinson of York, and at some point after 1855 it was printed by London printer W. S. Fortey. However, previous to this in 1799, it did come to the notice of the authorities; a government informer in England named George Cartwright, sent a printed street-ballad titled "Mary-le-More" to the authorities, citing that it was "being circulated in Nottingham" and that it "recounted atrocities committed by British soldiers in Ireland."[69] As has been noted, this informer's verdict of the song's treasonous content confirms the "political relevance ascribed to the song" at the time.[70] Cartwright's offending ballad-sheet may be the sheet currently housed in the Bodleian collection – a sheet that was printed at some point in the 1790s by Nottingham printers Harrod [*sic*] and Turner (the only date given for Harrod and Turner in the BBTI is 1791, but they were likely to have been in operation for longer than one year).[71]

In the same year that this sheet was sent to the London authorities (1799), a nearly identical song, "Ellen O Moor", was mentioned by the Irish radical John Daly Burk in his *History of the Late War in Ireland* as having been sung by the rebel forces as they went into battle of Vinegar Hill (June, 1798). Daly relays that the "enthusiastic United Irishmen, disdaining the command to await the attack, rushed upon their enemies singing the pathetic ballad of Ellen O Moor."[72] The narrative and much of the structure of "Ellen O Moore" as Daly prints it is the same as "Mary le More", the main difference being the protagonist's name. The father is also named "Dermot", and

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[68] "Poor Mary le More" as printed by Pitts. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/20664.gif
[69] Clive Emsley, 'The Home Office and its Sources of Information and Investigation, 1791-1801, *English Historical Review*, 94.372 (1979), 532-61 (p. 541). Quoted in Franca Dellarosa, *Talking Revolution*, 83-84.
[70] Franca Dellarosa, *Talking Revolution*, 83.
[71] "Mary Le More" as printed by Harrod and Turner. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/09032.gif
[72] Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, 164-5.

again the distress of the children and the mother is a feature – this time in their "wild screams" and "distraction". In this song, it is the more specific "soldiers of Britain", rather than "cold hearted strangers" (Pitts), that are addressed in the opening:

> Ah, soldiers of Britain your merciless doings,
> Long, long, will the children of Erin deplore;
> Oh, sad is my soul when I view the black ruins
> Where once stood the cottage of Ellen O Moore.
> Her father (God rest him!) loved Ireland most dearly,
> All its wrongs, all its sufferings he felt most severely,
> And with Freedom's firm son's united sincerely:
> But gone is the father of Ellen O Moore.[73]

The song's ending as Daly prints it (which is shorter than other versions), potentially also includes (this time ends with) a scene of rape with the lines: "Who … Could behold? Or could hear? And not curse the foul faction, / That blasted this rose-bud sweet Ellen O More."[74]

If Daly's anecdote, and version of the song, are correct, then the song was evidently already in circulation in the June of 1798. Although this earlier date and the different name of the protagonist, casts some doubt upon Rushton's authorship and originality, Rushton's character and the account of his son (and the fact that no one else subsequently claimed it) seem to indicate that he was indeed the author.[75] What the different versions illustrate then, is that the song was popular enough, representative enough of the zeitgeist of the time, to have been orally disseminated and therefore actually widely sung. And most significantly, although this was a song of pathos, and a song with a female central character, it was evidently seen as political – so much so that it was apparently sung in the extreme event of rebels running into battle.

"Mary le More I" also appeared, as "Mary la More" in R. R. Madden's *Literary Remains of the United Irishmen* in 1846, under the section titled "MS. Songs of

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[73] John Daly Burk, *History of the Late War in Ireland*, 105-09. Quoted in Franca Dellarosa, *Talking Revolution*, 82-83.
[74] Ibid.
[75] "Biographical Sketch of Edward Rushton," *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, 1814, 476.

1798," where it begins similarly to "Ellen O More" with the line "Oh, soldiers of Britain, your hard-hearted doings."[76] It is notable then, that unlike the versions published by Daly and Madden that were both printed in Dublin, the version published in England by Rushton (*Poems*, 1806) uses the less confrontational "strangers" in the first line, as did the majority of English street-ballad printings (in London and the North-West). The versions published in Nottingham and York on the other hand, begin in a similar way to the versions purportedly sung at Vinegar Hill and as published by Madden in Ireland in 1887, in that the perpetrators of the violence are nationalised as "Sons of Briton" (or "S___s of B____n")[77] or "soldiers of Britain".[78] However, in use of the word "soldiers" rather than "sons", Madden's version[79] and a chapbook version that reads "Oh! Soldiers of England, your merciless doings,"[80] are both more specific in their accusation against the "arms of the government" rather than the more sectarian versions that use the wider term "sons of Britain". It is unsurprising that most English street-ballad printings used the more generalised, and less confrontational versions similar to that of Pitts' "cold hearted strangers." Although for some radicals in England, use of the national paradigm (either "sons" or "soldiers" of "Britain" or "England") was both an attempt to distance themselves from (their own government's) national policy as well as to use the accusatory tone to rouse a sense of collective responsibility – the effectiveness of such an approach is debateable; and the extent to which hearers responded with defensiveness, or as invitation to rise against injustice, may have depended on the extent to which they felt empowered to enact change.

The Irish R. R. Madden considered "Exile of Erin" and the "Mary le More" songs (specifically "Mary le More II") to have been "two of the most effective lyrical pieces we have", and added that it was a "curious circumstance" that the authors "should both not be natives of Ireland." Apart from the inherent national essentialism in the idea that this is "curious", it does illustrate how nationhood is (often) imagined, received, and conceived just as much outside its geographical borders as within them, and how political and/or nationalistic narrative is not always created or disseminated

[76] R. R. Madden, 1846, 29.
[77] "Mary Le More" as printed by Marrod and Turner. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/09032.gif
[78] R. R. Madden, 1846, 29.
[79] Ibid.
[80] *Mary Le More, A Lamentable Irish Song*, 1808.

by those most affected by the events described. Both Thomas Campbell and Edward Rushton had had direct personal contact with Irish people who had been directly affected, but neither author had been physically affected themselves. Rushton however, was a deliberate political activist who was both acutely aware of his own British national identity, but who also clearly identified with the Irish-nationalist cause:

> If I have any partiality for the men of Ireland, and you think I have, it is not merely because I have a little Irish blood in my veins, but because they have been long an oppressed people; and if I do not esteem my countrymen, it is because they are the oppressors of mankind. I know it will be said it is wrong to censure a people merely for the acts of their government; but as the great mass of the British people are the advocates and supporters of their government, they of course partake of the guilt, and should share their censure. If Patriotism is to supersede Justice: if the wealth and power of our nation cannot be supported without the pillage and slavery of others, then the names of patriot and plunderer ought to be synonymous.[81]

Rushton here describes his fellow citizens as "*my* countrymen" and at the same time condemns them as the "oppressors" and "plunderers" "of mankind", while also acknowledging both the "Irish blood" in his veins and his "partiality for the men of Ireland," that is, his sympathy for the Irish-nationalist cause. So Rushton clearly takes on a political identity that sees itself as slightly apart from the "great mass of the British people." His "censure" of that "great mass" for the "acts of their government" seems a little harsh considering that only a tiny percentage of the population had the franchise (approximately 3% in England and Wales in 1780) or secret ballot. So potentially, despite his obviously radical leanings, this reference to his "countrymen" may (as a symptom of an educational or class bias that ignores the actual "great mass" with whom he lived, in Liverpool, in closest proximity) be a reference specifically to the narrow political class who had the franchise. Either way, Rushton was a formidable political activist; at the age of nineteen while on a voyage to Africa as a

[81] Extract of a letter from Edward Rushton to an "Irish correspondent", dated 1810. In *Biographical Sketch of E. Rushton, by his Son*, quoted in R. R. Madden, *The Literary Remains of the United Irishmen*, 1846, 6.

second mate, he had contracted opthalmia "by descending into the pestilential hold of a slave ship … to administer relief to the unfortunate sufferers."[82] After experiencing the slave trade first hand as a young man, he became an abolitionist who wrote prolifically on the matter, including a letter to George Washington in 1797. In later life, as a blind person trying to support a wife and five children, he struggled financially. In his last years, as a radical writer and bookseller in Liverpool, his bookshop was "soon frequented by the advocates of liberty, both blacks and whites" and he was soon "marked out for the wrath of the high Tory party" by whom he narrowly escaped being murdered.[83]

Like so many people in Britain with "a little Irish blood in [their] veins," it was perhaps this subtle sense of *national* difference, of national *remove*, that contributed to the ease with which he was able, so vociferously, to claim *his* fellow countrymen the "oppressors of mankind". This, combined with his identity as political activist, evidently trumped his sense of nationalistic Britishness. Events in Ireland affected him deeply, and as his son wrote: "the outrages [in Ireland] daily committed roused his slumbering genius, and induced him to write not only this ["Mary Le More"], but several other pieces on the same subject; all of them breathing that spirit which it once was his pride and boast to cherish."[84] Rushton's identification with a "spirit" of radical poetry that it was his "pride and boast to cherish" reveals a similar type of identification as that described by Simon Frith – one that is, at least to some extent, chosen, and one that was in this case inherently subversive.[85]

"Mary le More" #2:

Interpreting the reception of "Mary le More II" (Rushton's "The Maniac") in England is more straightforward because it is less nationally condemnatory of Britishness or Englishness. This no doubt contributed to the wider dissemination of "Mary le More II" on English streets; it was widely printed by the early-century printers such as T. Evans (in the Madden collection, printed at some point before 1819), J. Catnach (Madden, printed between 1813 to 1838) and Pitts (Bodleian, printed between 1819 to 1844), all in London. It was also printed by Walker of Durham, Harkness of Preston

[82] R. R. Madden, 1846, 5.
[83] Ibid. 4.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," 122.

and Russell of Birmingham, and by printers in Cheltenham, Lincoln, Hull and Glasgow. “Mary le More II” also appeared in the second edition of the United Irishmen’s *Paddy’s Resource* in 1803 and in R. R. Madden’s *The Literary Remains of the United Irishmen* in 1887 – being given the privileged position of the first song in that collection.[86]

It was also published in numerous other song collections. One collection that contained both the “Mary Le More” songs (both those songs that were printed for street sale) was titled *The Pocket Encyclopedia of Scottish, English, and Irish SONGS, selected from The Works of the Most Eminent poets; with A Number of Original Pieces, and NOTES, critical and Biographical*.[87] For both songs, this collection (as did others) recommends the tune “Erin go Bragh”, that is, “Savourneen Deelish”. So here, yet again, the sentimental stage-song of parting – “Savourneen Deelish” – is employed to emphasise the pathos of the lyric and to help evoke the grief and disconnection caused by political oppression. As a result of these repeated associations, the tune itself – as was the case for other Irish-themed (and to some degree Scottish Jacobite songs) tunes – became shorthand for a structure of feeling that signified a combination of grief, pathos and righteous political anger.

For educated or well-travelled hearers in England, or those with connections to Ireland who knew the location of Cork, the opening lines of the song clearly indicate its Irish setting: “As I stray’d o’er the common on Corks’ rugged border.” However, outside the context of its sister songs and as a stand alone text, the theme of female madness may have made the more lasting impression on hearers of this song than political atrocity or Irish resistance. As such, this song can be included in that significant sub-genre of nineteenth-century street-songs that include titles such as: “Mary, the Maid of the Inn”, “The Maid of [or “in”] Bedlam”, “The Unhappy Lass of Canterbury”, “Nancy’s complaint in Bedlam”, “Bonny Irish Boy” and “Crazy Jane” by Mathew Gregory Lewis (the theme of male madness was also found in street song, but it was more often associated with comedy than tragedy). Grief was always the

[86] R. R. Madden, 1846, 351. The song itself can be found on p. 1. For discussion on the date of the second and final edition of *Paddy’s Resource*, see Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, 161.
[87] *The Pocket Encyclopedia* [*sic*] *of Scottish, English, and Irish SONGS*, 1816, 211.

cause of the female madness in these songs – usually caused by abandonment, betrayal, or the death of a male lover.

In common with these songs, the wildness of the female protagonist, in this case Mary, might be seen as fetishized – all the more where the violence and tragedy of the original events are only hinted at amidst the scenes of gothic sublime. The theme of insanity emerges first in the third line when the narrator, while straying on "Cork's rugged border", among "the dew-drops of morn" and "sweet primrose" sees "a poor female, whose mental disorder, / her quick-glancing eye and wild aspect betray'd." As is common in popular songs of female madness, Mary's fate is made all the more tragic because of her beauty – which is expressed both in the description of Mary herself, as well as through the nature that surrounds her. She reclines on "green fern", at her feet are "speckled daisies" and "crow flow'rs", her hair is braided with primroses and she has a string of fresh daisies hanging "loose on her neck." Tragedy has left its physical mark, the "charms by the keen blast of sorrow were faded", but (thankfully for the purposes of the song) the "soft tint of beauty still play'd on her cheek."

The voicing of Mary's rantings are visceral, as are the images of brutality that she remembers and sees as remnants around her. She sees her brother's blood on the "lash" (whip), and exclaims "they have torn his poor flesh!". There is a hint that the ordeal is on going in the fact that they "now strip another" – Mary's friend Connor. She remembers the blood that stained her father's locks – locks that had been "as white as the foam of the ocean." Mary doesn't *speak* but "exclaims" and then "crys" [*sic*]. On remembering her father she "cry'd with the wildest emotion, / Ah, no!", and remembers that he "now sleeps in the grave!". She cries "He is gone! He is gone!" when she recollects their struggle to "restore him". A juxtaposition exists between two types of nature, peaceful and pastoral on the one hand, and swirling sublime on the other. The latter is evoked at the end of the third verse where, in the line "when the blue waves of Erin hide Mary le More" the hearer has a sense that Mary will throw herself into the sea, yet, in the next line, a scene of stillness is evoked through the contrast of the carolling lark that rises from "gold blossom'd furze." The peacefulness of this last image is then disturbed again by Mary's distress at the approaching sounds of "trumpets" and "horsemen", and her entreaties to "Erin's

daughters" to "Go hide with the sea-mew" (sea gulls). The proximity of the sounds of trumpets and the mention of seagulls, hints at the possibility that the approaching horsemen are merely the seagulls, and that "Erin's daughters" are as ethereal as the possibility of their "hiding" with the "sea-mew" would suggest. The imagery of heady sublime in these "maids" swirling among the seagulls evidently reflects Mary's emotional turbulence and dissociation.

The narrator's last image of Mary is of her darting away, "loudly screaming" with "wild horror" on seeing a "fierce troop of cavalry". Again, there is a sense that this troop is a product of Mary's disturbed state of mind rather than a reality, because the narrator does not stay to defend her but instead departs "slowly", "with bosom o'ercharged", sighing for the "wrongs of poor Mary-le-More." Arguably, the images of female madness in this and other "maniac" songs fall within the eighteenth-century paradigm that equated *feeling* with goodness. When the narrator states that Mary's ravings are more "heart rending" to the narrator than any voice of sanity; Mary's insanity becomes a marker of morality in the face of political depravity.[88] As a representative of goodness, Mary has been left with no choice but to dissolve into grief; as an innocent, she cannot survive in a politically brutal and corrupt world.

Writing on this song's presence in the 1803 *Paddy's Resource* Mary Helen Thuente writes that its "broadside style and lurid and sentimental content", suggest that "it was taken directly from popular oral tradition."[89] By "oral tradition" Thuente likely meant that it was written in the *style* of orally disseminated song, because she was aware that William Drennan and R. R. Madden had attributed it to Edward Rushton.[90] Thuente also notes the popularity of the "maniac motif", but associates "Crazy Jane" with Ireland, noting that it contains a similar figure to "Mary Le More" and that it was "frequently reprinted in America and in Ireland" ("in the 1790s").[91] "Crazy Jane" was in fact also very popular in England, having been written (as mentioned above) by gothic novelist Mathew Gregory Lewis in the mid 1790s after an encounter with a "poor maniac" on an evening walk in the woods around Inverary Castle. The popularity of the theme is evident in the following extract from Lewis' biographer,

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[88] R. S. Crane, "Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling," 210.
[89] Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, 164.
[90] Ibid., 24.
[91] Ibid., 164.

Henry Colburn:

> The ballad [“Crazy Jane”] has been wedded to music by several composers; but the original and most popular melody was by the celebrated Miss Abrams, who introduced and sung it herself at fashionable parties. After the usual complimentary tributes from barrel-organs, and wandering damsels of every degree of vocal ability, it crowned not only the author’s brow with laurels, but also that of many a youthful beauty in the shape of a highly fashionable hat, called the “Crazy Jane hat.”[92]

Colburn also notes that the song had “gained for it a degree of popularity scarcely yet abated” at the time of writing in 1839.[93] How much “Crazy Jane” was sung in Ireland compared to England or Scotland is less important for the purposes here than the assumption on both islands that it had some association with Ireland. Whether this was a mistaken assumption by W. B. Yeats or not – his use of the song as inspiration for his Crazy Jane poems certainly subsequently increased the association. With the help of songs such as this, the trope of the beautiful, tragic female, driven mad from grief, was increasingly associated with a similarly tragic, feminine and wronged Ireland.

Further insight into the reception of “Mary le More II” can be gleaned from a return to the collection of songs mentioned above, *The Pocket Encyclopedia of Scottish, English, and Irish SONGS*, in which the song is titled “The Irish Maniac” (as it is also in street-ballad printings by printers in Cheltenham and Lincoln).[94] The collection is divided into sections based upon nation – but a closer inspection of what these chapters contain reveals relatively fluid perceptions of nationhood. For example, the section titled “English Songs” includes the following: a song titled “The Lasses of Dublin”, Thomas Moore’s “The Legacy”, Thomas Moore’s “The Tear”, “Had I a Heart” *to the tune of “Gramachree”*, and “Ye Destroyers of Man” to the tune of

[92] Henry Colburn, *The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis*, 1839, 189.
[93] Ibid., 188.
[94] Extant in the Madden collection, Cambridge University Library.

"'Sadi of the Moor', or *'Erin go Bragh'*."[95] Thomas Moore's "The Tear" has the following footnote:

> This piece, which were we to call merely beautiful, it would reflect little credit on our poetical taste, is from the pen of Thomas Moore, the celebrated living poet of Ireland. There is a delicacy of description, and an originality of thought runs through it, which is attainable only by uncommon talents. It is surely impossible for the diadem of Pity to be decorated with a brighter gem than the lively imagination of this poet has supplied it with.[96]

So the editors' awareness of Moore's place of birth, clearly had no bearing upon the section in which songs by him should appear. The song "Ye Destroyers of Man" for which "Erin go Bragh" was one of the tunes recommended, is yet more revealing. This is a song about the press gang – that "detestable practice of impressing men" into service as sailors. This song is also furnished with a lengthy footnote expressing anger against the hypocrisy of any government who carry out such a practice. The attachment of this radical criticism of government policy, to the tune of "Erin go Bragh" shows not only, as indicated above, that the tune came with a meaning of its own, but also that an Irish-themed tune could be applied also to political themes within England (as emphasised in other examples throughout this thesis). Writing on the literature of the United Irishmen, Thuente notes that although the "message and poetry" of the United Irishmen "became increasingly national, the literary traditions upon which the United Irishmen drew extended well beyond Ireland."[97] The same can evidently be said for popular song culture within England in general – which drew theme and melody from Ireland.

In a final twist in the journey of the reception of "Mary le More", John Clare's collection of fiddle tunes (that he noted down between the years of 1820 and 1834) contains a tune called "Mary No More" [*sic*] – which is the tune of "Savourneen

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95 *The Pocket Encyclopedia* [*sic*] *of Scottish, English, and Irish* SONGS, 1816, pages 4, 6, 37, 21 and 77 respectively.
96 *The Pocket Encyclopedia of Scottish, English, and Irish SONGS*, 1816, 37.
97 Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, 164.

Deelish"/"Erin go Bragh".[98] So this tune of many names likely originated in Ireland (possibly composed by the renowned harpist Turlough O'Carolan), was then taken for use on the stage in the *Poor Soldier* in 1783, and then in the *Surrender of Calais* in 1791, before becoming associated with Irish rebellion in Reynolds' "Erin go Bragh" in the 1790s, after which it was taken up by Campbell and put to the lyrics of "Exile of Erin", and then evidently also used as the melody for "Mary le More". Finally a decade or two later, it is played as a fiddle tune in Northamptonshire titled "Mary no More". Whether this tune's myriad of associations was known when it was played by villagers in a Northamptonshire cottage cannot be known – but perhaps a sense of its history was somehow infused during moments of its dissemination and performance.

THE LONELY WANDERER

"The Irish Stranger"

One of the most frequently printed street-songs of the entire nineteenth century was "The Irish Stranger", or "Poor Irish Stranger" (beginning "Oh Pity the fate of the poor Irish stranger"). This song was printed by all the main street-ballad printers; the earliest printing was probably one printed by W. Armstrong of Liverpool in the early 1820s, and it was subsequently printed by both Catnach and Pitts, by mid-century printers such as Disley, Paul H, and Bebbington, and by printers who operated in the second half of the century such as Fortey and Such. Unlike the songs above, this song's author is unknown and if the song appeared in printed song collections it was only rarely. Folk song scholar Frank Kidson wrote of the song in 1901 that he was "not certain whether it, with this tune, may be regarded as a 'Folk Song'", and that it "might possibly be found printed in some collection of 'composed' songs about 1810-20", but he does not give further reference.[99] More significantly, the fact that the song was collected by folk-song collector W. P. Merrick around the year 1900 (from a Mr Henry Hills of Lodsworth, West Sussex) demonstrates that it was disseminated into English oral tradition.

[98] "Mary No More", JC.247. N'hampton MS.13. See George Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, 374.

[99] Lucy Broadwood et al. (editors), "Songs from the Collection of W. P. Merrick," 1901, 116. This page can be accessed online via the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library website: https://www.vwml.org/record/RoudFS/S149282

The song's central trope is that of the outsider, the Other who has "wander'd … far from his home". As the lament of an individual in response to his unwilling disconnection from home and country, this song is very similar to "Exile of Erin". Unlike "Exile of Erin", there is no third-person mediator, which makes this song conform more closely to the conventions of orally-transmitted song. Like "Exile" on the other hand, it ends with that typically Romantic-period, popular song trope in which the narrator dies (or thinks about dying) from grief. In this case, death is not a definite outcome, but is part of an ultimatum in which the narrator asks for "freedom" or "my tomb". Most obviously, this song differs to "Exile of Erin" in its use of the "stranger" trope, which results in a heavier emphasis being placed on the "stranger's" sense of isolation from the people he finds himself surrounded by: "now a stranger in England I roam." In this respect, "Irish Stranger" follows more closely in the tradition of songs about the wanderer or outsider (or the cosmopolitan) – a figure that throughout history has been the "target of racism and xenophobia", particularly in the history of anti-Semitism.[100] Xenophobia is not made an explicit part of the narrative, but the stranger evidently views England as somewhere he cannot stay. And so, he follows the well-trodden route from Ireland to America via England, and at the time of narration finds himself in limbo; despite the fact that he "roams" in England, he does not have his "freedom" and instead hopes to "cross o'er the main" where "America might yield" him "some shelter from pain."

Like the Ireland of "Exile of Erin", the Ireland left behind by this protagonist is a bucolic idyll – perhaps even more so in this song where two of the five verses are devoted almost entirely to the natural abundance found there. As evidenced, for example, in the stranger's "own garden" that yielded the "choicest of fruits", where "the sloe and the berry hung ripe on the bushes" and where the "green rushes" are cut to provide shelter. The depiction of the stranger's garden and his sitting by the "fire on a cold winter's night" with his friends "telling tales of delight" reveal a life of contentment, and a kind of connected respectability that contrasts with his current friendless "stranger" status – a status associated more with suspicion than with welcome or respect. In Ireland, he was able to gather fruits "without harm" – evidently legally and in peace – a privilege that is presumably denied him now. These

[100] Vincent J. Cheng, *Inauthentic*, 51.

images of abundance and community make his current, contrasting situation all the more tragic. Each verse ends with a lament for this peaceful, rural existence – such as at the end of verse two, "they're gone – I shall ne'er see them more" and at the end of verse three, "the joys I shall never see more" – that were potentially cathartic for those performers or hearers of the song in England who had also been forced from their rural home communities.

But a sense of injustice is also clearly expressed throughout this song – especially in the first verse in which the stranger does not know "which way for to roam" because "*tyranny* has trampled our sweetest of flowers" and in the fifth verse in which the stranger, addressing Erin, ponders "the *wrongs* of thy injured Isle" that have forced "many thousands … to wander … in exile." So the nostalgic theme and images of Ireland's idyll are combined here, as in the other songs in this chapter, with a defiant vocalization against oppression.

The woodcut images and other songs accompanying "Irish Stranger" on various different ballad sheets either emphasise or contrast with the song's nostalgic/political theme (as was common practice on printed sheets) by printing the song alongside either comic, or romantic, songs or images. Where the woodcut depicts a figure of any kind, it is always male and so male narration is always implied. But two roughly contemporaneous ballad sheets printed by Catnach and Pitts reveal two typical yet contrasting ways in which Irish songs were presented; the woodcut image chosen to accompany "Irish Stranger" on the sheet printed by Catnach shows a stooping, emaciated beggar,[101] while the image chosen by Pitts is a decorative floral logo.[102] These associations, that could be categorised as emphasising low-life mendacity on the one hand and a kind of lofty romance on the other, are further emphasised in the accompanying songs; Catnach chooses a song titled "Follow the Drum" – a rabble-rousing, comic song topped with a woodcut of a soldier in uniform with army camp behind him, while Pitts chooses a song titled "I sowed the seeds of love" – a wistful song sung from a female perspective, containing the trope of the "sharp thorn" in the "red rose bud". The woodcut decorating "I sowed the seeds of love" contains the

[101] "Follow the Drum" & "Irish Stranger" as printed by Catnach. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02133.gif
[102] "I sowed the Seeds of Love" & "The Irish Stranger" as printed by Pitts. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02550.gif

peaceful, romantic image of two figures underneath a tree. As well as revealing contrasting perceptions of how Irishness should be presented, the difference in what might be described as the marketing of each ballad-sheet, may be viewed as an attempt to target male versus female ballad customers respectively.

The fact that this song was potentially targeted to both genders further emphasises the universal relevance of the figure of the lonely wanderer in the decades spanning 1800 – a point that is demonstrated by the emergence of these songs as street ballads, as well as in, for example, the appearance of these figures in the poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge. For Wordsworth, according to A. S. Byatt, figures such as the Leech-gatherer or the blind beggar of *The Prelude* were "symbols … of a basic element in the human condition, one of emptiness, stripped of importance and therefore important."[103] Apart from this representation of psychological universality, the presence of these figures in the landscape also constituted, for contemporaries, visible casualties of the huge socio-historical and political changes taking place at the time.

So, it is in this socio-cultural landscape that figures such as the "Irish Stranger", the dispossessed "Mary le More", and the "Exile of Erin" first emerged to become so prevalent in Irish-themed songs throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Arguably, these Irish figures, in their more acutely-felt "exile" and their more geographically distinct (national) disconnection, provided a more succinct and refined symbol of political oppression than their English equivalents. Their national difference made fictional Irish wanderers clearer signifiers of otherness; they were more easily narrativised as casualties of political injustice and signifiers of righteous resistance than their English counterparts. Fictional English wanderers by contrast, in their national sameness, fitted less easily into narratives of patriotic resistance. As such, the Irish exiles and dispossessed evictees in these street-songs became rounded symbols of a "structure of feeling" in the nineteenth-century that was based upon the more insidious, the not yet fully-realised, societal wound of involuntary disconnect from place, land and history.

[103] A. S. Byatt, *Wordsworth and Coleridge*, 110.

<u>HOME</u>

"Home Sweet Home"

Yet, the less political, more nostalgic mourning for place as home, also existed in English street balladry from the moment that the song "Home Sweet Home", by the American John Howard Payne, was first performed in *Clari, or the Maid of Milan* in Covent Garden in 1823. Despite this song's lack of Irish themes, its analysis is necessary in this chapter partly because of its widespread popularity but also because, via comparison with the songs of disconnection, it serves to provide insight into the reception of the latter. Moreover, in a chapter on exile, "home" seems worthy of more detailed analysis, and in the case of this song, the themes of "home" and "exile" are synonymous. Analysis belongs at the end of this chapter because of the song's composition in 1823 after the songs analysed above.

"Home Sweet Home" is the epitome of a genre that veers more toward the expression of temporal nostalgia rather than spatial nostalgia, although, as Jeff Malpas argues "home is neither a space nor a time, but a place that holds a space and time within it – so nostalgia can never be understood as spatial or temporal alone."[104] This is true of the songs of exile, songs of home, as well as of a poem such as Felicia Hemans' "The Homes of England" that was first published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1827. The huge success of this poem serves as confirmation of the resonance of the topic of "home" in all its guises in the first half of the nineteenth century.[105] Jerome McGann's discussion of it (a discussion between his alter egos) in *The Poetics of Sensibility* reveals the potentiality of its "superficially superficial"[106] status – and the error of later nineteenth and twentieth-century scholarship in viewing it merely as a "sentimental piece of Burkean ideology, a hymn in praise of the values of vertical and horizontal social continuities."[107] Instead, McGann shows that Hemans' poem, which devotes each of its five verses to the "stately homes", "merry homes", "blessed homes", "cottage homes" and "free, fair homes" respectively, can in fact be read as a "vision

[104] Jeff Malpas, *Heidegger and the Thinking of Place*, 162.
[105] Felicia Hemans, "The Homes of England," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 21, no. 124, 1827, 392. *British Periodicals*. Accessed 29 Sept. 2018.
[106] A phrase coined by Kingsley Amis, quoted in Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 183.
[107] Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 186. A critique also evidenced in W. J. Linton's parody of "Homes of England" titled "The Parks," see Anne Janowitz, *Lyric and Labour*, 210-11.

of doom" rather than a superficial celebration.[108] McGann suggests that Hemans' works "understand that they are haunted by death and insubstantialities" and that this poem specifically constitutes a "vision of doom of an order of values which it simultaneously, and paradoxically, celebrates as a solid and ascendant order of things."[109]

As such, "Home Sweet Home" and songs like it can be read in similar vein, but in "Home Sweet Home" specifically a "vision of doom" is more explicit in the fact that the dissolution of home has already occurred. The evocation of "palaces" in the first line of the song foreshadows that of the "stately homes" in Hemans' poem four years later, and in turn potentially provokes the same Burkean readings. But the final focus of the song in fact rests upon the same displacement found in songs such as "Exile of Erin" and "Irish Stranger", to the extent that the third and final verse of "Home Sweet Home" is narrated by an "exile".

The widespread resonance of the topic of home versus exile, might, at its most universal, be fundamental to the human condition and symptom of a type of temporal nostalgia which, as Hemans herself expresses, consists of an awareness of home always "melting from us … imperceptibly 'passing away!'."[110] More specifically, viewing this time period as the dawn of modernity (modernity as the industrial revolution), the prevalence of this paradigm in popular song culture might be viewed in Heideggerian terms as a symptom of the homelessness of modern man and his dislocation from "place".[111]

"Home Sweet Home" was composed (like the other songs in *Clari, or the Maid of Milan*) by Sir Henry Bishop who had previously published the melody in 1821 under the title "A Sicilian Air".[112] The melody is more reminiscent of a German nursery rhyme than an Italian melody, and in later years, Bishop "confessed" to having

[108] Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 187.
[109] Ibid.
[110] *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Hemans. By her Sister* (Philadelphia, 1839), 188. Quoted in Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 187.
[111] Jeff Malpas, *Heidegger and the Thinking of Place*, 165.
[112] Frank Kidson, "'Home Sweet Home' The True Story."

written it himself.[113] This was unlikely to have been a shocking revelation to most people in the decades either side of 1800 when "national" song did not necessarily relate solely to song origin but also to new songs deemed, for reasons of sentiment or aesthetic, to be "national". More pertinently, the association of melody with place, any place, is significant at a time when such labelling was seen to legitimize, or authenticate, a work of art, whether it had originated there or not. Although composers such as George Thomson (1757-1851) and Henry Bishop (1786-1855), or writers such as James Macpherson (1736-1796), were later accused of various kinds of inauthenticity (in Thomson's case for his composing of (classical) symphonies based on Scottish tunes) or forgery (in Macpherson's case), such artistic freedom was relatively common practice in the production of "national" art in the eighteenth century.[114]

As seen in the wildly enthusiastic reception of "Home Sweet Home", the idea of authentic provenance did not play a significant role in the reception of song in popular culture. According to a later newspaper source, "Home Sweet Home", "stopped the show" and "brought twelve encores" at the premiere of *Clari, or the Maid of Milan*, which led to its publication as an individual song score that same year. It quickly became very lucrative for its original publishers as well as the many who plagiarised the work.[115] As noted above, there are fifteen extant English printings of the original "Home Sweet Home" (beginning "Mid pleasures and palaces") in the Bodleian – which is a relatively large figure despite "Exile of Erin" having more extant printings. These songs may have been, as similarly argued in Chapter Four, received along socio-political lines with the (subtle) tone of resistance in "Exile of Erin" appealing to those individuals of a more anti-establishment bent, and "Home Sweet Home" appealing to more socially conservative or economically comfortable hearers. And the higher numbers of printings (at least in extant collections) of "Exile of Erin", than of "Home Sweet Home", might be seen to support the idea of street-balladry as more generally anti-establishment than socially conservative.

[113] Carl Engel, "Home, Sweet Home" Melodic Heritage of Two Anglo-Saxon Worlds," 1923, 14 (page of online scrapbook).
[114] George Thomson, "Preface" (1803) of *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, 1805.
[115] "Home Sweet Home wins World Honor," 1934, 16 (page of online scrapbook).

In turn, the popularity of "Home Sweet Home" ahead of the many street-songs that it inspired such as "The Cot where I was Born" and "My Own dear Home", again emphasises that the theme of displacement in the original was more appealing than the songs it inspired that were less melancholic. While "My Own dear Home" looks upon the childhood home with "pleasure" ("Wherever I wander, wherever I stray … I look back with pleasure on my first dear home"),[116] "Home Sweet Home" emphasises a sense of lack, of yearning and of pain at the separation from home (the "*poor* sailor boy" who "*sighs* for the cot he has left" or the *exile* who asks "Oh, give me my lovely thatch'd cottage again"). As such, "Home Sweet Home" acts as complementary answer to "Exile of Erin" albeit, (crucially) without any expression of injustice which allows it to fit more comfortably into the category of "nostalgia".

The textual context of most printings of "Home Sweet Home" illustrate the generally (mildly) irreverent, anti-nostalgic and anti-establishment nature of nineteenth-century street balladry; most street-ballad printings of the original "Home Sweet Home" are printed alongside either "Answer to Home" or "Parody on Sweet Home". These songs take on a narrative of lover's deception in the first case, and a comic narrative in the second, and as such, both songs transmute the song's original sentiments to create songs that reflect the conventions of orally-disseminated and popular comic song respectively. A version printed by Pitts at some point between 1819 and 1844 contains all three songs including "Parody on Sweet Home" in which the idea of home as a haven of peace is mocked in its depiction of an unhappy marriage.[117] This song comes under the genre of what Linda Venis describes as the "so-called comic 'anti-wife' ballad" – a category that bemoans the trials and tribulations of being married to a difficult wife – encapsulated best by the last line "Till my wife's dead and gone, there is no peace at home."[118] Of the two, the mournful narrative of the betrayed female lover in "Answer to Home" (or "Answer to Home Sweet Home") was far more widely disseminated than the anti-wife song. The fact that Ireland came to represent both "home" as well as displacement, is illustrated by the printing of "home" songs alongside songs with Irish themes (or with themes that hinted at

[116] "My Own Dear Home," "My Dear Native Isle," "I'll Not Throw Away the Flower" as printed by Pitts. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/08710.gif
[117] "Sweet Home," "Answer To Home," and "Parody on Sweet Home" as printed by Pitts. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04636.gif
[118] Linda Venis, "The Problem of Broadside Balladry's Influence on Lyrical Ballads," 626.

Ireland) – such as the printing of "My Own Dear Home" alongside "My Dear Native Isle" (by Pitts), or the printing later in the century of "Cot where I was Born" alongside "Happy Land" and "Erin go Bragh" by Bebbington in Manchester (1855-1863).

CONCLUSION

As a collective, the songs analysed in this chapter reveal a pervasiveness of the theme of displacement and disconnection from home, and an association of this displacement with Irishness in the popular culture of early-nineteenth century England. It is pertinent that these songs were first inspired by the political campaign of the United Irishmen and by the events of 1798, and that they appeared on English streets during decades of societal upheaval just before the songs of Romantic-nationalism emerged in the 1830s. Within the paradigm of nationalism as replacement for religion, the existence of these displaced figures of exile – figures that exist, according to Said, in "essential association" with nationalism – make them martyrs of, as well as "motifs" of, modern society and culture.[119] In the paradigm in which nation and exile form two ends of the same spectrum, the fear or pain of disconnection might be viewed as a precursor to identification with nation (rather than as a result of identification with nation as Said sees it) – an association that is supported by Heidegger's association of homelessness with contemporary culture (and arguably his subsequent support of fascism). The chronology of authorship of these songs (with the exile songs being authored just before the Romantic-nationalist songs emerged on English streets) supports this possibility, or rather, it supports the idea that identification with nation (or the idea of nationhood as solution to socio-economic problems) formed *one* of the ways in which people sought an answer to the disconnect and powerlessness felt in the face of socio-economic upheaval.

[119] Edward W. Said, *Reflections*, 176.

Chapter 3. "England for ever, and Erin-go-bragh": The Romantic nation in English-printed street ballads before 1850.

It is perhaps self evident that at a time when, as Edward Said argues, culture was becoming "spiritually orphaned and alienated", the trope of idealized "place" and ultimately of "home" was arising as a popular motif in street-song.[1] This thesis as a whole analyses the popular cultural meanings of one "place" (Ireland) within or in relation to another (England), but the songs that form the central focus of this chapter more than any other, have "place" as central trope; and they all locate nation, or devotion to it, at the heart of the song's descriptive sentiment or narrative. The songs analysed in this chapter all appeared on English streets around the 1830s, and reveal Ireland as a prominent symbol of imagined (imagined, and therefore not *here*, usually Other, and sometimes otherworldly) place in England. These songs display an aesthetic that can be summed up in Mary Helen Thuente's description of Thomas Moore's songs as consisting of "… bards, harps, green flags, shamrocks, slaves, chains, martyred heroes … the dawning light of freedom, and … [and] the weeping, slumbering, enchanted Erin" – an aesthetic that originated in the songs of the United Irishmen. This is a vision of Ireland that encompasses the mythic, the heroic, the emotive, and the imaginative, and that is decorated with a sense of green that echoes pastoral poetry. It is a vision that, at least in street-song culture, was applied far more to Ireland than to anywhere else. Moreover, Ireland, in all its various manifestations, was far more prevalent a topic during this century in English-printed street-song than Wales (virtually non-existent) and even Scotland (that had in the eighteenth century been a popular topic of song). So Ireland held a prominent position as imagined place in nineteenth-century street-song, and this place was a visionary one.

All fourteen of the songs discussed in this chapter apart from the last two, were printed before 1845 (when Ryle and Paul ended their trading relationship). Some of these songs were potentially printed as early as 1813 (by Catnach) or even earlier (by Evans), however, most were printed between *c.*1830 and 1845. Of the ten songs containing Irish themes, eight were printed before 1845, and so these songs of visionary place emerged subsequent to the exile songs that were composed at the

[1] Edward W. Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, 173.

beginning of the century (and explored in the previous chapter), and before the songs of sentimental emigration that form the main analysis of Chapter Five. In an effort to analyse this vision of (Irish) place in context, this chapter begins with exploration of the visions of Englishness in street song that pre-dated it. So in a rough chronology that represents the order in which they first appeared on the street, this chapter begins with songs of "Englishness and Britishness" that all originated in the eighteenth century. This is followed by sections on songs by Thomas Moore and on (anonymous) "Romantic Unionist" songs that all emerged on the streets around the 1830s. And the last two sections titled, "The Aisling" and "Cushlamachree", analyse songs that were printed for street-sale after 1850.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN, NATIONALISM AND THOMAS MOORE

The vision of Ireland presented in these songs was inevitably a Romantic-nationalist one. The association in song, of Ireland with a mythological aesthetic of sometimes wild, sometimes bucolic, nature originated (or was at least much reinforced) in the 1790s with the literary style cultivated by the United Irishmen (although the close association between this vision of Ireland and Irish-nationalism would not necessarily have been known by most hearers on English streets). As Mary Helen Thuente illustrates, Thomas Moore himself contributed to, and was influenced by, the poetic tradition of the United Irishmen that represented Ireland as place where the memory of ancient and noble military heroism had faded, but where that heroism flowed as a hope in the veins of the nation's sons.

Thomas Moore's life and work and the reception of his *Irish Melodies*, together embodies the entire, often contentious, scholarly debate around Romanticism and nationalism, and how the two connect (or don't) with the "people", politics and the state. Although Moore was himself personally involved with figures such as Robert Emmet, and with the events of 1798, 1801 and 1803, in his song-writing, he was often subsequently accused of abandoning his political roots and capitulating to his English middle classes and aristocratic audiences.[2] William Hazlitt for example, suggested

[2] See for example, Ronan Kelly, *Bard of Erin*, 2008.

that Moore made "prettiness pass for patriotism,"[3] and W. B. Yeats wrote scathingly that he was never a "poet of the people", that he "lived in the drawing-rooms", and worst of all, that for Moore "Ireland was [merely] a metaphor."[4] On the other hand, it was precisely this aestheticization that made Moore seem dangerous to other critics who saw his songs as making "rebellion quite romantic" to the extent that the "gallows that once terminated each avenue of treason, rose gratefully wreathed with shamrocks, and shaded into a bower of bliss."[5] In anticipation of criticisms like these, Moore himself asserted (in his "Prefatory Letter on Irish Music") that the *Melodies* were not intended to "appeal to the passions of an ignorant and angry multitude" but were instead aimed at the "rich and educated".[6] Yet, as these street-ballads show, his songs were popular among that "multitude". In an essay titled "The Masochism of Thomas Moore", Terry Eagleton sees only a hopeless and irreconcilable conflict in Moore's work (rather than self-aware and creative meditations on nationhood), scathingly noting that "in his *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, Moore satirises what is really a caricatured version of one of his own beliefs in the *Melodies*: Rock's rebel father clings nostalgically to 'the *real* Irish …"[7] Eagleton acknowledges that Moore "would like to believe that art can be politically functional" but evidently disagrees, writing "since there is no way of integrating the sensuous and the historical, the former disintegrates into rococo prettiness and the latter stiffens into vacuous rhetoric."[8] He acknowledges that Moore's was an "extraordinarily popular achievement", but evidently sees little political value in its popularity.[9]

These contrasting receptions of Moore's songs echo the wider argument around the extent to which nationalism itself is perceived as "romantic" in the judgemental sense of being based upon emotion (emotive, fantastical, atavistic), as opposed to a political or enlightened phenomenon based upon logic. From the point of view of Isaiah Berlin's argument, which views nationalism in terms of the former (as an inherently "romantic" phenomenon in the negative sense) Thomas Moore's songs can be viewed as effective although ultimately misguided attempts to rally action against political

[3] William Hazlitt, *Spirit of the Age*, 1825, quoted in David Dwan, "Romantic Nationalism," 727.
[4] W. B. Yeats, "Popular Ballad Poetry of Ireland," 1889, 38.
[5] *Dublin University Magazine*, Sept. 1835, 297. Quoted in David Dwan, "Romantic Nationalism," 727.
[6] As quoted in Leith Davis. *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 149.
[7] Terry Eagleton, *Crazy John*, 151.
[8] Ibid., 157.
[9] Ibid.

oppression. Similarly, a Hobbesian viewing "the people" as a phenomenon only manifestable on creation of sovereign governance (rather than as a legitimizing force for nationhood) might see Romantic-nationalist songs as contributing to imagined and therefore false notions of national identity. Where Irish writers such as Sydney Owenson viewed the cultivation of national cultural identity (ironically in Owenson's case for the purposes of union) as progressive, others have denounced such visions of nation as the "precondition for fascism."[10] In the latter view, Romantic-nationalism has been seen to exalt "passion over reason" and "emotion over critical intellect,"[11] befuddling the "political intelligence of its adherents."[12]

David Dwan has argued that the concept of Romantic nationalism has been used far too uncritically by scholars at the expense of sufficiently analysing the political and economic impulses behind nationalist movements.[13] Yet, the example of Thomas Moore – his youthful involvement in politics, the pervasiveness and popularity of his vision of nation and of Ireland in particular – and for example, the significance of the subsequent support (and split) by the Liberal party in the 1880s of Home Rule for Ireland – disallows easy dismissal of the efficacy of the "Romantic" vision to inspire and to affect political change. Moore's vision of place undoubtedly functioned as entertainment (and therefore inevitably escapism of sorts) but it was also a vision that was likely to have contributed to political change, albeit not necessarily in ways that were immediate, obvious or quantifiable. Moore's songs seem applicable to Joep Leerssen's conception of Romantic nationalism as "… the celebration of the nation (defined by its language, history, and cultural character) as an inspiring ideal for artistic expression; and the instrumentalization of that expression in ways of raising the political consciousness."[14] A Romantic-nationalist response is not the only response possible in the face of political inequity and injustice, but the continuing ability of Romantic-nationalist tropes to inspire action and loyalty in the twenty-first century, mean that they now more than ever need urgent analysis.

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[10] David Dwan, "Romantic Nationalism," 729.
[11] Richard English, *Ernie O'Malley: IRA Intellectual*, 117. Quoted in David Dwan, "Romantic Nationalism," 729.
[12] David Dwan, "Romantic Nationalism," p. 729.
[13] See David Dwan, "Romantic Nationalism."
[14] Joep Leerssen, "Notes Towards a Definition of Romantic Nationalism," 9.

Moore's songs rarely centred upon contemporary political events, but as seen in the previous chapter, songs needed narrative and sentiment rather than overtly political language mentioning specific political issues to become popular as streets songs. It is the pathos, the aestheticism and the visionary expressiveness of these songs that potentially make them far more powerful opinion-generators than more prosaic forms of political campaign. This was recognised especially by the Young Ireland movement who when they formed in the 1840s took the cultural visions of the United Irishmen (on which they had been raised) to their inevitable conclusions; as argued by Leerssen, the Romantic imagery of the United Irishmen contributed to the move away from their own non-sectarian, patriotic roots (roots in Grattan's parliament) and led to the more sectarian nationalism that later emerged. Emphasis on cultural uniqueness and inheritance made Irish national sovereignty seem increasingly natural and self-evident throughout the nineteenth century. The idea of Irish sovereignty was legitimized by ideas of cultural singularity, by ideas of an Irish "people" and a *spirit* of nation (as in Herder, or Young Ireland's own *Spirit of the Nation*) that when propagated through the arts made it the most obvious and unifying response to Irish political injustice. So during a time, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, of societal change, radical protest, and British "union", the Romantic vision of nation contained in Moore's songs was inherently political. The fear in ballad printers and sellers of being arrested for sedition may be the reason that these songs only appeared on English streets around the 1830s rather than in earlier decades when, for example, poets and song-writers such as Thomas Campbell and William Blake had found themselves arrested on very tenuous grounds (both around the year 1800).[15]

ENGLISHNESS & BRITISHNESS

Perhaps the most striking aspect of these street songs and the vision of place that they contain, is their pervasiveness in that geographical place against which they were, in a sense, defined. For this reason, as part of the process of analysing potential receptions of Irish-nationalist themes in English popular culture, an exploration of English and British nationalist and patriotic street-songs is necessary.

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[15] Osbert Burdett, *William Blake*, 129, and Mark Crosby, "'A Fabricated Perjury': The [Mis]Trial of William Blake," 2009.

In a body of songs that included comic songs, love songs, murder ballads and navy songs, English and/or British nationalist songs were inevitably relatively commonplace, but not to the extent that might be expected. A comparison between the quantity of Irish-themed, and English-themed songs that celebrate nation (in various ways) in the extant collections housed in the Bodleian, via Broadside Ballads Online, gives some idea of relative numbers. For example, "Exile of Erin" (analysed in the previous chapter) yields twenty, nineteenth-century English street-ballad printings and "Sons of Fingal" (or "Tara's Old Hall"), explored below, yields twelve separate printings in the same period. Compared to these figures, possibly the most popular British nationalistic song that was printed as a street ballad in the early nineteenth century, "Hearts of Oak", yields seventeen (nineteenth-century) English printings, "God Save the King" yields twelve results, "Rule Britannia" eleven, "God Save the Queen", nine. "Tom Bowling" yields ten results and "Harry Bluff" eight. Songs about England such as the "The Land We Live In" yields four results, "The Merry Bells of England" eight, and "The Merry Men of England" yields seven.

Songs about "Britain" or "Britons" such as "Rule Britannia" and "Hearts of Oak" tended to be navy songs (encouraging a sense of British unity against a foreign enemy) and indeed the latter is still the unofficial anthem of the Royal Navy in the twenty-first century. In both songs, slavery is condemned (slavery of the pressgang in the former and more generally in the latter) and the freedoms of Britain, especially of her sailors, are celebrated: "for who is so free as the sons of the waves."[16] Like some of the popular Irish-themed songs, both of these most popular nationalistic songs were originally written for the stage: "Rule Britannia" by the Scottish poet/playwright James Thomson (set to music by Thomas Arne) was first performed as part of a masque about Alfred the Great titled *Alfred* in 1740, and "Hearts of Oak" by David Garrick was written in response to a British naval victory off the coast of Brittany (part of the "Seven Years' War" 1756-63) in 1759 and inserted into Garrick's pantomime *Harlequin's Invasion* later that year.[17] Both street-ballad versions of these songs emphasise defence; in the case of "Rule Britannia", defence against the Vikings by King Alfred (the song itself being part of an effort to associate the latter with the

[16] "Hearts of Oak" as printed by Pitts. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/17749.gif
[17] Ian Bartlett and Robert J. Bruce, *William Boyce*, 128-9.

Hanoverian royal family, the historically erroneous "Britannia" being a very eighteenth-century effort by a Scottish author to promote a transcendent British identity) and in the case of "Hearts of Oak", defence against the French although the French are not explicitly mentioned:

> They swear they'll invade us those terrible foes
> They frighten our women our children and our beaus
> But should their flat bottom boats in darkness get o'er
> Still Britons they'd find to receive them on shore

The "flat bottom boats" was a reference to the hundreds of such boats that were prepared by the French for invasion during the "Seven Years' War" (1756-1763), in part a war about French-British rivalry over control of North America and India), but for some hearers, the "flat-bottom boats" may have had Viking connotations.

Like many of the navy songs, both "Rule Britannia" (despite its Saxon connotations within the context of its original performance) and "Hearts of Oak" are songs for "Britons" rather than "Englishmen". And defence of this "Britannia" is achieved via a sense of masculine camaraderie ("We ever are ready steady boys steady") that is created, at least in part, by the lyrics of seafaring anthems that were written for communal and workaday singing:

> Come cheer up my lads with one heart let us sing
> Our soldiers our sailors our statesmen and King
> We will now make them run and we will soon make them sweat
> In spite of the devil and the Brussels Gazette

With echoes of the "fake news" issue today, reference to the *Brussels Gazette* refers to the newspaper that was notorious in England during the Seven Years' War for false information and known as the "lying Gazette."[18] As has been noted by other scholars, within the context of the play, this song was "an exhortation to naval greatness, rather than a celebration of it ('rule' not 'rules'); but it subsequently took on a life of its

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[18] Arthur M Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence*, 225.

own, as a paean of praise to Britain's nineteenth-century maritime might."[19] Yet, by 1855, one writer was bewailing that although "Rule Britannia" was sung "from the Orkneys to the Isle of White!!" not "one person in a thousand knows, or ever will know, the words of this, our second national air [after "God save the Queen"]."[20]

Perhaps most ordinary singers preferred songs that required less pomp to perform convincingly; the songs associated with Britishness that were most-widely printed (in the extant street-song collections of the Bodleian) after the trio of "Hearts of Oak", "God save the King/Queen" and "Rule Britannia", were "Tom Bowling" (still sung today) and "Harry Bluff". Like "Hearts of Oak" and "Rule Britannia", they both feature the navy, and both contain narratives about the deaths of boys or young men while serving in naval battles. So whether about naval glory or the sacrifice of "sons" in service to their country, these popular songs of early nineteenth-century Britishness reveal the extent to which the navy (and similarly the army in soldiering songs like the "Kerry Recruit") formed a prominent vehicle of symbolism in service to the idea of British unity.

The most striking difference between these patriotic British songs and their Irish equivalents, is the lack of vision of place in the former compared to the emotive visions of place created in songs such as "Exile of Erin" or "Sons of Fingal". As a result of this difference, a lacuna of place-vision is created in English street-song in which Ireland provides an alternative, bucolic vision of nation that England lacks. England, as celebrated place, is surprisingly scarce in English street balladry compared to songs celebrating Ireland. One of the most iconic musical visions of England in the twentieth century was first published in 1804 but virtually ignored at the time and certainly did not appear on the street; the hymn that became known as "Jerusalem" was written by William Blake as part of his *Milton a Poem* but was only set to music during the first-world war by Hubert Parry (on the recommendation of poet Robert Bridges). And significantly, despite the lyrics' "mountains green" and "pleasant pastures", its "dark Satanic Mills" reveal it as a pastoral critique of England rather than a straightforward celebration (and publication in the same year of Blake's

[19] David Cannadine, "The 'Last Night of the Proms," 322.
[20] "Ballads of the People [Art. II]," 1855, 51.

trial for sedition, a fiasco that he described as a "fabricated perjury", reveals further potential within the poem for anti-establishment critique).[21]

So while a deliberate effort to create identification with a distinctive place had, in Ireland, been triggered by the politics and literary style of the United Irishmen, no such similar project pertaining to England was evident on English streets. In popular song, "place" that included "England" was most often conceived in military or naval terms that emphasised union between nations. Emerging Britishness during the Romantic period meant that English national identity, like Irish identity, was forced to undergo change during a time of profound political, constitutional and social upheaval. Already in the eighteenth century, many in England "bitterly disapproved of 'English' and 'England' giving way to 'British' and 'Great Britain'," as it had done in "official and sometimes everyday vocabulary by the 1750s."[22]

In the same way that the major Irish-nationalist movements from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, were conceived in large part by the middle and ruling classes, it was the ruling classes of all four nations of the archipelago that were the first to accept and cultivate the move toward Britishness in the eighteenth century. Linda Colley argues that this move was not necessarily driven by political motives as might at first be supposed. She cites the "major demographic crisis" that occurred within the landowning classes of all four nations in the century before 1770, as triggering a major demographic shift – a crisis that for reasons still unclear meant that landed families were "not reproducing themselves."[23] As a result, a shift in the demographic occurred that included intermarriage between the ruling classes of the four nations, made possible because of the increasingly unified culture of education, and increasing wealth and leisure in which the ruling classes of all nations mixed in the same urban centres.[24] For cosmopolitan elites then, Britishness was an attractive idea that meant the continuation of their family estates; it was something that they invested in not only politically or financially but also intimately and personally.

[21] Mark Crosby, "'A Fabricated Perjury': The [Mis]Trial of William Blake," 30.
[22] Linda Colley, *Britons*, 13.
[23] Ibid., 159.
[24] Ibid., 149-197.

It is no coincidence that this occurred at the same time that the population was becoming more urban and "the people" were being "discovered", documented, catalogued, and theorized. At a time when the ruling classes were becoming "British", becoming or remaining "English" (or "Irish" or "Scottish") was one way that the disenfranchised might assert alternative and/or oppositional identities. Moreover, "widening literacy and an increasingly stratified marketplace of print" contributed to increasing disconnection between "popular" and "polite" – a phenomenon that figures such as William Hazlitt, and even Wordsworth, bemoaned just as they unwittingly perpetuated.[25] At a time when all classes were exploring and redefining themselves in an increasingly urbanised, industrial and "British" world, the Romantic visions of Ireland that presented in English popular culture, represented both a nostalgic escape to a sense of familiar rurality as well as an aspirational vision.

In the decades after it was subsumed into the United Kingdom in 1801, various images of Ireland as distinct entity were steadily reinforced in street-song. Daniel O'Connell's concrete political campaign raised the profile of Ireland as political entity in English politics and the press, while a continuation of the cultural imaginings of the United Irishmen and the remembrance of 1798, fed into the burgeoning Irish nationalism of the Young Ireland movement in the early 1840s. At the same time in England, a resistant political and cultural identity was based upon something less concrete, less visionary, and less conceptually conceivable than nation.

THE SONGS OF THOMAS MOORE

The songs of Thomas Moore epitomised a Romantic-nationalist vision of nation that was disseminated among all classes in England. His songs were circulated among the middle classes as music manuscript for voice and pianoforte, and became, as Derek Scott notes, a "veritable corner-stone of bourgeois 'popular song'" from 1808 onward when the first volume of the *Melodies* was published.[26] Scott notes that Moore's *Irish Melodies* were "in large part responsible for a new romantic view of Ireland" and this was certainly true within English street song.[27] The exact extent to which his songs

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[25] Connell and Leask, "What is the people?" 4.
[26] Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 25.
[27] Ibid., 26.

were printed for street sale is difficult to quantify because of the lack of records kept by printers of ephemera – especially because in most extant street-ballad collections the majority of the sheets date from the 1820s and 30s onward. However, if the smaller amount of extant material dating from before 1820 is representative, it seems that Thomas Moore's works only began to appear with frequency in street balladry in the 1820s and especially the 1830s – perhaps just as his songs were becoming exponentially popular. His *Irish Melodies* were published throughout the period 1808 to 1834 in 10 volumes, and were therefore being continuously purchased and rediscovered by the public and by ballad-printers. They were also given a boost in 1846 when the elaborately illustrated edition by Daniel Maclise was first printed (and continuously reprinted in the subsequent decades).[28]

Moore had already been producing visionary images of nationhood in the 1790s, as evidenced, for example, by his "Extract for a Poem in Imitation of Ossian" that appeared in the newspaper of the United Irishmen, the *Northern Star*, in 1797 (and that was printed again in *The Press* later that year). In this poem, "Erin" tragically "waileth in her secret caves" while her "brethren [are] dispoiled" [*sic*]. Although the main message is contemporary and political ("Our voice is unheard in the state"), its call to action and to legitimacy is derived through the evocation of antiquarian and mythic heroism: "Not so was the court of Fingal …. There council'd the Chiefs of Innisfail – there sang sweet Ossian, sacred Bard of Jura! – for Just was the soul of Fingal, and noble were the heroes of Morven."[29] In a similar way to pastoral poetry, this imagery operates within a paradigm that is unpredictably received either as poetry of resistance or as representative of a sedate conservatism, or in this case, either as a call to rebellion (as occurred in 1798) or alternatively as a "warning against a radical disturbance of the social order."[30]

"The Minstrel Boy", "Harry Bluff" and "Tom Bowling"

Although Moore's later and better-known *Melodies* were informed by the aftermath of 1798, they are usually void of contemporary political reference. "The Minstrel Boy", possibly Moore's best-known lyric, is one example that was frequently printed

[28] D. Maclise, *Moore's Irish Melodies*, 1846, 1853.
[29] Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, 248.
[30] Terry Gifford, *Pastoral*, 52.

for street sale in England throughout the nineteenth century. Like Campbell's "Exile of Erin", it was far less obviously seditious and threatening to British unity than "Extract for a Poem in Imitation of Ossian". In an effort to examine how "Minstrel Boy" might have been received as a street ballad in English popular culture, a comparative analysis will be undertaken here between it and the two popular songs associated with British nationalism (and therefore the establishment) mentioned above – "Harry Bluff" and "Tom Bowling".

To an extent, all three songs evoke pathos through the narrative of dutiful or heroic youth in sacrifice to military unit, tribe or nation. And while all three songs are associated with patriotism, only "Harry Bluff" includes explicit reference to nationhood – in this case both "Britain" and England. Harry, a "boy", leaves his "dear native land" – where he had "sprung" into a "true British oak" – "on the ocean to roam". And although his "body was weak and his hands they were soft", he "had the soul of a man, / And the heart of a true British sailor." In a last, final act of patriotic but suicidal devotion, Bluff nails the tattered "colours of old England" that had been shot away in battle to the mast before dying "like a true British sailor" (a phrase that is repeated at the end of each of the two verses). The implication here is that Harry's Britishness takes the form of a dutiful, "brave" and "true" sailor, while his Englishness takes the form of a deeper, more irrational but heartfelt devotion to "old England" – evidenced in his sacrificial instincts on seeing its flag "in tatters around." In a sense then, this narrative is more patriotic than pathetic – the story of a noble sacrifice that is honoured in death. The celebration of Harry's sacrifice and heroism, and the poetic trope of the "myrtle and laurel entwine o'er his grave", provides the "metaphysical meaning" inherent in the "Romantic" vision of nation.[31] Upon death, Harry returns to that place most natural — the soil of his native birth — where the spirit of nature itself honours him with myrtle (flower of Aphrodite, of love, and of innocence) and laurel (Roman plant of victory).

"Tom Bowling" contains less Romantic imagery, no "myrtle and laurel" to "entwine o'er his grave", but like Harry, Tom represents innocence. "Tom Bowling" was written in 1789 by Charles Dibdin for one of his "Table Entertainments", "The

[31] David Dwan, "Romantic Nationalism," 735.

Oddities", that was first performed in the Lyceum Theatre.[32] Although the lyrics are about a young man or boy, the song was written in memory of Charles' elder brother Thomas, a captain of an East Indiaman who died at the Cape of Good Hope when sailing homeward after being struck by lightning.[33] In the song, Tom is missed as the "darling" of his crew. The repeated refrains at the end of each verse reinforce the grief and despondency felt by the rest of the crew in the face of his death: "And now he's gone aloft … For Tom is gone aloft … His soul is gone aloft." Like Harry, the loss of his young life is made yet more tragic by his honourable nature; Tom "never from his word departed" and "his form was of the manliest beauty, his heart was kind and soft; / Faithful below, Tom did his duty." His amiability is emphasised by his singing that was so "blithe and jolly", and by the existence, as in Harry's case, of a sweetheart waiting at home who is "kind and fair."

Of these three street-songs about the deaths of young men in battle, "Tom Bowling" has endured the longest. It is the least militaristic of these songs, yet it has become the song most associated with the jingoistic nationalism of the last night of the proms where its sorrowful tone jars with the flag-waving and mock tears that have become customary during its performance. Traditionally performed as part of Henry Wood's nine-part "Fantasia on British Sea Songs" (1905) (which also includes another popular nineteenth-century song printed as a street-ballad, "Home, Sweet Home", as well as "Farewell and Adieu, Ye Spanish Ladies" and "Rule Britannia!"), its performance, and the artifice of simulated tears in the audience that simultaneously mock and celebrate its patriotism, epitomizes the uncomfortable complexity of national sentiment in England in the second half of the twentieth century. Tom's narrative lacks personal aggression or overt jingoism but as part of the prom tradition, itself a legacy of the time-period in which British imperialism was at its height, "Tom Bowling" has become more a symbol of a chauvinistic Britishness than a lament on death.[34]

However, it was in the first half of the nineteenth century before "Tom Bowling" had become associated with such pomposity, that songs celebrating the "land of song"

[32] "'Tom Bowling'," *The Musical Times*, 1905, 657.
[33] "'Tom Bowling'," *The Musical Times*, 1905, 658.
[34] Lawrence Poston, "Henry Wood, the 'Proms,' and National Identity in Music, 1895-1904," 415-416.

first appeared in street balladry. In a similar way to the character of Harry Bluff, the minstrel boy's last, climactic act, is one of sacrifice – in the latter's case a sacrifice of "song" as metaphor of the spirit of Ireland. All three songs centre upon youthful protagonists, and in the case of the "Minstrel Boy", the dependence of youth evoked by the minstrel's use of his "*father's* sword", and the subsequent image of the "boy" setting out to battle with his "wild harp slung behind", serve to conjure an image of eager but naïve boyhood. Unlike Bluff, the minstrel is not surrounded by "crew", and unlike any navy song, a sense of isolated heroism prevails: "*One* sword, at least, their rights shall guard, / *One* faithful harp shall praise thee!" And so the nation itself also stands forsaken with no one to defend it but the young "warrior bard."

For both Harry and the minstrel boy, it is their single-minded ardour for the idea of their home nation that leads to their acts of sacrifice. In Harry's case it is his own destruction that occurs upon his restoration of the tattered "colours of old England", but the minstrel boy's destruction of his own harp (because his "soul" still lives) is also an act of self-sacrifice. However, the purpose behind the minstrel boy's final act of ensuring that the songs that were "made for the brave and free" shall "never sound in slavery," displays a more subversive act of sabotage than Harry Bluff's suicidal devotion or Tom Bowling's "duty"; it is an act that constitutes the actions of a maverick rather than the more conformist actions of Bluff and Bowling. And in the silencing of the harp as metaphor of the Irish nation, it seems that the minstrel boy bestows upon Ireland a recalcitrant muteness:

> The Minstrel fell! – but the foeman's chain
> Could not bring his proud soul under;
> The harp he loved ne'er spoke again,
> For he tore its chords asunder;
> And said, "No chains shall sully thee,
> Thou souls of love and bravery!
> Thy songs were made for the brave and free,
> They shall never sound in slavery!"

On hearing "Minstrel Boy" for the first time, the reading public may have been reminded of Thomas Gray's poem about the Welsh bard who jumped to his death

"headlong from the mountain's height" rather than risk himself or his music being caught by the troops of the conquering Edward I.[35] This image of defiant high-artistry versus brute military force has been considered one of the founding images of Romanticism in Britain; however, from a nationalist viewpoint (either in the eighteenth century or the twenty-first) there is an inherent tension in the cultivation of such stories in England – the place that most closely represents the oppressor. Katie Trumpener sees this tension in the eighteenth century in terms of the difference between the relatively financially secure but culturally disenfranchised nationalist antiquaries (Irish, Welsh and Scottish), and their contemporary, newly independent (from aristocratic patronage) and financially insecure, London professional men of letters; while the former saw the bard figure as a "vehicle of collective expression and historical justice" and therefore its use in English literature as "English appropriation of bardic poetry" and "a repetition of … cultural subjugation," the latter "increasingly understood literature [bardic and overall] as a vehicle of individual conscience and individual expression."[36]

And so it was within this paradigm that, for example, Evan Evans' response to Gray's "The Bard", "Paraphrase of the 137th Psalm" (posthumously published in 1862),[37] provided an example of eighteenth-century bardic nationalism that viewed itself as "in resistance not only to the military conquest of Wales but also to the arrogant assumption of the English that other cultures are there to be absorbed into their own."[38] In turn, the reception of a narrative such as the "Minstrel Boy" among the poorest classes in nineteenth-century England can be seen as an echo of the use of bardic poetry by the eighteenth-century London literati, that is, in terms of a defiance against the system that was individualistic (the young boy's lone journey away from his father's home) just as it was potentially collective. While in a nationalist sense then, the minstrel boy's act of sabotage can be viewed as (part of a collective) resistance against cultural appropriation, it can also be viewed as representative of the individual act of resistance against oppression.

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[35] John Mitford, *The Works of Thomas Gray*, 1816, 66.
[36] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 7.
[37] Sarah Prescott, "Gray's Pale Spectre," 89.
[38] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 4.

Philip Connell argues that it was a type of "depoliticized patriotism" (depoliticized in that it did not mention specific or contemporary political events) that "allowed bardic prehistory to flourish as a usable past not only in Britain's Celtic peripheries, but also within England itself."[39] In a sense then, the very assimilation that occurred as a result of England's Celtophilia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, meant that, in terms of literature, "Englishness" was "subordinated to a more diverse and inclusive understanding of English literature."[40] England's moment of cultural nationalism never developed in the same way as its "Celtic" neighbours precisely because its Anglo-Saxon past had too many "residual *radical* implications" (my emphasis, and despite it being relatively easy to reclaim some elements, such as the "reign of King Alfred," for the opposite purpose of "patriotic conservatism").[41]

So the reception of Moore's (Celtic-nationalist) songs in nineteenth-century English popular culture need to be viewed from this political and cultural perspective. Although derogatory representations of Ireland undoubtedly bolstered the conservative psyche in those hearers who identified with the colonial elite (or with a more vague sense of English dominance over Ireland), English interpretations of the idealized, Romantic imagery in Moore's songs were always more ambiguous. As Leith Davis points out, Moore's songs were originally "designed for both Irish and English audiences" and the main editorial seat for his *Melodies* was London rather than Dublin (with James rather than William Power, although this happened through accident rather than design).[42] Davis argues that Moore himself was less preoccupied with the sectarian obsession with authenticity, and that for him Irishness was a "state of tension and translation rather than a static state of authenticity." This is illustrated by his identification of the "true essence" of Irish music having emerged during the "time of colonization" rather than at some point before it (as Edward Bunting viewed it to be).[43] If Moore's view is taken, the idea of cultural appropriation by one distinct culture of another is less straightforward in this case – although paradoxically, the reiteration of Irish themes in English popular culture also likely meant that the former became evermore nationally distinct.

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[39] Philip Connell, "British Identities and the Politics of Ancient Poetry," 191.
[40] Ibid., 189.
[41] Ibid., 190.
[42] Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 149.
[43] Ibid., 145.

Insight into reception of Moore's songs can be found by returning to the fiercely disparaging review of Moore's *The Fudges in England* that was published in the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1835 (mentioned above). The reviewer writes of Moore's work: "… we can easily imagine how it is that 'the poet of all circles' has unconsciously corrupted into the Radical Rhymer, and the high-toned lyrist of love and war suffered his ambition to contract its object into the dirty dignity of being O'Connell's laureate."[44] What the author of this review recognised, is that rightly or wrongly (erroneously if we consider Moore's own attitudes to the "angry multitude" above) in England, Moore's Romantic works became associated with radicalism and reform. Moreover, the reviewer sees Moore's *Melodies* as having contributed to the success of the campaign for catholic emancipation, which he argues caused Moore's own subsequent downfall because the green "verdure is trodden into mud by the clouted brogues of the very faction whose ruffianism he [Moore] *hymned on its way to triumph*."[45] About English radicals, the reviewer adds, with a sneer:

> … a few smart radicals who contribute articles to the London Review, and to its more than rival, Mr. Roebuck's Parliamentary Pamphlet, will borrow the book [*The Fudges in England*], and pass the not immaculate copy from one to another, in order to be enabled to cite a line or two from "their dear friend Tom Moore's" ryghte wittie and conceited tale; and if the author could sink it into the dignity of being a classic in the lecture-rooms of the London University, there is no doubt but that expedient would extend the sale by a few copies."[46]

As noted, the English William Hazlitt took the not completely opposing view, that Moore's works, his *Melodies* in particular, were politically irrelevant and ineffectual. Displaying a dismissive chauvinism on the matter, Hazlitt writes that if the "prettiness" and the "vapid, varnished sentiments lip-deep" of Moore's songs were

[44] "The Fudges in England" (Review article), 1835, 297.
[45] Ibid., 298.
[46] Ibid., 299.

indicative of the "soul of impassioned feeling in his countrymen", then "let it [Ireland] be governed as it has been."[47]

Evidence from extant street-ballad collections shows that Moore's songs were unequivocally popular also among the (diverse and various) "multitude" that constituted street-ballad customers.[48] The original text of "Minstrel Boy" that was first published in volume V of Moore's *Melodies* in 1813, was printed by numerous printers.[49] In the early nineteenth century it was produced by printers such as Catnach (1813-1838), Pitts (1819-1844) and Henry Taylor (1831-1836), in the middle of the century by printers such as T. Birt (1824-1839) and E. Hodges (1845-1861), and after *c.*1850 by printers such as W. S. Fortey (1855 onward), Henry Such (1849 onward) and Harkness of Preston (1838-1875). All of these printings are relatively faithful to the original text. There are also a number of parodies (printed for example by Catnach) including "The Highland Minstrel" which is an ode to the highland minstrel's wife. A parody extant on two printings by Pitts between 1819 and 1844 (titled "Parody on the minstrel boy", beginning "The fiddler's boy to the fair has gone") indicates a certain familiarity with the original in popular culture. This parody is a comic song about a "fiddler's boy" who goes to the fair and who vows to "spend his last" in a "House of Malt" "though all the world despise thee" (despises the "House of Malt") – "if it's only to patronise thee." After drinking and falling under the table, and breaking his master's fiddle in the process, he "smack'd" his bow "across his knee" so that no one would ever know "the sound of jolly bravery." Both printings of this parody are just one song on two long-song sheets containing thirteen songs in total and titled "The Harvest Concert" and "The Delights of Spring." These sheet-titles indicate seasonal or celebratory printings, and all of the songs were relatively comic and upbeat. But for the humour of this parody to be fully understood, the original song and its themes of defiance and self-sacrifice had to have been familiar and recognizable in street culture and in the "universal imagination."[50] At some point in the 1820s, Harry Stoe Van Dyk wrote a song titled "The Highland

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[47] William Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age*, 387. Quoted in Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 162.
[48] Thomas Moore, "Prefatory Letter on Irish Music," quoted in Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 149.
[49] *Thomas Moore's Irish Melodies*, muiscanet.org. Or, Thomas Moore, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*, 1843, 366.
[50] "The Fudges in England" (Review article), 1835, 298.

Minstrel" beginning "I've wandered many a night in June", of which there are four printings in the Bodleian; one printing (by Wheeler of Manchester) depicts Moore's "Minstrel Body" as a man in a Scottish kilt playing a bombarde, providing another example of the homogenization of the Celtic "periphery" in England.

"The Harp that once through Tara's Halls" and "The Legacy"

Other songs of Moore's that were found on nineteenth-century streets, but that had less obviously Irish themes, include "Will you come to the bow'r", "The Last Rose of Summer" and "Canadian Boat Song". In those of Moore's street ballads that were more obviously about Ireland, the harp was a repeated theme.

The association of the harp with Ireland, and with rebellion, was strengthened in 1791 when the United Irishmen chose it as their symbol, and in the year after when the Irishmen supported the Harper's Festival in Belfast (a festival that formed part of a cultural revival of Irish music). However, it had been used as symbol for Ireland for centuries beforehand – as seen, for example, in Henry VIII's use of a crowned harp on Irish coins and in the increasing association of the harp with ancient bardic culture in eighteenth-century musical antiquarianism. As seen in the "The Minstrel Boy", the harp became a central trope in Moore's metaphorical depictions of Ireland – representing Ireland's lost sovereignty and its economic decline as well as its cultural richness. In both "The Harp that once through Tara's Halls" and "The Legacy" (often printed for street sale as "The Bard's Legacy"), the harp is used in a similar way as in the "Minstrel Boy". In "Tara's Halls", the harp hangs "mute" in those imagined halls of the ancient high kings of Ireland that are situated on the Hill of Tara. The once beating musical heart that formed the core of Ireland itself, is in Moore's song dead; the "pulse" is "no more." The "soul" is "fled", as are the "chiefs and ladies bright" – the nobles of ancient blood have been reduced from chiefs and ladies to people dispossessed, and the only tale the harp's chords tell today, are of "ruin". Yet, the spirit lives on, albeit only just – giving a "throb" when "some heart indignant breaks, / To show that still she lives" – leaving the hearer with a glimmer of hope that Ireland may yet rise again.

"The Legacy"

The emphasis in this lyric on the idea of "relic", connects "The Legacy" to the eighteenth-century tradition of antiquarian editors using the term *relique* to "describe pieces of ancient poetry that constitute the surviving records of a distant past" – Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* being the most obvious example.[51] In this song, not only are the "attributes of Christ's tortured body … transposed onto the fragments of the past" but they are transposed onto the allegorical figure of Ireland itself – represented here in the figure of the dying bard. In this depiction, the bard dies "calmly" having lived on "smiles and wine", and so as he, martyr-like, departs this world, he asks that his heart be borne to his "mistress dear" and that she "not shed one tear of sorrow" but instead borrow "balmy drops of the red grape … to bathe the relic from morn to night." This feminine care of the "relic" alludes to the care not only of Christ's body before the resurrection, but also to the sacred heart tradition of the Catholic church in which Christ's heart is worshipped.

When the minstrel-bard's "song is o'er" in the second verse, he asks that his harp be hung at the "friendly door" of the "ancient hall" where, like a metaphor for the resurrectable soul of Ireland, it can – in the same way as occurred in "The Harp the Once" – remain in a state of dormancy until it is revived again by "some bard, who roams forsaken." Most of the street-ballad versions end with this second verse and with the image of the "child of song" being given the "warmest smile" at the revival of the harp's "soft note" and at the thought of the harp's "master", Ireland.

However, some of the earlier printings, for example Pitts', remain truer to the original version, retaining all three verses and thereby further emphasising the song's religious emphasis in its imagery of Eucharist. In asking the addressee of the song to "take this cup, which is now o'erflowing, / To grace your revel when I'm at rest," Ireland (as giver of the cup) is imbued with a sense of spiritual sanctity. And this impression of Ireland's divinity is emphasised in the narrator-Ireland's "spirit" hovering around the "warm devoted lover" who appears as in the second coming, Christ-like, to champion Ireland's cause and to "hallow each drop that forms for him" (that is, the "devoted lover").

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[51] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 28.

As Benedict Anderson noted, "the dawn of the age of nationalism" occurred during the eighteenth century at the same time as the "dusk of religious modes of thought."[52] Anderson's view that nationalism should be understood by "aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being" is a useful concept here when exploring the reception of images of nation in popular culture.[53] If the people who participated in street ballads were the poorer classes, women, or the less well-educated, these are also the people who were less likely to have had "self-consciously … political ideologies."[54] Instead, their individual modes of meaning-making were constructed through the lens of those wider "cultural systems" in which religion operated. Viewed through this lens, reception of "The Legacy" in popular English culture might have occurred in terms of mystical nationhood, all the more powerful in the otherworldly unreachability of its inherent Otherness. Or, it may have been conceived as representing part of a British bardic past and as such being a comment upon the death of soul inherent in modernity more generally. Or both; in this song's use of metaphor and allegory, and during the "dusk of religious modes of thought", the sacred references are transformed in service to the mystical – and become all the more compelling in their not-fully-comprehensible imagery and suggestion of something beyond the prosaic.

Anderson's observation on nationalism's preoccupation with death is also evidenced in all three narratives about young dying men, and goes some way to explaining how a song such as "Tom Bowling" can become such a patriotic hit. Embedded in the concept of dying for one's nation is the religious idea that one somehow lives on through it, or as part of it. And when viewed as such, the reception and appeal of a song such as "Tom Bowling" becomes clearer. Anderson writes:

> The century of the Enlightenment, of rationalist secularism, brought with it its own modern darkness. With the ebbing of religious belief, the suffering [on] which belief in part [was] composed did not disappear. Disintegration of

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[52] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 11.
[53] Ibid., 12.
[54] Ibid.

> paradise: nothing makes fatality more arbitrary. Absurdity of salvation: nothing makes another style of continuity more necessary. What then was required was a secular transformation of fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning. As we shall see, few things were (are) better suited to this end than an idea of nation.[55]

And so legacy itself, the "transformation of fatality into continuity", becomes important, and nationhood becomes one of the ways through which it can manifest. The eulogy of young sailors and soldiers, sacrificed in service to their nation, is one manifestation of this.

What makes Moore's songs different to those songs of Englishness however, is their vivid sense of place; while Harry Bluff fights for his generic "dear native land", and Tom Bowling for the abstraction of "duty", the image of nation that the minstrel fights for, the "land of song", is a visionary one that evokes a sense of aspiration in its image of the ideal. And this visionary sense is yet stronger in another song that was more widely printed for street sale – "Sons of Fingal".

"Sons of Fingal" / "Tara's Old Hall"

In 1826, this song was published under the title "Oh, Erin, My Country, Although Thy Harp Slumbers" in the Irish section of the *Universal Songster* (Vol. III) and attributed to "T. Moore".[56] However, it does not appear in his *Irish Melodies* or in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* first published in 1843, so although much of the imagery is the same, it was unlikely to have been authored by him.[57] After printing in the *Universal Songster*, it was subsequently published in many song collections in Britain, Ireland and America, and printed on numerous ballad sheets where it was known under a variety of different titles: it appeared as "Tara's Old Hall" on sheets printed by Hodges in London and by Pearson in Manchester, as "The Harp of Erin" on a printing by Ross of Newcastle (Madden collection), as "Sorrows of Erin" by Swindells of Manchester (Madden collection), and as "Erin go bragh" on a sheet by Lindsay of Glasgow. However, in most street-ballad printings it was titled "Sons of

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[55] Ibid., 11.
[56] *The Universal* Songster, Vol. III, 1826, 132.
[57] Thomas Moore, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*, 1843, *c*. 1880.

Fingal".[58] A search of the song's Roud number (2683) on BBO yields fifteen printings in England (plus four with no imprint and one printing by Glasgow printer Lindsay) nine of which are titled "Sons of Fingal" and the rest "Tara's Old Hall" – so this was evidently a well-known song.

As in Moore's songs above, it contains the trope of the slumbering or dormant harp – this time not deliberately destroyed as in the "Minstrel Boy", or left to "hang" abandoned as in "The Harp that Once" or "The Legacy" but instead, in a further act of dereliction, it "*lies* in oblivion [only] *near*" (my emphasis – it "lies" rather than "hangs", only "near" rather than inside) "Tara's old hall", as if it is itself in exile. So here, the spirit of Ireland as represented by the Harp, has been abandoned, its isolation made more manifest by the absence of any "kind hand" either to awaken it ("enliven its members") or to remember its ancient heroes (to "strike the lute dirge to the Sons of Fingal").

The golden age of the "sons" of Fingal is in the past, but the familial noun evokes a sense of rootedness, inheritance and belonging to a place that is eulogized in the second verse as a bucolic idyll; the narrator sings their love to "Erin", to "thy green bowers", and declares that to them, the "Shamrock … is the fairest of flowers." This eulogizing continues in the third verse where the Romantic-nationalist tradition of giving "each stick and stone historical and human interest" is seen in the line, " … caves, that were used by the warriors of sages," serving to historicize the landscape itself and to give it narrative meaning.[59] The expanse evoked by the heights of the "ivy ground turrets and pride of past ages" and in the depths of the subterranean warriors' caves are reminiscent of the "monuments to decay" celebrated in Sidney Owenson's *Wild Irish Girl*, and reinforce the image of Ireland not only as bucolic but also as sublime – a place of "grandeur and beauty."[60] It is, moreover, "Erin go Bragh", "Ireland-for-ever", rather than merely "Ireland" or "Erin" – more a domain in the realm of the eternal than mere geographical location or political state. And this otherworldliness is emphasised again in the last verse with reference to Ireland's

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[58] It also appears as "Tara's Old Hall" in the Crawford collection in the National Library of Scotland. This printing appears alongside Campbell's "Exile of Erin" with an accompanying woodcut of impressive castle gates for "Tara's Old Hall" and a sailing ship on the open seas for "Exile".
[59] Prys Morgan, "From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period" 86.
[60] Lisa, L. Moore, "Acts of Union", 135. See Thuente *The Harp Re-strung* for discussion of "sublime" in the culture of the United Irishmen, p. 25.

“island” status (the “fair island”) and to the location of this island not only in the “ocean” (itself a representative of the “sublime” compared to “sea”) but in “*Neptune’s* old ocean”. Yet, Ireland’s sublime landscape is inherently intertwined-with and inseparable-from the history and inheritance of its people – landscape, history and people originate from one source that is the divine nation.

It is from this heritage that Ireland’s heroes also emerge. In language reminiscent of the United Irishmen, this is a song of “warriors of sages”, of unrivalled “heroes” that no other country can “boast” who are as “brave as the tiger or lion” and “swift as the eagle” in battle. As is common in other national street-songs at this time, other nations of the western islands are also imbued with ancient legitimacy via their authenticating, ancient latinate appellations, in this case “Britannia” and “Caledonia.” In the evocation of their respective symbols – Britannia’s “lion and armour” and her “old wooden walls” (navy), and Caledonia’s “pybrook and clamour” (Scottish pibroch music or piping) – they are portrayed as equally ancient and sovereign. However, while Caledonia keeps her national status, England is both elevated to the all-encompassing “Britannia” while at the same time subsumed into it – a status as schizophrenic as it is ill-defined. By contrast, none can “rival” Erin; it is in this theatre of Romantic-nationalist imagery that Ireland thrives and triumphs via its sublime landscape and its fearsome nature – the tiger, lion and eagle. But Ireland also triumphs through humble tenacity; while the rose (England is alluded to here) and the thistle stand in vulnerable prominence, shaking in “the breeze”, the shamrock stays firm, lying “undistrub’d between the moss and the vale.”

For those hearers in England who were familiar with Macpherson’s *Ossian* sagas, “Fingal” would have had closer immediate associations with Scotland than with Ireland – and so the association here with “Erin” may have contributed to hazy ideas in England of a homogenous British Celticism. The anonymous author of this song may have been inspired by the link between Macpherson’s work and the presence of the Ossian stories in the Irish “Fenian Cycle” (the main hero being “Finn MacCumhail”, or Finn McCool) that are found dispersed in various medieval Irish manuscripts. Arguably, the strong associations made in the 1790s between ancient myth, such as in Thomas Moore’s “Extract for a Poem in Imitation of Ossian” and contemporary politics would have remained as residue in the reception of mythical-

national themes into the nineteenth century. Another possible association made by more educated or widely-read, English hearers of "Sons of Fingal, may have been with Fingal's Cave on the Isle of Staffa (the cave being so named after publication of *Ossian*) and the famous literary pilgrimages made there by such notables as Walter Scott, William Wordsworth, John Keats and Queen Victoria. For most hearers-in-passing however, the references to "Fingal" were likely relatively obscure and merely contributed to the sense of Ireland as place of ancient heroism and natural sublime and therefore a place authenticated by a vague sense of historical legitimacy that was, if necessary, discoverable in ancient manuscripts in dusty libraries – an appealing thought in an age increasingly empirical.

Although this mythic evocation of Ireland's distant past had been associated with the call to contemporary political action during the 1790s, it also conversely evoked a sense of impotent melancholy at the loss of these ages of warriors. As Mathew Arnold wrote of the *Ossian* sagas, the heroes "went forth to the war … but they always fell."[61] So one way of viewing the reception of these songs, is to view the distant past that these heroes inhabited and the fact that they "always fell", as a way of making them safe for those inclined to take stories of Ireland's heroism as a threat. Another view might be that some hearers actively identified with that sense of melancholy through their own failed attempts at political or social reform, or more generally with a sense of defeat on a personal/psychological level – which either increased their sense of futility or galvanized them to action. If, as Fiona Stafford writes, for English critics such as William Hazlitt and Mathew Arnold "the melancholy spirit of Macpherson's work has generally seemed more important than the martial," the same might be said for hearers of heroic songs about Ireland on English streets.[62] Although Ireland's contemporary heroes make an appearance in verse five ("[i]n battle *they're* brave as the tiger or lion"), the battles in which they show their bravery might relate to the significant contribution of Irish soldiers to the British army rather than to Irish rebellion. With this in mind, the emphasis of Ireland as separate nation, whether triumphant or melancholy, was the most successful way of making that separation seem self-evident in a non-threatening way. And, the strength of the association of Ireland with melancholy and ethereality may have been what enabled the overtly

[61] Quoted in James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian*, edited by Howard Gaskill, vii.
[62] James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian*, vi.

political and seditious songs to be sold freely a few decades later, in particular the songs about Fenians that were printed for street sale in the 1860s.

This sense of melancholy is enhanced by the repeated use of musical metaphors in lyrics such as "Sons of Fingal" that equate the cessation of music with the fate of Ireland as nation; the music is "mute" ("Minstrel Boy") or "slumbers" ("Sons of Fingal"). Music is equated with kindness and its cessation with the withdrawal of emotional warmth – there is no "*kind* hand" to play the harp ("Sons of Fingal") and the *heart* becomes a relic when the "light of [Ireland's] *song* is o'er" (in "The Legacy"). The playing and appreciation of music is equated with the capacity for empathy, and a judgement of coldness is levelled at those unmoved by Erin's music, such as in the last verse of "Sons of Fingal": "Cold, cold must the heart be, and void of emotion. / That loves not the music of Erin go bragh." The pervasiveness of the association of Ireland with music and with the expression of melancholy sentiment in popular culture, is suggested by the measure of disdain shown by one critic of Moore and his work: "Every fool can lament misery as misery, (and compliment himself too on his tenderness of heart); it is only the wise man who inquires while he compassionates."[63] Yet musical Ireland is not necessarily always conceived in melancholic terms; in "Sons of Fingal" the music of the land itself is venerated – "No music to me like the murmuring rill." In the sense that these lyrics are not printed with music, they potentially fit into the Romantic-period tradition that Terence Hoagwood describes as "pseudo-song" – either the presentation of verse (especially in the Romantic canon) as if it were song, or verse about song. There are no actual tunes recommended in any of the street-song printings of "Sons of Fingal" yet the musical theme is central to the text. Whether the lyrics were sung (the widespread printing of the song and the creation of a parody, suggests that "Sons of Fingal" was indeed sung), spoken or read, the "audible, bodily, and emotional spontaneity associated with music casts a wide net for customers, wider, apparently, than typographical records of abstract thought… 'Music is feeling, then, not sound.'"[64] So even when they were not sung, the close association made in them between Ireland and music increases the

[63] "The Fudges in England" (Review article), 1835, 298.
[64] Terence Allan Hoagwood [and Todd Gitlin] in *Song to Print: Romantic Pseudo-Songs*, xii.

potential for their content to be received as sentiment rather than mere "typographical records of abstract thought."[65]

At some point after 1819 Pitts was one of the first to print "Sons of Fingal" and it was subsequently produced by multiple printers. Pitts' version was printed underneath a two-verse song titled "The Light Guitar" by Harry Stoe Van Dyk from the comic drama *Epaulet*,[66] and next to "Sailor Boy" (Roud 273), the well-known lover's lament for her drowned sailor. Both accompanying songs complement "Sons of Fingal" with their mythical landscapes of Romantic imagery – for example, the "halls of dazzling light" and the "forest groves" of "The Light Guitar", and the "chrystal [*sic*] river side" and "silver streams" of "Sailor Boy". However by contrast, "Sons of Fingal", despite its slumbering harp, offers a rousing sense of steadfast resistance in defence of the green idyll it portrays, giving a succour to the hearer in the face of the hopelessness and grief evoked by the other songs.

Various associations follow in the London printings. It might be argued that the mid-century printer Ann Ryle shows less reverence to the noble defiance of "Sons of Fingal" by printing it alongside a comic song "The Snob's Confession."[67] The latter is a "comic" song narrated by a drunk and violent husband in the habit of selling the household's possessions to buy drink. Any "cheek" from the wife and "sprawling she'll go on the floor" – the chorus follows: "Hurrah for the pot and the bottle, / Hurrah for a drop on the sly, / I mean now to well wet my throttle, / And live like a cock till I die." The woodcut above this song shows a man with a raised arm holding what looks like a pair of bellows, after striking a woman who is falling backwards down stairs. Although the song itself does not have any Irish reference, and this type of song about drunkenness and domestic violence was relatively common in nineteenth-century street balladry separate from any Irish connections, the placing of these songs beside each other may be a reflection of the associations made in the nineteenth century between drunkenness and Irishness (such as in the stereotypes explored in the work of L. Perry Curtis). Conversely, it can be argued that the song serves, or was received, as a contrast to the more noble sentiments expressed in "Sons

[65] Terence Allan Hoagwood, *Song to Print*, xii.
[66] "New Vocal Music," advert for sheet music in *The Harmonicon*, January 1826.
[67] "The Sons of Fingal" as printed by Ryle and Co. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04477.gif

of Fingal". The woodcut above the Irish song in this printing would support this argument; it consists of a peaceful image of a handshake with the leaves of the shamrock sprouting from the place where the hands meet, on the side of the hand to the left is a thistle, and on the side of the hand to the right is a rose. So here, it is peace and union (albeit a potentially seditious image of union that has Ireland at its centre) that is emphasised by the choice of woodcut, as well as, one might argue, by the contrast of brute violence provided by the choice of accompanying song.

As if in answer to Ann Ryle's sheet, printer Elizabeth Hodges printed "Sons of Fingal" as "Tara's Old Hall" alongside a comic song titled "Pleasures of Matrimony" about a drunken husband narrated by the wife. The latter lyrics extol the benefits of accepting the husband's behaviour, by for example, lighting him a candle when he gets home drunk from the ale-house and of making his breakfast of "coffee or tea" in the morning. Hearers are advised "All you that have bad husbands, to scold is in vain, / Ill words will not make them the better, / Let every woman her husband adore, / And her neighbours know nought of the matter." Not exactly a feminist sentiment, but it at least contrasts with the scenes of violence in "The Snob's Confession" and affords comedic relief for female hearers who might have been able to identify with lives made economically difficult (rather than dangerously violent) by alcohol. The woodcut accompanying "Tara's Old Hall" is an elegant, rectangular floral emblem.

This balancing of song moods is also illustrated on a sheet printed by Paul who prints "Sons of Fingal" next to a comic song titled "The Hearth Stone Man". Like "The Snob's Confession", the lyrics of this song contain no explicit Irish references. Yet, the woodcut accompanying "Hearth Stone Man" depicts a stock stage-Irish buffoon – a man riding a donkey, shillelagh in hand, smoking a pipe. The text of the song is a comic ditty about a philandering hearthstone man,[68] and so the Irish-themed woodcut is likely the result of the nineteenth-century stereotype of the Irish male immigrant as lothario figure. The pairing here of visionary and comic (although not specifically Irish) song represents the types of associations that were linked to Ireland in English popular culture, as well as the dualistic nature of those associations.

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[68] A "hearthstone man" was someone who used to go from door-to-door with blocks of soft stone used to scour and polish any stone surfaces in the home such as hearths, stone floors, stairs, window sills or door-steps.

Later printings (post 1850) of "Sons of Fingal" by London printers such as Henry Disley and Henry Such, use more consistently Romantic imagery in their woodcuts. Such's sheet is an image of a harp wreathed in a garland of ivy (or perhaps shamrock), and the song printed alongside it is "Pat Maguire" – a song about Pat and his desire to "be a member of the holy church of Rome" and the efforts of his admirer "Mary Keyes" to stop him so that they can "join in wedlock's bands". Perhaps this sheet, with its triumph of Catholicism expressed via Pat's successful pursuance of his desired vocation, is evidence of a sheet printed for Irish audiences in mind. Printer Disley's image is that of a harper in loose, classical robes sitting under an old tree strumming a lyre – an evocation of Orpheus, but an image that is also reminiscent of a description of the rough woodcut image of "Erin" in the first volume and edition of Moore's *Irish Melodies*.[69] On Disley's printing, the accompanying song has no specifically Irish reference, and is again a comic song about marriage, "What do People Marry for". This is another example of male-narrated misogyny that appeared with relative regularity in nineteenth-century street song, although as seen above, female-narrated rebukes did also occasionally occur.

So, the fact that "Sons of Fingal" was widely printed in a variety of contexts and guises indicates that it was evidently seen as a commercially viable set of lyrics. Its familiarity to English hearers of street song is evidenced in part by a parody printed between 1855 and 1861 (possibly also earlier by Pitts) titled "Sons of John Bull" – a satire on England's economic state, sung to the tune of the original "Sons of Fingal", which will be explored in Chapter Five.

Further evidence of identification with these Romantic images of Ireland among England's poorer classes is seen in the instances where these songs were sung by rural singers. For example, in the late nineteenth-century, "The Harp that Once Through Tara's Hall" was found in the repertoire of Sussex singer Henry Burstow (1826-1916) along with other Irish-themed songs,[70] and in the early twentieth century "Sons of

[69] Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, 187, and Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 147.
[70] "Henry Burstow," *Folkopedia*, English Folk Song & Dance Society, http://folkopedia.efdss.org/wiki/Henry_Burstow. Accessed 6 May 2016.

Fingal" was collected by Alfred Williams (1877 to 1930) in the southern counties.[71] For the English rural poor especially, the singing of these songs were potentially expressions of a shared sense of ancient inheritance of the soil (through the evocation of ancestral heroes and bucolic visions) and of righteous resistance to the (political or economic) oppressions that were resulting in the disconnection from that soil.

ROMANTIC UNIONISM

Use of the personified, mythic nation also occurred in songs that celebrated union between nations in various ways, including in songs that seemed to celebrate both Irish independence and British union simultaneously. This "Romantic unionism" occurred in songs that celebrated the status quo as it was after the Act of Union in 1801, as well as (albeit to a lesser extent) in songs of an anti-establishment nature that called for collaborative political reform between the nations. The former tended to represent a militaristic sense of Britishness and were likely composed during the Napoleonic wars although they were also printed in the 1830s, while the songs with anti-establishment themes seem to have emerged from 1830 onward and will be explored in Chapter Five. The two were not necessarily mutually exclusive categories; it is possible that, for example, a returning soldier might find enjoyment in a song that celebrated victory against the French (such as "Sons of Albion" or the version of "Erin go Bragh" below) while also appreciating a song that called for radical change (such as "Reform and Repeal! Or, the English Radical's Plea for Ireland"). The way in which all of these songs of union were received has the potential to shed light on how Irish-nationalist songs were received in England – that is, in terms that did not necessarily view English patriotism as precluding support for Irish sovereignty, and that moreover saw the two as sharing the same mutually supportive ideals. In Philip Connell's argument that the "persistence of ancient constitutionalism as a divisive element of English political argument … curtailed the ability of Gothicist literary scholarship to function as an effective vehicle for English cultural patriotism," a parallel can be found in the lack of English "cultural patriotism" in street song.[72] So during a time in the late-eighteenth and into the first half of the nineteenth century

[71] Alfred Williams' collections can be found in the Wiltshire County Library and in Vaughan Williams Library – some are digitized.
[72] Philip Connell, "British Identities and the Politics of Ancient Poetry," 161.

when ideas of English nationhood were so closely associated with "Saxon liberties and ancient constitutional rights" and yet when relatively few songs were devoted to the celebration of England as nation, songs that implicitly associated Britishness with a sense of oppositional patriotism, via Irish nationalism, had the potential to be received in street-balladry as substitute expressions of patriotic, place-based, resistance.[73]

"Sons of Albion"

Perhaps unsurprisingly, all three of the "Romantic unionist" songs explored in this section ("Sons of Albion", "St. Patrick's Day" and "[the unionist] Erin go Bragh") are militaristic in tone. "Sons of Albion" was written at some point before the end of the Peninsula Wars in 1813 –"There's hopeless Holland *wears the yoke* / And so does faithless Spain" – and possibly as early as 1804 when Napoleon was planning invasion of England.[74] The latinate appellation of "Albion" represents a Romantic vision of ancient nationhood, while the repeat in the refrain of the phrase "English the Irish … [and] the Scotch" reinforces the idea of union between the nations. It does not incorporate an Irish-nationalist theme, but its titular connection to "Sons of Fingal" serves to illustrate the way in which nations were imagined and re-imagined in response to each other – in a similar way that national "role patterns" are created in Joep Leerssen's "imaginated anthropological landscape" – even within the microcosm of the street-ballad repertoire where images of nationhood were copied, parodied, echoed or answered between different songs.[75] The lyrics of "Sons of Fingal" were only given this title when printed for street sale (in other publications it was named, for example, "Oh, Erin, my Country, Although thy Harp Slumbers" in *The Universal Songster* Vol 3 of 1828, and "Oh! Erin, My Country!" in the *Universal Irish Song Book* of 1884) – and although the phrase "Sons of Fingal" is taken from within the song text, its titular use was likely an echo, deliberate or not, of this older song. "Sons of Albion" was likely written as a street-ballad because it was rarely (if at all) printed anywhere apart from for street sale. It began its printed life early in the century and was relatively popular with twelve extant printings in the Bodleian. It was also collected from a singer in the Bourne Valley in Wiltshire at some point in the

[73] Ibid.
[74] Mike Yates, "'Awake and join the cheerful choir': The Reverend Geoffry Hill and his Wiltshire Folk songs and Carols."
[75] Joep Leerssen, "Imagology: History and Method," 29.

1860s or 1870s by the Reverend Geoffry Hill, apparently from a man who had himself been one of the volunteer army of 1804.[76]

Although the song calls the "sons of *Albion*" to "take up your arms", it centres more upon British unity than "Albion":

> Neither rebels, French, or Sanculotte,
> Nor the dupes of tyranny boast,
> Shall conquer the English the Irish, nor the Scotch,
> Nor shall land upon our coast.

In a similar way to other British-themed songs such as "Hearts of Oak" and "Rule Britannia", defence against invaders forms the main focus and the song sings against those who "threaten us with wars alarms, / To invade our native land," and those who would "conquer" or "land upon our coast." The call to arms between brother nations is bolstered in each refrain with mention of the common enemies of the "rebels", the "French", the "Sanculotte" [*sic*], and the "dupes of tyranny". Unlike in "Sons of Fingal" however, there is no praise of "Albion" as place – it does not celebrate bucolic tropes such as "green bowers" or "daisy clad hills." "England" is only mentioned at the end of the song, significantly in the guise of "Old England", and despite the British unionist sentiments emphasised in the rest of the song, it ends with an evocation of English oppositional patriotism in its affirmation to " … set Old England *free*."

"St Patrick's Day"

This version of "St. Patrick's Day" consists of what might be viewed as a similarly incongruous mix of Irish nationalist (rather than English oppositional-patriotic) and unionist themes. This song was printed by Pitts, (at both his early and later addresses so both before and after 1819), T. Birt and J. Russell of Birmingham (possible date range between *circa* 1814 to 1840) and begins as one might expect from the title, with a call to the "sons of Hibernia" to "honour our champion." In the first verse, St Patrick is praised in that way uniquely suited to Ireland as island nation, for freeing "all

[76] Mike Yates, "'Awake and join the cheerful choir'." See "Ye sons of Albion" Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre. https://history.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getfolk.php?id=135

insects" from "our country." The song's main theme of soldiering and heroism is combined throughout with an echo of the old-style roving songs in which the plural, male narrators "to strange nations … go for new pleasure" where they spend their money "at leisure", "drown melancholy" and celebrate the charming "souls of both Nancy & Polly." Use of the Irish figure of "St Patrick" alongside these English female names implies the wooing of a female England that echoes the stage-Irish persona of the philandering Irishman while simultaneously reversing the image of a female Ireland colonised by England.

The song's political message is revealed in the third and fourth verses where in accordance with national song-writing of the time, Ireland's heroes are vaunted: "no foreign power is able to stand us / We are sure to subdue them wherever we come / Like lions so bold we conquer thro' the ocean"; and in the fourth verse "Like true hearts of gold we enter each battle, Not fearing the dangers of swords or guns." However, where heroism in most Irish-themed songs of this period is co-opted in support for Irish nationalism, here that heroism is enthusiastically given over in service to "great George". In the lines "[w]ith spirit undaunted to meet them we'll run / With a whack of shillelagh to crown our all fun," the stereotype of the fight-loving Irish is co-opted in service to King and state and conceived as offering the soldiers "fun": "When great George is pleased to command us. / We always agree to the sound of the drum."

The paradox between separation and union comes to the fore in the fourth verse, as does the blurring of "England" and "Britain", when the Irish narrators declare "*Our English* cannons shall loudly rattle, / By the assistance of Paddy's sons." So "Paddy's sons" take ownership of English cannons on the one hand, but state themselves as nationally separate on the other. After a celebratory return from victory when "Our wine in gallons shall go round, / The royal shamrocks fame to sound," the song concludes with a eulogy to "George *our* King". These tropes were likely to have resonated more truly on the battlefield yet, their tone of union and victory was popular enough to have been printed for many decades after and in to the mid-nineteenth century. It seems that their tone was more important than historical accuracy or factual contemporaneity; after 1815 Britain was not at any point at war with France or Spain throughout the entirety of the nineteenth century, and in the Crimean war (1853

to 1856), France was an ally. One writer commenting on this phenomenon in 1858 wrote that many street ballads were on subjects that are “fast losing, or have lost, their attraction”, citing with incredulity one song’s burden that read “So we will drink, boys, drink, / And go-and fight the *French*.”[77] Perhaps what this writer failed to recognize, is the murky paradigm in which the nation is imagined – the handed-down, generational allegiances based more upon emotion and inheritance than upon contemporary politics. In essence, this phenomenon of songs against the “French” remaining into the mid-nineteenth century, provides an example of the power of Romantic-period conceptions of nationhood that have remained far beyond even the nineteenth century and into the twenty-first.

The unionist “Erin go Bragh”

This version of “Erin go Bragh” beginning “OH! I sing of sweet Erin, my country admiring” seems yet more politically incongruous in its mix of Irish nationalism and British unionism. As seen throughout this thesis (and especially in chapters two and five), the phrase “Erin go Bragh” was a sound that echoed through England’s streets and fairs in multiple melodic and performative contexts during the early years of the nineteenth century. As a foreign-language phrase set within otherwise English-language texts, it was a sound both familiar and strange; its familiarity meant that it inevitably signified something, and its strangeness meant that the signifieds were especially unpredictable. For those speakers of the Irish language and hearers who were familiar with Irish politics, reception was interpreted in relatively straightforward linguistic terms – signifying the aims of the 1798 uprising and awakening any mental and emotional associations that the individual had with Irish national sovereignty. For many more however, the unfamiliarity of words not understood through language, meant that meaning-making relied more heavily on the various and sometimes contradictory, lyrical, melodic and performative contexts in which the phrase appeared. In this latter group consisting of the relatively uneducated women and men who made up the vast majority of the street-ballad hearers in England, or the children such as those who followed Thomas Babington Macaulay

[77] Felix Folio, *The Hawkers and Street Dealers of the North of England*, 1858, 115.

around the streets one day in the 1840s eagerly awaiting a song, there existed a greater range of interpretive possibilities.[78]

The ancient appellation of “Erin”, was used more often in street-song than the more prosaic “Ireland” – the mystical connotations of which were more suited to the transcendent potential of music. A crude but nevertheless revealing search for “Erin” compared to “Ireland” in the “Title” section of Bodleian Ballads Online, reveals 95 results for songs with “Erin” in their titles that were printed in England, and 24 results with “Ireland” in the title in the same cohort; so “Erin” was evidently a more popular appellation in street-songs printed in England. Conversely however, this ratio is reversed in Ireland itself, with 30 printings having “Ireland” in the title compared to a lower amount of 22 with “Erin”. So based upon this sample, one might conclude that “Erin” is a place especially imagined in poetry and song, and moreover, a place that due to its mythic connotations, is more easily imagined from outside the geographical space to which it refers, than inside it; where “Erin” is poetic, imaginary, Romantic and ethereal, “Ireland” is by comparison prosaic and political.

The version of the unionist “Erin go Bragh” analysed here, combines the phrase associated with the United Irishmen, “Erin go Bragh”, with appraisal of the union. For twenty-first century hearers possessing the hindsight of the twentieth-century history of Irish independence, this song’s message likely seems especially paradoxical. For non-Irish hearers on the nineteenth-century street, the comic lightness of tone and sense of group identity created via the melody and lyric had the potential to create a sense of camaraderie whether the Irish-langauge “Erin-go-bragh” was understood or not. Although an Irish identity is taken on when singing or performing the song, the song’s theme of singing together and its call for union, make its tone inclusive, rather than sectarian. It begins:

> OH! I sing of sweet Erin, my country admiring,
> For glory and honour her sons are renown’d,
> And Love, that passions all hearts to inspiring,
> In the sons of Hibernia most brisk will be found

[78] Leslie Shepard, *History of Street Literature*, 124.

CHORUS.
Sing Erin-go-bragh! that's Ireland for ever –
Help me ladies to sing, for we love you agra!
And with Albion united we'll be conquered, no, never
Then sing England for ever, and Erin-go-bragh.

Although this song is not associated with the stage, its comic tone contains elements of stage-song and the lyrics are very similar in form and metre to another comic song titled "Seventeenth of March" (explored in Chapter One). Like "Seventeenth of March", "Erin go Bragh" consists of a trisyllabic rhythm that combines comedic lightness with emphatic declarations of national identity. The similarity of metre between these two songs means that the same tune "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning" was potentially used also for this version of "Erin go Bragh". Like "Seventeenth of March", the prosody is suspended in the first trisyllable of the third line to create a caesura emphasising the word "Love" – in place of the word "Patrick" used in the former. Read in this light then, use of the word "Love" in the song "Erin go Bragh" implies a unifying impulse that contrasts with the singularity signified by the patron saint "Patrick" used in the former song; the impulse of the former song is thereby transformed from the more inward-looking focus on Patrick, to an outward-looking "Love" in "Erin go Bragh" that inspires the hearts, "most brisk", of the "sons of Hibernia."

Another tune potentially used with this version of "Erin go Bragh" was "Savourneen Deelish" which, as seen in Chapter Two, was also paired with two other songs occasionally titled "Erin go Bragh" – Campbell's "Exile of Erin" and George N. Reynolds' "Exiled Irishman's Address" – as well as another set of lyrics analysed in that chapter, "The Irish Stranger". The 4/4 time signature and the mixolydian mode of "Savourneen Deelish" would have given the text a slower, less flippant tone. This would not necessarily have meant that it was less rousing however. The metre on its own emphasises "Sing", "Erin", "Country", "Admiring", and sung to the tune of "Savourneen" these words are emphasised at the beginning and third beats of each bar. The combination of lyric and melody in this instance, create a trumpet-call-like rhythm at the beginning of the first and second parts of the verse, and gives the lyrics

a stateliness and stability that crescendos into the proud, noble and militaristic eulogy of “Glory”, “Honour”, “Sons”, and “Renowned”.

The second part of “Savourneen Deelish”, which like much Irish, Scottish and English traditional music is a higher compliment of the first half of the melody, corresponds with the chorus. The first trope emphasised by the higher (and as a result potentially also louder in performance) melody is the “Erin-go-bragh” of the first line of the chorus, after which the collaborative “[h]elp me ladies to sing” is enacted for union against those who will “conquer” rather than against those who colonise. The melody seems to cause the metre to run into the third and fourth lines without lingering, tripping forward to the purpose of unity with “Albion”, to “united”, “conquered”, “never”. The national “we” of the “Seventeenth of March” (“[s]uch joys and such feelings we all must delight in”), is transformed in this song into the (imagined) historical and pre-conflict “we” of “Erin” and “Albion”. And the modifier “Then” at the beginning of the last line of the chorus, serves to make the culminating phrase of the refrain, and of the song as a whole, logical, obvious and indisputable, “*Then* sing England for ever, and Erin-go-bragh.”

Set to either tune, and whether evoking a comic (“St. Patrick’s Day in the Morning”) or stately (“Savourneen Deelish) tone, the visionary imagery and the ethereality of the phrase “Erin go Bragh” becomes associated in this song with union rather than with nation. Contemporaneously, this seeming juxtaposition between the idea of Irish separatism and England “for ever” was a less obvious. Considering that during O’Connell’s time in the Whig parliament in the 1830s he sought not a complete break with Britain but Irish sovereignty within a continued union under the crown (through non-violent political action), this celebration of union seems less improbable. Linda Colley has made a similar point about the “degree of interchange” of “slogans, symbols, printed propaganda, forms of protest and personnel” between Scotland and England around the 1820s and 1830s, and has emphasised that during this time many people felt “part of a single, unitary movement whose scope was Great Britain as a whole” (see Chapter Five).[79]

[79] Linda Colley, *Britons,* 345-6.

An alternative reading of this song is in terms of propaganda; as noted in Chapter One, it is known, for example, that Charles Dibdin was periodically paid by the state between 1793 and 1806, to write patriotic lyrics designed to cement British feeling against the French.[80] So the possibility that this version of "Erin go Bragh" was commissioned as propaganda is a real one (and it may have been commissioned earlier in the century only to become more widespread on the streets in around this time in the 1830s). Its close association with the earlier song, "The Seventeenth of March", reveals what may have been a deliberate attempt to co-opt the earlier song's prosody and celebratory patriotism to the loyalist cause. A practice of thematic and prosodic recycling was commonplace in street balladry and evidenced in the songs with titles such "Answer to …", "Parody of…" or "New …" in extant collections. Often more popular than the original song (for example "Answer to Colin and Phoebe") these recyclings were created from the full spectrum of well-known songs of the street and stage. This version of "Erin go Bragh" may simply have been part of this dialogue, or not. Either way, from the perspective of reception, it seems that whatever prompted its writing, the song became widely dispersed as a street song and must therefore have been aligned with public opinion to some degree; it was printed and disseminated by the full gamut of primary London ballad printers, J. Pitts, Catnach, T. Birt, Batchelor, Smeeton and W. S. Fortey and so was potentially in print throughout the entire nineteenth century.[81] Although there is of course a chance that these printings were funded by government initiatives, their appearance on sheets alongside other popular songs (that is, looking very much like the other ordinary street ballads, unlike other street-songs of propaganda) makes their purpose as propaganda at printer-level (whatever about what they were intended for by the author) seem unlikely.

Nevertheless, the verses from the second verse onward take on a much more politically forceful tone in contrast to the upbeat tone of the repeated refrain. The second verse continues with the theme of love, likening the "fraternal love" between nations as being bound by the "laurel" and emphasising the need to "bind" this laurel "tighter":

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[80] Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 33-34.
[81] The Pitts, T. Birt, W. S. Fortey printings can be found in the Bodleian collection, and the Catnach, Batchelor, and Smeeton versions can be found in the Madden collection along with the three that are also extant in the Bodleian.

Do the foe threat invasion? bind tighter the laurel
That's entwined by Erin and Albion, to prove,
That brothers united, forgetting all quarrel,
Shall prove the full force, sirs, of fraternal love.

In the third verse, the message changes from one that extols the virtues of union, to one that attacks militant nationalism. The labelling of the "fanatics and zealots" creates a negative didactism that jars with the celebratory tone of the refrain and quashes any Irish-nationalist sympathies that may have remained after the reiteration of the phrase "Sing Erin-go-bragh!". The question "Can religion be served by what Heaven condemns?" leaves no ambiguity as to the intended addressees of this message – the Catholics who made up the vast majority of those seeking political change for Ireland. And the reference in the same verse to "murdered wives, children, and friends" inverses the references that were common in Irish patriotic or nationalist songs such as "Seventeenth of March" or "Exile of Erin" to families and friends ("sons", "daughters", "lads" and "lasses" in "Seventeenth of March", and "friends", "mother" and "bosom-friend" in "Exile of Erin") with the intended effect of shaming the nationalist rebels.

This counter-revolutionary sentiment is continued in the fourth verse, where the text becomes increasingly militaristic and imperial. The chauvinistic language of "prostitution", usually associated with ideas of authenticity in nationalism, is appropriated here in service to the "empire of Britain"; as is the trope of "freedom" here associated with union instead of nationalism. Dissent is referred to as "anarchy" in the second line of this verse in the line, "May … no anarchy reign under colours revers'd [*sic*]," referring to the colours of the union jack that were adopted in January of 1801 when the Act of Union came into effect. It is likely that the authored version contained the verb "revered" rather than "reversed" because it fits logically with the theme – and in both the T. Birt and the W. S. Fortey printings, the word is spelled "rever'd". The fact that the Pitts version is spelled "revers'd" *may* reveal an act of sabotage by Pitts against the song's establishment theme and its thematic reversals – although this may be a speculation too far.

> May the banners of freedom know no prostitution,
> Nor no anarchy reign under colours revers'd;
> May the empire of Britain know no revolution,
> But by patriots united, both countries be steer'd.

So the idea of noble patriotism is evoked in this song ("patriots united"), but is called forth in the name of "Britain" rather than in the name of radical patriotism; "both countries" (a conception of country as island) are to know "no revolution".

In the last verse, the song returns to the equation of love with union. Although the three nations are here "blended" rather than merely entwined (as implied in the binding of the laurel in the second verse), their distinctiveness emerges again in the last lines – in their "co-equality" and the call for "success" in "each country".

> Be the Rose, and the Thistle, & Shamrock so blended
> That England, and Scotland, and Ireland may sing,
> That each are co-equal for honour intended –
> Then success in each country, & long life to the King.

So whether government propaganda or not, the idea that this song was present on English streets over a long period of time highlights the unpredictability of interpretation and raises questions about the effectiveness of the song's intended message. While those with O'Connellite sympathies may have enjoyed the song as a reiteration of partnership between distinct nations, those with Tory sympathies may have identified more closely with the critical nature of the middle verses. Yet ultimately, the strength of the Romantic-nationalist imagery that emphasised the distinctiveness of "Erin" and "Albion" as separate cultural entities, despite the presence of the green Romantic-unionist imagery of entwining and blending, was likely to have formed a view of the Atlantic nations that served the Irish-nationalist cause better than the project of British union.

This version of "Erin go Bragh" appears to have been printed only for street sale and not in any published song collections or as music manuscript. The printing by Pitts

was likely one of the first; it is a two-column sheet (dividable into two slip-sheets) with four songs printed on it in total. "Erin go Bragh" appears prominently on the top right-hand side of the sheet underneath a woodcut of a couple in a romantic embrace with a village scene and windmill in the background. The placing at the top left-hand side of the sheet of "Maid of Staffa" again blurs the distinction, by association, between the nations of Ireland and Scotland. "Maid of Staffa" was written by Mrs M. E. Ebsworth for a play by James Planché that premiered in London in 1820 titled *The Vampire, or, The Bride of the Isles*, providing a gothic-Romantic tone to the ballad sheet. The play is set at the landmark of Fingal's Cave on the Island of Staffa that was so often imagined by the literary Romantics, and the song serves as a warning to the "maiden of Staffa" against vampires and against "smiles that beam but to betray," and "bright but fatal snare[s]" that will "steal" their lives away. The woodcut above this song, like the woodcut above "Erin go Bragh", depicts a romantic couple – this time set in foreign climes with a wooden house, palm trees and chickens in the left-hand background and a sailing boat in full sail in the right-hand background. Underneath "Maid of Staffa" appears "The Mechanics Boy", a song of pathos about social conditions in London and the "mechanic's boy" who is starving due to lack of "employ". Underneath "Erin-Go-Bragh" appears "The Thumping Glass of Gin" – a short comic song in praise of women despite their fondness for gin; the chorus ends: "There's nothing suits a woman like / A thumping glass of gin."[82] As a whole, this ballad sheet epitomizes the cultural trends of the late Romantic period – the gothic narrative and links to the stage in "Maid of Staffa", the politically-conscious evocation of pathos in "The Mechanic's Boy", the comic drinking tropes in "Thumping Glass of Gin", and themes of nationhood in "Erin-Go-Bragh" – and demonstrates how closely intertwined, rather than separate, street balladry was to the cultural psyche of the day.

THE AISLING

"New St. Patrick's Day" and "St. Patrick's Day"

One sub-genre of street-songs that took the visionary mystique of the Romantic aesthetic into the second half of the nineteenth century (in newly-authored song) was

[82] "Erin go Bragh" as printed by Pitts. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/22883.gif

the aisling genre. Unlike the potential political ambiguity in those songs of union explored above, or the hazy way in which Thomas Moore's songs were received, the sectarian element in these aisling songs left no doubt as to where the political allegiance of the author lay. While Thomas Moore's work echoed the United Irishmen's "plea for religious toleration" and presented a "pluralistic conception of Irish culture" (as seen for example in his relaxed attitude to using "either ancient or Irish airs exclusively" in his melodies), these songs present a more aggrieved sense of political injustice based upon religion or ethnicity.[83] There is a marked contrast between these songs titled "St. Patrick" that were printed from the mid-century onward, and those printed in the first decades of the century (explored in Chapter One).[84] The change in tone, even within this sub-genre of "St Patrick" songs, provides another example of the shift that occurred in representations of Irishness in street-balladry – from comic, to Romantic, to either political or sentimental – during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

Both "St. Patrick's Day" (printed by Ryle, Paul and Disley) and "The New St. Patrick's Day" (printed by Pearson/Bebbington) are different versions of the same theme. They both begin with the formulaic opening associated with orally-disseminated song – the announcement of the time of day and year: "It was on a lovely morning, all in the month of March" or "On the 16th day of March, on an evening so clear" – in this case being March because of St Patrick's day being on the 17th of that month each year. Both songs follow the narrative of Irish-language aisling poems such as those written in the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries by Irish-language poets Aodhagán Ó Rathaille (or Egan O'Rahilly (*c.*1675–1729) and Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin (or Owen Roe O'Sullivan, 1748-1782).[85] In Irish, "aisling" translates as "dream" or "vision", and both songs follow the formula in which a vision of Ireland, usually in female form, appears to the poet and laments the downfall of "Erin" and the Irish people, and provides advice on righting the nation's oppression – so these poems were always inherently political. The genre was originally inspired in Ireland by the French *reverdie* (found for example in the troubadour ballads) in which

[83] Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, 187-189.
[84] Note that not all aisling song-titles contained "St. Patrick".
[85] Nicholas Williams, "Literature in Irish."

the poet has a vision of the coming of spring – "Spring" appearing in the guise of a young woman.[86]

In these street-ballad printings, the common tropes of orally transmitted song in English – the "blackbird and thrush" – make an appearance in the first verse of both songs, along with the imagery of the "crystal fountain" that is reminiscent of the type of classical imagery found in eighteenth century pastoral verse and song. The two songs differ however; in the London printing, the vision is "a man", presumably St Patrick, while the Manchester printing follows tradition by presenting a female – "a tall female form." The appearance of this form, male or female, and the fear that it strikes in the poet as a result, lends a biblical, angelic dimension that reinforce the political message in all aisling poems. At the same time in these street-song versions, the element of sectarian-nationalist subterfuge emerges:

London version printed by Ryle and Paul & Co:
There is this advice I'll give you, and mind it while you live,
To the rose and thistle your secrets don't give,
For the Catholic's of Ireland are generous you know,
And they are always ready to face the daring foe.

There is another advice I'll give you, and mind it while you can,
And never trust your secrets to any other man,
For if that you do, they will surely you betray,
And will laugh at your downfall on St. Patrick's day.

Manchester version printed by Thomas Pearson:
There is one advice I'll give you as long as you live
Your secrets to James and to William don't give
As sure as you do they will as sure you betray,
And they will laugh at you with scorn upon St. Patrick's Day.

[86] Lillis Ó Laoire, *The Poetry Ireland Review*, 97.

So the London version of the song (which is longer) contains a more explicit sectarianism in its address to the “Catholics of Ireland”, but both versions make an attempt to incite a sense of outrage in response to the “laugh” of the “rose and thistle” or in the evocation of distrust of “James” and “William”. In stronger language yet, both songs describe *grief* at the joining of the shamrock either with the “thistle” or with the “bonnet”, and in this way they both indeed make a conscious departure from the politics of the United Irishmen, and the “Belfast union in the year of 94”:

London Version:
It’s have you not heard of this new invented plan,
How they all join together in the voice of a man,
For like the Bethel unions in the year ninety-four,
When the shamrock joined the thistle, boys, it grieves their heart full sore.

Manchester Version:
How can you approve of this my adopted plan,
That joins us together like the mind of one man
Not like the Belfast union in the year of 94.
When the shamrock joins the bonnet it grieves my heart full sore.

The call for secrecy that is evident in both songs is subversive and potentially seditious, yet both were printed with full imprints by established London and Manchester ballad printers. The last verses of the London song make a return to the emotive imagery of the “sorrows” of the “blooming shamrock”, and to the heroism of Ireland as “Mars, the god of battle”. The last verse of the Manchester version seems to reference the free masons in an expression of anti-elitism; “here” on “St. Patrick’s day”, there are no “faded ribbons” or “strange colours” of the “Royal art masons” which was likely a reference to the “Royal *Arch* masons” (a branch of the freemasons that originated in Ireland in the early eighteenth century before branching into England). All of these references were likely relatively obscure to hearers in England, and perhaps even to the Irish hearers in Manchester, and the printing mistakes reveal that they may have been obscure also to the ballad printers themselves:

There is no faded ribbons nor strange colours here,

So Royal art masons with their compass and square
May the bright beam of honour shine all round us most gay,
We will drink & wear our shamrock on St. Patrick's day.

The woodcut accompanying the text of this Manchester-printed song is a large coat of arms covering nearly half of the column above the lyrics. Perhaps less ironically than it at first seems (considering the sectarian nature of the lyrics) it is the Chartist coat of arms – depicting a man and a woman with a lion in the middle, a beehive to the top left (the bee is now the symbol of Manchester), a liberty cap, and a number of unclear symbols along with the words "This is our charter, God is our Guide".[87] So the image chosen by this printer to accompany "St. Patrick's Day" creates an association between the nationalism (of the lyric) and the campaign for reform (of the image). In contrast, the image used by printer Ryle is an incongruous portrait of a merry stage Irishman, smiling with hat, flowers in his jacket, carrying a shillelagh.[88] Another London printer, Henry Disley, also depicts a man holding a shillelagh to accompany this song, although in this image the man takes on a more composed stance; he wears a smart jacket and seems portly rather than comic. Yet another ballad-sheet (consisting of lyrics very close to the Ryle of London version but with no printer imprint) in what seems an act of irreverence against what might be perceived as the affected earnestness of the lyric, accompanies the song with a woodcut of a coat of arms flanked by winged horses over a banner bearing the words "Sing and Be Fat; Vive ut Vivas".[89]

Two more examples of street-songs inspired by the aisling tradition that appeared on English streets in the second half of the nineteenth century were "McMahon's Dream" (printed by London printers Henry Such, and Disley)[90] and "M'Kenna's Dream" (printed by Such and also by Fortey in London). These are similar in tone to "The New St. Patrick's Day" and consist of the same combination of formulaic oral ("pleasant month of May"), classical-pastoral ("When Morpheus did his flag display, the moon sunk into sleep") and heroic ("… Mars … Hercules … an army clad in armour bright") tropes. They the lack the directly sectarian language of the "St. Patrick's Day" songs, but do constitute a

[87] "St. Patrick's Day" as printed by Bebbington. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/12398.gif
[88] "The New St. Patrick's Day" as printed by Ryle and Paul. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03588.gif
[89] "The New St. Patrick's Day," no printer imprint. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/12263.gif
[90] "Mc. Mahon's Dream" as printed by H. Such in London. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/12136.gif

visionary call to physical or military force; in the case of M'Kenna via his dream in which victory over the "tyrants" is achieved with help from quarters such as "Brian Borhue" [*sic*], "Father Murphy", "the Wexford boys", the "brave Tips", and the French.[91] The printing of all of these dream-vision songs after the Irish famine that occurred in the second half of the 1840s, and after the failed rebellion of the Young Ireland movement in 1848, as well as after the last Chartist petition that same year, express the shock and disappointment of these events, but are also potentially a symptom of the increasing economic polarization of society that occurred between c.1850 and c.1880.[92]

These songs do not appear in the repertoires of English singers (according to VWML) but the singing of these visionary awakenings of ancient armies and visitations from angelic messengers in the name of Erin, on English streets, would have served to reinforce the image of Ireland as nation destined for sovereignty, and as nationhood more generally as something divinely ordained.

"CUSHLAMACHREE"

Printed at the same time as these visionary songs, by printers in London and Manchester after the mid-century, was a song titled "Cushlamachree". In one sense, this song's sentimental tone that idealizes human characteristics and relationships, belongs in the next chapter and as such it serves as segue to it. The reason it remains here however, is that unlike the sentimental songs analysed in Chapter Four which all involve the narrator addressing their departed or departing lovers, in this song it is place, Ireland personified, whom the narrator addresses. As such, this is a love song to Ireland. Songs such as "Sons of Fingal" contain elements of this devotional narration (for example in the first line "… I love *thy* green bowers") but it is a less prominent feature. In "Cushlamachree" Ireland is "queen of The West" whose "green bosom rises, / An emerald set in the right of the sea." Ireland is feminine and receptive, her "gates open wide to the poor and the stranger", and her sons are manly yet gentle, "brave" yet capable of "brotherly peace", and her daughters "blush" with "roseate cheeks." So the song here taps into universal sentiments of tenderness for the gentleness associated with the feminine, and of mother, and the sensuousness of the narrator's effusive praise for Erin's rising "green bosom" evokes an oedipal-like desire to return to it.

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[91] "M'Kenna's Dream" as printed by H. SUCH. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03371.gif
[92] Margot Finn, *After Chartism*, 5.

Despite there being no evidence that this song was printed as a street ballad before 1850, "Cushlamachree" was in fact was authored much earlier in the century by the Irish protestant, John Philpot Curran (1750-1817).[93] This song displays elements not only of the sentimentality explored in the next chapter, but also of the sensibility; the former (sentimentality) manifesting in the narrator's address to his lover rather than to the hearer of the song, and the latter (sensibility) manifesting in the song's celebration of physicality found, for example, in the narrator's "faithful heart" prizing "[e]ach blade of [Ireland's] meadows" and his proclamation of Ireland as the "world's Cushlamachree." Use of the Irish-language phrase contributes to the sense of mystique for non-Irish-speaking audiences. "Cushlamachree" is an Anglicization of the Irish *cuisle mo chroí* which means pulse, or beat, of my heart, and the second verse extends this heart trope to the idea of warm-heartedness in its praise of Ireland as place of "smiles hospitality, hearty and free." The fourth and final verses reemphasise Ireland's feminine (and in this case), vulnerable nature in the need for "Heaven" to "defend its own Cushlamachree" while at the same time evoking a sense of separation from that feminine (as perceived) softness and warmth in the narrator's "exile".

This reference to "exile" is the only part of the song that might be interpreted in political terms – and the meaning of "exile" versus "emigration" would have been clear at the time of the song's authorship nearer to the beginning of the century. However, by the time of printing in the second half of the century, the distinction between the two had become blurred in popular song – just as Philpot Curran's own sense of "exile" as an Irishman living in England would not have been based on the fact that he was banned from returning to Ireland.[94] Curran was an Irish-nationalist politician and lawyer who had defended a number of the United Irishmen in trials for treason and who had been against the 1801 Act of Union. His authorship reveals the song's roots in the political radicalism of the 1790s but also clearly, and more generally, as a product of the era of sensibility. The song was included in *The Universal Songster and Museum of Mirth* in 1835 (Curran's authorship was not mentioned here nor in any street-ballad printings), yet its publication as a street-ballad

[93] Michael Joseph Barry, editor, *The Songs of Ireland*, 1845, 91.
[94] For more on John Philpot Curran's sense of dislocation see Craig Bailey, *Irish London*, 22-7.

only later in the century suggests that it was received in the spirit of the nationalised sentimentality that was so popular in the Victorian drawing rooms at the time – a sentimentality that was arguably an indulgence more afforded by the comfortable classes than the poor. This association with Victorian sentimentality is emphasised on the ballad-sheet printed by Bebbington of Manchester (at some point between 1855 and 1863) which includes five songs: "Cushlamachree"; "Kathleen Mavourneen" (analysed in the next chapter); "Dear Irish Boy" (analysed in the next chapter); a poetic filler at the bottom of the page named "Hope tells a flattering Tale"; and in prominent place next to "Cushlamachree" a song named "Little Nell". The titles speak for themselves, and apart from the obvious sentimentality in the reference to Dickens' *The Old Curiosity Shop*, the sheet as a whole epitomizes the sentimentality that was present in so much Victorian literature, and illustrates how street-ballad tropes echoed those of the literary world.

So "Cushlamachree" provides an example of the type of passionate love of nation – expressed via tropes of the Romantic aesthetic such as "emerald", "meadows", "queen", "mountains" – that existed in street-song, and that was found far less in songs about England. In the images of bucolic nature, youthful purity, and manly heroism that these songs contain, they represent a rural idyll or Arcadian paradise that increasingly contrasted with England's view of itself, even in the relatively economically stable decades after 1850. It was a view jaded by cynicism in the face of societal, economic and industrial or technological change against which many people felt disempowered; and it was a view evidenced in numerous ironic street-songs about "the times" with titles such as "Wonderful Times"[95] or "Cheap Times! Or, the Blessings of 1850".[96]

CONCLUSION

The image of nation presented in these songs – historically legitimated, divinely ordained, green, idyllic – is conservative in its backward glance, just as it is also a potential catalyst for change and symbol of radical resistance. The universality of its

[95] "Wonderful Times" as printed by W. & T Fordcye, Newcastle. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02495.gif

[96] "Cheap Times! Or, the Blessings of 1850" as printed by Birt, London. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/05869.gif

appeal is, arguably, illustrated in the biblical stories of the Promised Land. Its prevalence on nineteenth-century streets became a powerful tool that not only helped to inspire the view of Irish national sovereignty as self-evident but also, as Katie Trumpener argues (of the cultural nationalisms of Scotland, Ireland and Wales more widely), "served as an important prototype for nineteenth-century nationalist movements throughout Europe."[97] The vision of place that Ireland specifically represented evidently cast a wide appeal that endures to this day despite the dismissal of it by writers such as Hazlitt who declared it mere "prettinesses."[98] In England, the fantasy of such an idyll – a fantasy that included imaginings of a people who were somehow inherently enfranchised via cultural coherence, historical legitimacy and geographical definition – being a constitutional part of the British Isles (either in the form of Ireland or the Celtic periphery more generally) represented the chance that those rapid social changes that were experienced as negative, might not persist after all.

Despite finding the praise of Moore's work by notables such as Goethe and Byron "bizarre", Terry Eagleton acknowledges that Moore "placed Ireland almost single-handedly on the cultural agenda of his day, quick as he was to perceive that the country [Ireland], in a certain reading of it, lent itself marvellously well to the emergent structure of feeling of post-enlightenment Europe."[99] The songs explored in this chapter validate this point and reiterate the popularity of this "reading" of Ireland even in English popular culture. These "structures of feeling" are still in evidence in Europe and worldwide today, perhaps because they seem to offer solutions to economic hardship, and to the political disenfranchisement that persists – solutions that are easily-conceived even if they are dangerously simplistic. The compelling sense of legitimacy and inheritance that the Romantic-nationalist vision provides, and the sense of security provided by identification with nation, has inevitably contributed to the rising nationalisms of the twenty-first century. This is not to condemn the phenomenon, but rather to acknowledge the universal appeal of (or need for) this "collective sensibility", this "repository of archetypes," in the human psyche in order

[97] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 30.
[98] William Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age*, London: Grant Richards, n.d, p. 256. Quoted in Leith Davis. "Irish Bards and English Consumers," 22.
[99] Eagleton, *Crazy John*, 157.

to contribute to the project of its deconstruction and reimagining.[100] The prevalence of this Romantic vision of Ireland in the popular culture of the early decades of the nineteenth century means that all the subsequent representations and (especially) receptions of Ireland, explored in the next two chapters, are likely to have been coloured by it.

[100] Ibid.

Chapter 4. "The Irish Emigrant": Irish themes of parting in English-printed street ballads of the mid-nineteenth century.

This chapter explores the theme of parting and emigration in nineteenth-century Irish-themed street balladry, and argues that two distinct threads of "feeling" emerge within this cohort. The first category consists of songs that were present on the streets in the early decades of the century and that can be described as songs of "sensibility", and the second category consists of those songs that emerged between the 1840s and 1860s that can be described as "sentimental". The songs of sensibility contain expressions of emotional intensity and of celebratory corporeality that are set against the type of backdrop of visionary or bucolic nature associated with Romantic-period song as well as with the formulaic conventions associated with eighteenth-century, anonymous and orally-disseminated song. The songs of sentimentality on the other hand (as epitomized by "The Irish Emigrant") were all written by female authors after *c*.1835, and their sense of emotional remove, compared with the directness of sentiment expressed in the songs of sensibility, echo the moral sentimentality found in Victorian literature. All of the songs analysed in this chapter differ from those explored in Chapter Two in that they focus more upon disconnection from *people* than on disconnection from *place* (in addition to this, of the earlier exile songs that were by known authors, all were by male authors).

The conception of the difference between sensibility and sentimentality, is here based upon that conceived by Jerome McGann who argues that sensibility was an eighteenth-century poetic phenomenon that was overtaken and subsumed, between the years 1740 and 1840, by sentimental writing – an idea that is reflected in the chronology of sensibility to sentimentality that emerges in analyses of these songs of parting.[1] McGann conceives of sensibility as the "language of spontaneous overflow"[2] and the "discourse of sensibility" as "the ground on which the discourse of sentiment gets built." Yet, where sensibility in the eighteenth century "brought forth … a decidedly non-rational constellation of artistic styles" (in response to the "Age of Reason"), as sentimentality evolved (in street-song most obviously in the mid-

[1] Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 8.
[2] Ibid., 43.

nineteenth century), it “re-established … traditional hierarchies of thought (religious v. secular) and social relations (male v. female).”[3] McGann conceives of the difference in terms of the “crucial mind/body diad that shaped the originary philosophical discussions” arguing that “sensibility emphasizes the mind in the body” whereas “sentimentality [emphasizes] the body in the mind.”[4] He notes the gender implications of these distinctions (implications that he extends to the critique of the “academic legacy of modernism”), writing that:[5]

> … imagination, so deplorable to so many even to this day, is deeply grounded in ancient ideas about mind and body, thinking and feeling, reason and sensation. In its crudest (and clearest) form this imagining represents itself in the difference between men and women, man being the image of the higher power of mind and reason, woman of the lower orders of body and sensation.[6]

These distinctions of “mind in body” versus “body in mind”, on “feeling” versus “thinking”, on sensation versus reason, and the gendered implications of these phenomena, are all made manifest in the difference between the songs of sensibility and of sentimentality, and will be explored in the analyses that follow.

In terms of Irishness, two distinct representations and receptions emerge in these categories of sensibility and sentimentality. While the songs of sensibility contributed to a mythologized conception of Ireland in which it was associated with natural abundance and revered for its resistant (to the polite forms of society) nature, the songs of sentimentality represented Ireland more in terms of benign femininity which included the conception of Ireland as victim to be pitied or defended. As such, the difference in tone between the two categories can be seen to represent the difference between anti-establishmentism (in the songs of sensibility) on one hand, and social conservatism (in the Victorian songs of sentimentality) on the other. In street song (as opposed to song published as music manuscript for the Victorian drawing room), the songs of sensibility were just as, if not more, prevalent in the Irish-themed repertoire than songs of sentimentality, and they continued to be printed even after the

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[3] Ibid., 7-8.
[4] Ibid., 7.
[5] Ibid., 8.
[6] Ibid., 13.

sentimental songs first emerged in the 1840s and 1850s – suggesting that in the popular culture of the poorer classes, the association of Irishness with resistance to the establishment and to polite cultural forms was evident even in these romantic songs of parting. Despite this, the presence of both songs of sensibility and of sentimentality in mid-nineteenth-century street-song shows that even after the "discovery of the people" (by J. G. Herder and the Grimm brothers, and as conceived by Peter Burke) had occurred during the Romantic period, the "subordinate classes" still also consumed the art forms associated with the elite.[7]

The most obvious difference between the songs of sentimentality and of sensibility is the authorship of the songs of sentimentality within the wider phenomenon of the "rise of the female ballad composer" in the mid-nineteenth century.[8] Authorship by this cohort during this period, restricted by societal convention as they were, meant an almost complete avoidance of political subject matter, and as Derek B. Scott notes, Victorian female song-writing tended to represent the mid-century bourgeois views of women as either the "perfect lady" or the "honest country maiden".[9] The social conformity of these songs is manifest in a sense of polite remove and abstraction created by narrative structures designed to evoke sympathy while at the same time creating separation between narrator and hearer. They contain more complex narrative structures, and in performance, contain less direct expressions of sentiment than the earlier, anonymous songs of sensibility. For example, while the songs of sensibility are far more likely to contain a poet/narrator who speaks (sings) directly to the hearer, the sentimental songs are more likely to contain indirect narration in which the speaker in the song addresses another character (usually their beloved, even if that beloved is dead as in "Irish Emigrant" and "Kathleen Mavourneen"). Ironically, as if to create further remove by female song-writers, and in a comparison that parallels McGann's gendered conceptions of sensibility and sentimentality, their narrators are usually male. In the increasingly industrialised and chauvinistic culture of the mid-Victorian period, the choice of male narration by the authors of "Kathleen Mavourneen", "Irish Emigrant", "Come Back to Erin", and "Terence's Farewell" was

[7] Connell and Leask, "What is the people?," 8.
[8] Dereck. B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 60-80.
[9] Ibid., 77.

a way of legitimizing the feelings expressed, and potentially enabled the wildly enthusiastic reception they received in Victorian drawing rooms.

The representation of female courtship is also markedly different in the two genres. In the sentimental authored songs there is less reference to the physicality of relationship, and the women take on more passive roles in line with bourgeois Victorian ideas of female respectability. The songs of sensibility on the other hand are more likely to contain sensual language that includes elegiac laments for the loss of the lovers' physicality in various ways – cheeks and locks of hair for example (it should be noted however that in the nineteenth century, unlike in the eighteenth, truly bawdy ballads were only very rarely found in street-ballad-sheet form, instead being sold more discreetly in slightly more expensive 24-page songbooks).[10] Moreover, a significant proportion of the female characters in the sentimental songs are dead – a narrative device that neatly avoids any portrayal of realism or excessive displays of female emotion; both "Irish Emigrant" and "Kathleen Mavourneen" manage to emphasise the permanence of emigration while preserving female respectability (and the prospect of permanent separation or divorce) by ensuring that the female characters have died before departure.

The interplay between each quality of feeling and with Irishness also provides a perspective on contemporary conceptions of nation and nationalism. The idealisation inherent in songs of sentimentality echoes the idealization necessary for the promotion of nationalism. And the relative privilege inherent in the beginnings of the largest nationalist projects such as the United Irishmen and the Young Ireland Movement, echoes the privilege that is inseparable from the reception of sentimentality. It seems pertinent that many of these sentimental emigration songs were authored either by writers of Anglo-Irish or English descent (and that they emerged at the same time as, for example, the nationalist Young Ireland movement). The potential imbalance of privilege between author and subject creates problems of representation in which the subaltern is potentially misrepresented, or that at the very least displays the "detached sympathy" that Wordsworth was accused of.[11] Inherently, the quality of sentimentality and its closely related "sympathy," can only be born at a

[10] Patrick Spedding et al, *Bawdy Songbooks of the Romantic Period*.
[11] Connell and Leask, "What is the people?," 4.

remove from the subject of sentiment itself. As such, a sense of pity for the "Irish Emigrant" for example, is consumed in Ireland either within a class, or by individuals, not personally affected by emigration, or from outside Ireland completely. And in turn, these sentimental songs of emigration might be viewed as being some of the most obvious manifestations in English street-song of a perspective that viewed Ireland in colonial terms – as colony to be pitied, rescued and ruled. By contrast, the consumption of songs of sensibility (i.e. those songs consisting of a narrative that relied less on pity, that was less self-conscious, and that was more direct in its point of view) was more likely to be representative of a view that associated Ireland with positive attributes such as nature, independence or a direct (and therefore honest) expression of feeling. The creation of both songs of sentimentality and songs of sensibility outside Ireland, demonstrates if nothing else, that Ireland represented *something* – but that that something was different within different circles and individuals.

Sentimentality

In much contemporary and twentieth-century street-ballad scholarship, the term sentimental has been applied to any song in which feelings are expressed or prioritized in any way; it has been applied to songs that are less narratively rich than both the street-balladry of previous centuries and the "old" ballads perceived to have been part of oral "tradition". As such, this wide definition of sentimental song covers both the qualities of sentimentality and sensibility as they are outlined in this chapter. When, in 1849, Henry Mayhew declared that "the ballad-singer and seller of to-day is the sole descendant, or remains, of the minstrel of old; he is, indeed, the minstrel having lost caste and being driven to play cheap," "cheap" appears to suggest sentimental.[12] In 1961, Albert B. Friedman, quoting V. De Sola Pinto, described the street ballads of earlier centuries as "'low-faluting,' 'unsentimental, uncourtly and irreverent when they deal with the subject of love,'" adding "[i]n summary, the faults of the Common Muse [were] … 'those of slovenly incompetence, scandalmongering and garrulity'; [and] her 'characteristic virtues [were] … directness, simplicity and honest earthy realism.'"[13] In later centuries however, he notes a contrast, writing that the ballads "tend to become sentimental," implying that "sentimental" means less

[12] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*. Vol. I, 1861, 274.
[13] Albert Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, 53-54.

meritorious. Ballad scholar Leslie Shepard is also disparaging about the perceived move toward sentimentality, but he views it as beginning already with the advent of the "printed broadside" and the "exchange between two social strata" that occurred as a result of printing which meant that "while the ballad brought romantic and folk imagery into stilted literary forms, the broadside soon took over the worst affectations of polite poetry."[14] These extracts reflect a general view among ballad scholars and contemporary commentators alike, that songs of sentiment constitute a rise in artifice, and that in this perceived artifice something is lost. The roots of this idea are inextricably linked to the "discovery of the people"[15] but they also arguably relate to the gendered association of sentiment with women; and in turn to the democratization of street-balladry in the nineteenth century that resulted in "female serving maids … often [being] mentioned as prime consumers of street literature."[16] The work of this chapter is partly, via the Irish-themed songs of emigration, to critically examine this wide, oft-dismissed area of "sentimental" song, and to untangle some of the finer distinctions within it. In doing, it has found that some of those characteristics lamented as lost, such as "directness", "low-faluting", "simplicity" and "realism", are found in the songs of sensibility.

The overlap of classes, and the "exchange between two social strata" that Shepard talks of, is nowhere more evident than in the reception of the mid-century songs of Irish emigration. These songs were set to music and sold as lavishly engraved piano scores in middle-class homes, but their popularity in the Victorian drawing room was echoed in the large numbers printed for street sale and bought by the street-ballad-buying classes. Undoubtedly the popularity of these songs contributed to the idea, still widespread in the twenty-first century, that Mathew Arnold expressed in 1861, that "sentiment is … the word which marks where the Celtic races really touch and are one; sentimental, if the Celtic nature is to be characterised by a single term, is the best term to take."[17] By 1861, the dissemination of these songs had made the association between Irishness and sentimentality a familiar one; twenty years previously in 1840, one of the best-known Irish songs of any category, and the epitome of Irish

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[14] Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad*, 34. See also *The Common Muse* (1957), ed. de Sola Pinto and Rodway, 16.
[15] Connell and Leask, "What is the people?," 3-48.
[16] Steve Roud and Julia Bishop, *Folk Song in England*, 279.
[17] Mathew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, 1861, 76.

sentimentality, “The Irish Emigrant”, was written. Significantly, it was written in the same year that Dickens’ character Little Nell made her literary debut. The latter evoked such pathos that at readings given by Dickens himself, the audience in the hall would end up “in floods of tears”, and purportedly the author himself “could hardly bear up under the weight of the woes he was creating.”[18] So indulgence in, and expression of, such sentimentality was a phenomenon that reappeared with renewed vigour in the Victorian period, but such displays of sentiment did not ring true for everyone. The author of this Dickens anecdote wrote that she could “not share the sentimental wave” that occurred at such readings because she “could not hear that the pathos rang true.”[19]

Indeed, by the end of the century, to be called “sentimental” would be widely regarded, as it usually is now, an insult. Oscar Wilde, one of the most widely-quoted nineteenth-century critics of sentimentality, wrote from prison in 1897 that the “sentimentalist is always a cynic at heart. Indeed sentimentality is merely the Bank-holiday of cynicism” adding, “delightful as cynicism is from its intellectual side … it never can be more than the perfect philosophy for a man who has no soul.”[20] More recent feminist critics have sought to address the balance of opinion against sentimentality and sought instead to emphasise the “social importance of feeling.”[21] Julie Ellison for example, argues that discomfort with, or criticism of, sentimentality signifies a type of “liberal guilt”.[22] However, this chapter explores the opposite possibility, and suggests instead that the creation of sentimentality by Victorian female authors represents the “liberal guilt” of their own class. The rise of sentimentality in popular street-song coincided with a time period between 1850 and 1880 that saw both relative economic stability, but also a widening gap between rich and poor. And in a society that was also increasingly secular, the insecure middle classes feared a backlash in the absence of religion, and viewed “sympathy” or sympathetic charity as a moral way of bridging the widening gap.

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[18] Jane E. F. Panton, *Leaves from a Life* (London: 1908), 150-51. Quoted in Fred Kaplan, *Sacred Tears*, Kindle ed. (Ch. 3).
[19] Ibid.
[20] Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis*, 1915, 111-112.
[21] See Shirley Samuels (ed), *The Culture of Sentiment* and Julie Ellison, *Cato's Tears*, 181.
[22] See Tobias Menely, “Zoöphilpsychosis”, 245.

Yet, as Wilde noted, why should the poor be grateful for charity? He made an explicit association between charity and sentimentality, arguing that charity was a "ridiculously inadequate mode of partial restitution, or a sentimental dole, usually accompanied by some impertinent attempt on the part of the sentimentalist to tyrannise over their private lives."[23] One reason that the emotional displays of sympathy don't "ring true" is because the objects of the narrative are usually one-dimensional, idealized beings – as are many of the characters in the songs in this chapter. For the sentimentalist, real people in need provoke too much fear of contamination by failure and poverty to invoke genuine empathy. Instead, the object of sympathy has to be idealized, or objectified in their (e.g. racial) Otherness, to the point that genuine human connection (requiring vulnerability and reciprocity) becomes impossible. From the safe remove of abstract, the sentimentalist can continue viewing the Other's discomfort, and partake in his own cathartic release without, as Wilde describes it, "paying" for the emotion (the release of which from this remove becomes an indulgence).[24]

It was in the period between the continental revolutions of 1848 and the beginnings of socialism in the 1880s, that the sentimental songs of Irish parting were most widely printed. On the one hand these decades are widely viewed as an era of social conservatism that experienced a relative lack of discontent and popular protest. Historians such as Eric Hobsbawm and Gareth Stedman Jones see this as a time that experienced a "break" in class-consciousness due to: improved economic conditions; a growing "aristocracy of labour"; and the gradually increasing franchise. It has been perceived as a period that saw a "triumph of liberal economics" and "political reformism";[25] an age of unfettered liberalism, technological advancement, and nationalism – represented, for example, by the Great Exhibition in 1851. However, the opposing argument put forward by historians such as Margot Finn, argues that in fact the radical tradition was very much in evidence during these decades and formed a continuous link from the seventeenth century directly into the socialism of the 1880s.[26] This two-tier phenomenon of radicalism and liberalism is reflected, albeit subtly, in the reception of songs of sensibility and sentimentality respectively.

[23] Oscar Wilde, *The Soul of Man under Socialism*, 1912, 9-10.
[24] Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis*, 1915, 111-112.
[25] Margot Finn, *After Chartism*, 2.
[26] Margot Finn, *After Chartism*, 5.

As seen in the other chapters in this thesis, the response to social inequality and poverty did not always appear in explicitly anti-establishment lyrics, but also expressed itself for example in songs that nostalgically looked to the past such as "The Life of an Honest Ploughman or Ninety Years Ago" (Holt 152), or that celebrated alternative ideals of nationhood as seen in Chapter Three. This chapter argues that the songs of sensibility, in their direct expressions of sentiment and their "non-rational constellation of artistic styles" were inherently anti-establishment and anti-patriarchal and as such, represent an aspect of the radicalism that continued through the years after 1850.[27] As the Chartist Leader, Ernest Jones, wrote in 1853, directly political lyrics are not always the best way of provoking political action, and instead, "romance [is] unsurpassed " as a "medium through which to indoctrinate the public mind – it has access where a sterner style of writing would never gain admittance."[28]

The songs analysed in this chapter follow a rough chronology that falls into two main halves. The first half begins with analysis of songs of sensibility as conceived here; songs that were printed in the early decades of the century and that display characteristics of the late-Romantic period in which they were printed. Analysis follows with another group of songs printed around the same time that reveal qualities associated with orally-transmitted, formulaic and anonymous song. All of the songs analysed in this first half of the chapter contain the various qualities of "sensibility" as outlined above, and all were printed by early-century printers such as Pitts, Catnach and Evans. The second half of the chapter analyses those songs that express the qualities of sentimentality to varying degrees. These sentimental songs were written from 1835 onward, but all were printed by the mid- to late-century printers such as Ryle (*c.*1845-60), Hodges (*c.*1845-61), Fortey (c.1855-1901) and Such (*c.*1849-1917). The last two songs analysed, with their emphasis on the theme of romantic betrayal, complicate the chronology and argument somewhat, and demonstrate that certain elements of the songs of sensibility were replicated by known poets.

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[27] Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 7-8.
[28] Ernest Jones, *People's Paper*, 9 July 1853, quoted in Andrew Messner, "Land, Leadership, Culture, and Emigration," 1098-99.

SENSIBILITY AND ROMANTIC-PERIOD SONGS OF PARTING

"Banks of Shannon"

Fred Kaplan's note that "Romantic sensibility is not congenial either to eighteenth-century moral philosophy or to Victorian sentimentality" is relevant to the first two songs analysed in this chapter in that they reveal a Romantic-period aesthetic that is different to what came before and after.[29] Both of these songs might be described as more literary and less formulaic, by street-ballad standards, than the "Irish boy" songs that come in the next section. "Banks of Shannon" was printed by Pitts at his earlier address (at some point between 1802 and 1819) and by J. Evans (at some point between 1812 and 1820). It bears all the hallmarks of late-eighteenth-century song lyric in its mix of emotive description and references to nature that is reminiscent of pastoral verse. Its eighteenth-century printings show that its likely route to the street occurred via the stage (rather than via rural or oral dissemination); it was printed as a street-ballad by Fowler of Salisbury (who operated between 1770 and 1800) and was also published in *c*.1780 in a song collection titled *Roundelay or the New Syren*.[30] Both of these publications associated the song with the Irish-born performer "Mrs. Kennedy" who had been taught music by Thomas Arne and was a prolific performer of both female and male parts on the London stages of the 1770s and 1780s.[31]

This three-verse song follows a narrative in which the female narrator recalls the beginnings of courtship in the first verse. In the second, she recalls the lovers' "artless pranks" and a wedding thwarted by the "press-gang". And in the third, the narrator's "Teddy" sails away, and when the ship returns without him, the narrator, "Patty", declares that she "must die in sad despair." The version printed in the *Roundelay* and those printed by Evans and Pitts are the same. It opens with a declaration of the time of year associated with orally-disseminated song – always the fertile spring or summer signalling the beginning of a love song:

> In summer when the leaves were green,
> And blossoms deck'd each tree,

[29] Fred Kaplan, *Sacred Tears: Sentimentality in Victorian Literature*. Kindle ed. (Intro).
[30] J. Grosser, editor, *Roundelay or the New* Syren, 1780, 216.
[31] "Kennedy, Mrs," *Dictionary of National Biography*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885-1900, Vol. 30.

Young Teddy then declar'd his love,
His artless love to me;

In a way that brings to mind the poetry of the Della Cruscans of the 1790s, the narrators' emotions in these Romantic-period songs of sensibility are reflected in nature at the same time that the narrators themselves seem to form part of that nature.[32] Shannon's "flowery banks" reflect the delicate and precarious beginnings of young love ("leaves … green", flowers, "blossoms") at the same that they paradoxically represent a sublime permanence – an everlasting backdrop to the fleeting nature of human life ("And plant a willow o'er my head, / On Shannon's flowery banks")." The protagonists' youth is emphasised – they are "young", "artless", soft, and they gather the "sweetest flowers" – they display a prelapsarian innocence rather than a self-conscious (or sentimental) morality. The protagonists' presumed innocence means that there is no hint of moral didacticism; although mention of a wedding conforms to a morality of sorts, it occurs in the vein of Shakespearean comedy rather than that of sentimental morality. Yet, a link exists between this celebration of "true love" on the one hand and the moral sentiments on the other, in the idea that the former, as Rousseau writes, "always presupposes *estimable qualities* without which one would not be in a condition to feel it" (my emphasis).[33] Despite being more formulaic, the provenance of these songs in eighteenth-century culture might also be illustrated by their echoing of qualities found in works such as Aikin's "Passionate and Descriptive" songs – qualities such as first-person narration and the vision of the songs' protagonists as "simple" and "graceful" creations of the natural world, as seen for example, in their expression of emotion (only) via "the artless touches of nature" and the "real symptoms of passion."[34]

Death and betrayal also form an integral part of this aesthetic – both in literary collections of poetry such as Aikin's as well as in popular and street song – and the two are treated very differently in songs of sensibility than they are in the later songs of sentimentality. The inclusion of the theme of betrayal (in the narrator's fear that Teddy's "beauteous face and manly form" having "won a nobler fair") in a song that

[32] Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 74-93.
[33] Robert C. Solomon, *In Defense of Sentimentality*, 184.
[34] Dr. John Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing*, 1772, 104-173, 108.

might alternatively have been about a noble death in battle, reflects a willingness in the author/performer to address the less palatable psychological fears of exclusion and disconnected separation – a willingness that is seen less in the later sentimental songs. The treatment of death also differs: the narrator's declaration that she must "die for love" is an expression of passionate depth of feeling rather than an invitation to pathos. The instruction to "plant a willow o'er my head" is a common trope in the street-song of the early nineteenth century and echoes similar tropes analysed in the Romantic-nationalist songs (Chapter Three) in which the dying lover or lovers (or the dying exiles) achieve a kind of pantheistic immortality via the willows, roses or briars planted over their graves.

But crucially in this case, it is Ireland that provides the verdant backdrop to this narrative of romantic parting; the youth of the lovers and the innocent yet healthful fertility symbolised by relatively formulaic tropes of flowering nature, are themes repeatedly associated with Irishness in songs of this period. The sensibility of the narrator is also something often associated with Ireland – in this case, expressed in her passion and loyalty in the face of disappointed love, her honest fear of betrayal, and her transformation in death into a willow, that epitome of weeping. Moreover, in keeping with many of the exile and Romantic-nationalist songs explored in chapters two and three, the suggestion of systemic violence and its tragic destruction of innocence (in the implication that Teddy was forced to join "hostile ranks") politicizes the song in the subtle but visionary way capable of capturing the imagination in service to a political viewpoint.

Evidently, the association of Irishness with these themes occurred already in the 1770s – with the early printings of this song and with Mrs Kennedy's performances of it. This was an association therefore, that occurred among the theatre and pleasure-garden audiences just as it did among the street-ballad classes (although these were in fact quite similar audiences in the eighteenth century). So already in the eighteenth century (and alongside the comic depictions of Irishness explored in Chapter One), Ireland was capable of serving as holistic signifier of the ideal of simplicity in the context of those song-writing paradigms that sought to create fusion between ballad and lyric, and between rusticity and refinement. John Aikin's desire to write "pastoral song formed upon the ballad model" created through "simplicity of language" and "an

air of nature and reality", with narrative of a "tender and mournful turn" that in turn produces a "peculiar happy effect", is encapsulated in the signifier of Ireland.[35]

"Jane of Tralee"

A song that veers more toward a literary rather than an oral-formulaic aesthetic is "Jane of Tralee". The mention of King William reveals that the song was likely printed at some point during his reign between 1830 and 1837, but the song has a complex set of associations which link it to two other songs – the first of which is named "Maid of Tralee" and was likely printed in Cork before "Jane of Tralee", and the other is "Rose of Tralee" that was printed in London and New York in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although the narratives of all three songs are different, the themes are very similar. The Irish and London printings all occurred at around the same time: Haly of Cork was still printing ballads as an old man in 1842 (and so had likely operated since at least as early as 1810),[36] T. Batchelar operated between 1807 and 1828, and the Catnach printing is potentially printed at the first address of 2 Monmouth Court before he expanded to 2 & 3 (between 1813 and *c*.1827, although it has not been established exactly when this occurred and he seems to have used the former imprint even after he had expanded).[37] So, "Maid of Tralee" and "Jane of Tralee" were both printed before *c*.1840, but the fact that Cork produced three separate printings, and that two of these printings include alternate English and Irish language lines indicates the provenance of "Maid of Tralee". More significantly, "Maid of Tralee" consists of that narrative progression so common to older, narrative song forms – from seduction by the male, to doubts by the female about potential pregnancy and betrayal, and finally to marriage at the end of the song. "Jane of Tralee" by contrast is less formulaic.

Instead, reminiscent of the visionary songs analysed in the previous two chapters, vivid images of nature reflect the narrator's feelings of grief and distress. The faint rays of the setting sun, "chill winter", and "foaming ocean" form the backdrops to the narrator's lament. The vagaries of his grief are manifested in the narrator's pensive plodding, "broken-hearted" under the setting sun in the first verse, to his "telling" the

[35] Dr. John Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing*, 1772, 34.
[36] Michael Lenihan, *Hidden Cork*, 97.
[37] See Charles Hindley, *Life and Times of James Catnach*, 1878.

"rude winds" all his "woes" in "torments no tongue an explain" in the third verse. Jane is "that angel" and "my darling" for whom the narrator "mourns", "hopeless"; and nothing, not even "king William's dominions", or the "winds of the mountain" would bestow any "kind consolation" for the "loss of sweet Jane of Tralee". As is common in popular, Romantic-period song, and as seen in "Exile of Erin" and in the female narrator of "Banks of Shannon" above, the narrator of "Jane of Tralee" then dies declaring that he will "for ever … be constant and true" and bestowing his "ardent devotion" on "Jane of Tralee".

In the narrator's first-person mourning for Jane's departure to a "far distant shore", this is a song of sensibility. In its complexity of language (for example "And still must I roam broken-hearted, / A victim to fortune's decree" or "Yet roll on fell tempest still harder, / Dread emblem of my misery") it reads like a song written by an educated author, or perhaps translated from a literary Irish source, relatively close to the time of printing rather than a song written a long time before and that had undergone changes through multiple disseminations. The departure of the female is unusual and goes against the common (departing) soldier and sailor ballads such as "Banks of Shannon", but its male narration also foreshadows the male narration seen in the Victorian sentimental songs. Also as seen in the sentimental songs (and unlike "Banks of Shannon") there is no hint of betrayal or any hint that his "angel" will deceive him in any way. And, in dying, the narrator ensures that his own devotion to Jane alone is sealed.

So, this song follows more closely the conventions of the visionary songs composed in the Romantic period, but also acts as forerunner to the more sentimental Irish songs of the mid-nineteenth century. By the 1830s, Killarney and its surrounds (Tralee) was already known as a respectable tourist destination, and so in England, the Otherness of place evoked by the place-name of "Tralee" – and the sense of Romantic idealization created – contributed to a sense of Ireland as exotic.

SENSIBILITY AND IRISH BOYS AND GIRLS

The fact that love songs of all kinds were popular on the street is evidenced in street-ballad collections as well as in comments such as written in an 1865 article that declared, "Love-songs are the great stock in trade of the street singers" – so these songs were an important source of Irish representation in the popular culture of the time.[38] The songs explored in this section form a very common sub-genre of Irish-themed songs of parting that express devotion to various "Irish" "girls" and "boys". All of these songs are more formulaic than "Jane of Tralee" and as such represent the conventions associated with orally-disseminated song. The reliability of oral-formulaic theory, and the question of how plausible applying any formula to determine orally-transmitted song can be, has been the subject of scholarly controversy[39] – but elements such as repeated tropes (across different songs) and broken narratives seem to indicate a longer period of dissemination via multiple oral, as well as manuscript or print transmissions, whether they were actually or solely orally disseminated or not. Even if these songs were deliberately authored by Romantic-period, street-ballad writers they constitute an aesthetic that has become associated with honest/simple country folk and with the idea of oral transmission. All these songs are written in the first-person and have either female narrators or alternating male and female narrators (who narrate alternate verses) – and so arguably, these songs contain a thread of that "directness" that was perceived to have been lost in nineteenth-century street ballad by scholars such as de Pinto and Friedman. All of these songs centre upon the disappointments of love through parting and upon the subsequent consequences of betrayal or abandonment of some kind.

"Bonny Irish Boy"

Whether these songs were purchased by men or women, it is clear that female narration corresponded with language that was more corporeal and sensual, and less reverential to the bourgeois conventions of the Victorian drawing room. "My Bonny Irish Boy" was first printed in the Pitts/Catnach era (*c*.1802 to *c*.1844) and continued to be printed throughout the century by mid-century printers Hodges, Paul and Ann Ryle, but also by printers in the second half of the century such as by Fortey and

[38] R. T. "Street Songs and Their Singers," 1865, 195.
[39] Julie Henigan, *Literacy and Orality in Eighteenth-Century Irish Song*, 10-11. See also, "The Formula" in Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 30-67.

Such. This song ends with that theme so common in Romantic-period street-song, of betrayal, with female madness and confinement in bedlam. It contains a relatively clear narrative ark that perhaps indicates an older song with roots in pre-eighteenth-century narrative tradition. It begins with the narrators' recollection of her lover's first courting of her in "Dublin city, that place of great fame." The narrator then continues to remember her lover's "pleasant stories" and promises "to wed" – and the subsequent breaking of "the vows he made". In the sensual language so common in these songs, she then wistfully remembers:

> His cheeks are like roses and his hair a light brown,
> The locks upon his shoulders so carelessly hanging down,
> His teeth as white as Ivory, his eyes as black as sloes,
> He is so mild in his behavior [*sic*] wherever my love goes.

In the next verse, verdant nature forms a backdrop to sensual love, and nature personifies the lovers' youth, innocence and joy:

> The fields they are so green and the meadows so fresh and gay,
> Where me and my bonny Irish boy used to sport and play;
> The birds did sweetly sing and the lambs did skip around.
> But the voice of my bonny Irish boy was not to be found.

In the fifth verse, the narrator recalls following her lover "by night" to "fair London town", where she was told that he was "married to a lady of renown". Presumably, it is the shock of betrayal that triggers the narrators' descent into madness, and into bedlam from where she narrates the song. This narrative of madness resulting from disappointed love is strongly reminiscent of the eighteenth-century song "The Maid in Bedlam" and its many relations (such as "Crazy Jane, see Chapter Two).[40] Both the descent into madness, and the innocent simplicity denoted by the appellation of "Irish *girl*" and scenes of "green … meadows … fresh and gay," represent a delicate sensibility on the part of the narrator. So, this song creates an association between Irishness and the kind of veneration of extreme sensibility as shown by female

[40] "The Maid in Bedlam" printed by Fowler of Salisbury (1770 to 1800). BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/05983.gif

characters in fairy stories such as *The Princess and the Pea*;[41] the female narrator's goodness and natural purity are proven by her sensitivity and the extreme reaction to her lover's betrayal.

"The Irish Girl"

The earliest version of "The Irish Girl" is printed by Evans of London at some point before 1828 (possibly as early as 1780). However, there is only one printing of this version in the Bodleian, and one by Pitts in the Madden, while all the other versions of "The Irish Girl" or "The New Irish Girl" (22 English printings with a possible number of 28 in total in the Bodleian and 14 in the Madden) are derived either from the Evans/Pitts version or from an earlier version of that song. There are also numerous twentieth-century recordings of the song, all of which resemble the latter versions rather than the Evans and Pitts printings.[42] The song was evidently popular for a wide span of time, being printed also by the later-century printers such as Fortey, Such and Bebbington.

The "original" version of the song printed by Evans, is a fairly consistent and logical expression of sentiment, entirely narrated by a male narrator whose love in unreciprocated. He narrates directly to the hearer of the song, relaying that he had "espied" an Irish girl when he was "abroad … walking down by a river side." The second verse reveals that the girl had been crying because her "Grammachre" [*sic*] (presumably not the narrator) had gone to America, and quite "forsaken" her. The rest of the song contains verses that praise the Irish girl who is "more fair than the lilly", "like Venus" and has a voice "more clear than any winds do blow" and "ruby lips and sparkling eyes", but also laments that she will not "come near [him, the narrator] for all the moan [he] make, despite the fact that he "lay on [his] bed, both sick and bad." The last verse contains the wish that he was "a valiant man, sat on a pleasant bench" and "every man a bottle of wine, and on his knee a wench."

The subsequent variants of this song provide a good illustration of what happens to narrative structure and perspective in songs that have been, at least in part,

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[41] *Prinsessen paa Ærten* was first published by Hans Christian Anderson in 1835.

[42] See "The Irish Girl / As I walked Out / Let the Wind Blow High or Low" on *Mainly Norfolk*. https://mainlynorfolk.info/copperfamily/songs/theirishgirl.html

disseminated orally and/or that have been either hastily copied or taken down, or deliberately changed, by the numerous ballad-printers who printed them. "The Irish Girl" as printed by Catnach is reminiscent of a dialogue song in that both halves of the couple narrate – except that the female only narrates the third (of six) verse and the narrative is very confused. As noted on one set of album notes of a recording of the song, it seems "little more than a collection of floating verses":

> Although Roud's 138 entries span the world, the great majority are from England, despite the word 'Irish' in so many of the titles. Indeed, given that the song is little more than a collection of floating verses, it's surprising that *The Irish Girl* is so universal as a title; the more obvious *Let the Wind Blow High or Low* being used in only three cases. Lemmie's text here is strikingly similar to that sung by James McDermott to Keith Summers in Co Fermanagh, and known to him as *The Blue Cuckoo*.[43]

This persistence of the use of "Irish Girl" as title illustrates not only the likely provenance of this title, but more pertinently the significance of the title in the song's overall tone and reception; in England, and within the narrative of unrequited love and longing, the signifier of "Irish" (being Other nation) both exoticizes the object of the narrator's yearning but also emphasises the sense of distance between the narrator and that object. The perspective of parting also changes in the subsequent versions of the song; in the Evans version, the theme of emigration occurs in the Irish girl's lament that her lover (not the love-sick narrator) has gone to America, but in the subsequent versions, the impression given by the female-narrated verse is that it is the male narrator who has undergone some kind of parting – or at the very least merely that the narrators are parted from each other. In the version of "The Irish Girl" printed by Catnach, the female narrator declares that her love's "heart" was "broke in twain" the "very last time" she saw him. In the Pitts version of "The New Irish Girl" an impression of a solder returning injured from battle is given in the female narrator's declaration that he asked her to "tie his head" and in her hope, expressed in the

[43] Taken from the album booklet of the album *Down By the Old Riverside* by the Brazil Family, quoted on the page "'The Irish Girl' / 'As I Walked Out' / 'Let the Wind Blow High or Low'" published on the *Mainly Norfolk* website.

following line, that although "there's many a man that is worse" than him "perhaps he might mend again."

Conventions associated with oral song are numerous in the subsequent versions. They all begin with either "Abroad as I was walking" (Evans & Catnach) or "As I walked out one morning" (Pitts). They also all contain the corporeal references to "red and rosy cheeks" and "yellow" (Evans & Catnach) or "black" (Pitts) hair. But the subsequent versions, represented here by the Catnach and Pitts printings also contain extra tropes associated with orally-transmitted song such as "shoes of the Spanish black" (or in some cases Spanish "leather), and the female character wringing her hands ("she wrung her hands and tore her hair"). These two versions also contain the generic flowery language of eighteenth-century poetry that is associated with so many songs of that period: "I wish my love was a red rose and/that in the garden grew/grows" (Catnach/Pitts) and "sweet William, Thyme, and rue" (Catnach) or "sweet-william, thyme and rue" (Pitts).

So, the subsequent versions are all much more similar to each other than to the earlier printing by Evans. The fifth verse of both the Catnach and the Pitts printings consists of what Vic Gammon calls "'wish' verses", familiar to any twentieth-century singer of English, Irish or American folksong:[44]

> I wish I was a butterfly I would fly to my love's breast,
> I wish I was a linnet I would sing my love to rest,
> I wish I was a nightingale I would sing till the morning clear,
> I would sit and sing for my true love whom once held so dear. (Catnach)

And, the sixth and last verse of both versions ends with the wishing to be in a town with wine or whiskey with a "lass" on their "knee". The most obvious difference here between the Catnach and Pitts versions being that the narrator of the Catnach printing wishes to be in Exeter, and the narrator of the Pitts version wishes to be in "Dublin town."

[44] Vic Gammon, "Song, Sex, and Society in England, 1600-1850," 213.

Catnach printing (verse 6):

> I wish I was in Exeter all seated on the grass,
> With a quart of wine all in my hand, and on my knee a lass,
> We'd call for liquors merrily, and pay before we go,
> I'd roll her in my arms once more let the winds blow high or low.

Pitts printing (verse 6):

> I wish I was in Dublin town, and sitting on the grass,
> With a bottle of whiskey in my hand and on my knee a lass,
> We'd call for liquers merrily, and pay before we go,
> And fold thee in my arms let the winds blow high or low.[45]

So the song ends with a mixture of lament and comedy in their acknowledgment of current lack, and the anticipation or celebration of bacchanalian carousing.

Numerous versions of "Irish Girl" were collected by collectors of the folk revival, for example: by Lucy Broadwood in 1896 from a singer named James Bromham in Surrey; by Cecil Sharp in 1905 from a singer named William Brister in Somerset; by collector H. Hammond in 1905 from a singer named William Turner residing in Poole Workhouse; from another singer named William Bartlett residing in Wimborne Workhouse (Dorset); and by collectors Gardiner and Guyer in 1906 from a performer named Moses Blake in Hampshire.[46] It was also recorded by folk singer Walter Pardon in Knapton, Norfolk, in 1976. When accompanied by melody, the lyrics seem to take on meaning as mournful ditty, a meditation on the vagaries of love. The incomplete and incomprehensible narrative enables the hearer to construct a non-cerebral "meaning", or rather, to identify on the level of sentiment with the various disconsolations expressed. It is perhaps the mirroring of these incoherent expressions of love (and of the array of sentiments surrounding it) in performance, and the palliative effects of this mirroring, that caused the song to be so popular.

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[45] "The New Irish Girl" as printed by Pitts, London. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03558.gif
[46] *Vaughan Williams Memorial Library*. English Folk Song and Dance Society. https://www.vwml.org.

One example of the song's printed context is its placement by Pitts alongside "The Leicester Chambermaid" – a comic song about the comeuppance of a butcher who sought to swindle a chambermaid after a sexual encounter. The latter song provides a juxtaposition in terms of genre – a comic counterpart to the abstract wistfulness in "Irish Girl". But it also provides a geographical juxtaposition between the prosaic Englishness of "Leicester" as locale (for those in England) and the mystified objectification inherent in any (otherized) nationalised song-lyric title such as "Irish Girl". Moreover, a judgement is implied in the juxtaposition between "chambermaid" and "girl" that contrasts the low social status of the former with the implied innocence and goodness of the latter.

So, these juxtapositions go some way toward providing an answer to the question posed by the author of the album notes above, as to why the Irish theme was so often kept in the title. The Otherness expressed in the Irish theme is central to the sense of disconnect that the song expresses; in its otherness (and in its inherent objectification) it offers another layer of remove that emphasises the vagaries of relationship and parting. Yet, this sense of disconnect is made intimate – in that way common to songs of sensibility – via the direction of first-person narration toward the hearer of the song. The combination of the topic of disconnect with the randomness of the lyric, seems to point toward the sense of disconnect that lies beyond (or underneath) loss of *eros*, and in the universal sense of separation at the core of human experience. In this way, it touches upon questions of relationship versus isolation, and of otherness versus self.

"Dear Irish Boy"

Related via its title and thematic content to the "Irish Girl" songs, "Dear Irish Boy" was first printed later by a host of post mid-century printers such as Fortey, Such, March (in London) and Bebbington (in Manchester). With its inclusion of a refrain and its celebration of the narrator's lover and of love in general, "Dear Irish Boy" echoes the more descriptive songs of the eighteenth-century stage such as Thomas Arne's "Colin and Phoebe" (1745), versions of which were also printed for street sale. Containing less narrative than the songs above, this song places more emphasis upon the sensual aspects of the beloved's body, beginning:

> My Connor, his cheeks they are as ruddy as morning,
> The brightest of pearl doth but mimic his teeth,
> Whilst nature with ringlets his mild brow adorning,
> His hair Cupi'd bow-strings, and roses his breath.

"Cheeks", "teeth", "ringlets", "brow", and "breath" are typical tropes of the popular love songs that were more commonly found in the street-songs of the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth centuries, and in these songs of parting, the loss of physicality inherent in the remembrance of the lover's body serves to heighten a sense not only of emotional loss but also of physical loss. In this way, these songs of sensibility, of "spontaneous overflow", are not representative of a straightforward salaciousness (as perhaps they were accused of by middle-class Victorians) but instead succeed in describing grief as a corporeal sentiment.[47] In the subsequent verses, the female narrator proceeds to idealize the "Irish Boy" in terms of manly bravery, and the romance itself in the formulaic terms of an uncomplicated, carefree natural environment: "Oft over the mountains we stray by each other". However, also in-line with the conventions of this genre (and as in "Bonny Irish Boy") the lovers' parting becomes permanent due to the psychically disturbing issue of betrayal rather than because of noble death in battle; the narrator fears that "some envious plot has been laid, / Or some cruel slave has him so captivated." In this, it echoes "Banks of Shannon" and differs from the idealization of parted lovers that occurs in the sentimental songs explored below.

In its printed context, printer Henry Such placed this song next to "The Cottage Maid" and "Banks of the Nile", two more songs related to parting for war. This version of "Cottage Maid" is a different to the earlier-printed parody of "Exile of Erin", and instead contains a narrative of Homeric return that was relatively common. In this version, before the disguised narrator reveals himself to his "Emily", he tells her that her lover had "fought and fell just by my side, all in the Crimean war" – so the song must have been printed at some point after the beginning of that war in 1853. The other song, "Banks of the Nile", likely originated during the French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802) – perhaps after stories about the Battle of the Nile (1798) reached

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[47] Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility*, 43.

England. It consists of a conversation between lovers in which the girl pleads with her lover firstly to stay at home, and then to go with him so that they can “comfort one another on the banks of the Nile.”[48] In this version, the characters have the typically English names of William and Nancy, but the song also contains the lines “My curse attend the war and the day it first began, / It has robbed old Ireland of many a clever man.” So in the context of this ballad sheet, the “Irish Boy” is mourned in terms of the wider trope of the parting of people due to war in which the innocence of rural life (and of the “Irish Maid”) is destroyed in the face of systemic aggression and national policy: “He is gone to the wars and left his dear Irish Maid.”

SENTIMENTALITY AND “STREET-SONGS” OF THE VICTORIAN DRAWING ROOM

The newly-authored songs of emigration that emerged in the Victorian period were very different to those that had gone before. Fred Kaplan argues similarly to McGann that the “tear-filled worship of sacred sentimentality in Victorian culture came through the philosophy and literature of the moral sentiments that the Victorians read, studied, and breathed as their childhood air,” rather than from the impulse of anti-enlightenment Romanticism.[49] Unlike McGann however, Kaplan sees Romanticism not as part of a chain of ideas from eighteenth-century conceptions of sentiment to Victorian sentimentality, but rather as a break in this chain, arguing that for the “purpose of understanding Victorian sentimentality, it is as if the Romantics, with the exception of Wordsworth, hardly existed. Life and influence came from the grandfathers rather than from the fathers.”[50] This thread from moral sentimentalism to Wordsworth (who “helped to legitimize sentimentality for the Victorians”) and through to Victorian writers such as Dickens, is useful in the search for the genealogy of songs such as “Irish Emigrant”.[51]

In his seminal study, R. S. Crane argued specifically that the origins of the “Man of Feeling” could be found in the late seventeenth century where it emerged directly from the preaching of the latitudinarians and their reaction against the perceived

[48] Recorded in 1970 by Fotheringay on the album of the same name.
[49] Kaplan. *Sacred Tears*. Kindle ed. (Intro).
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.

coldness and harsh view of humanity held by the Puritans. For the latitudinarians, argues Crane, the ability to feel and act upon empathetic emotions was seen as evidence of individual moral fibre as well as of the inherent goodness of the individual; "Goodness" rather than the "doctrine"[52] of the puritan movements, should be the primary motivating force for individuals. More pertinently, where the puritans believed that benevolence should not result in the giver becoming inwardly disturbed or overly emotional,[53] for the latitudinarians, it was not enough that man be charitable, he must also *feel* compassionate: "there can be no effective benevolence … that does not spring from the tender emotions of pity and compassion." For the anti-stoic latitudinarians, there was a difference between "genuine goodness" and those who "are merely righteous or just."[54]

This association made by the moral sentimentalists between "goodness" and the emotions of sympathy set a problematic precedence in which displays of sentiment became necessary verifications of one's moral fibre or "goodness". And it was imperative that these displays of goodness were public: in Fanny Burney's novel *Camilla*, the character Sir Sedley Clarindel declares "we are at such a prodigious expense of sensibility in public, for tales of sorrow told about pathetically."[55] As Claudia L. Johnson writes of the 1790s: "what and how one feels is a matter of public consequence, and as such subject to one's own as well as to other people's surveillance … in short, sentimentality is politics made intimate."[56] It was important among polite circles that people felt morally – that their feelings displayed sympathy rather than anything that might resemble self-pity. Fifty years later, during a time when ever increasing regulation, industry and capitalisation was not enough to fend off poverty and hunger (the "hungry forties"), and at the same time when increasing secularisation brought about increasing insecurity about societal morality in some strands of the middle classes – this type of sentimentality resurfaced in the latter; it seems no accident that the term "secularism" was coined in 1851 during a time both of rising nationalism and during the craze for sentimental song.[57]

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[52] R. S. Crane, "Suggestions Toward A Genealogy of the "Man of Feeling," 210.
[53] Ibid., 217.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Quoted in Claudia L. Johnson, *Equivocal Beings*, 2.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Nikki R. Keddie, "On Secularism & Religion," 15.

“The Irish Emigrant”

The song that epitomizes this craze of mid-Victorian sentimentality more than any other is “The Irish Emigrant” by Helen Selina Blackwood, Baroness Dufferin and Clandeboye Dufferin (1807 – 1867) the granddaughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. One of the song’s earliest publications was a musical score published in Boston at some point before 1840 under the title “Lament of the Irish Emigrant, A Ballad, Poetry by the Hon. Mrs Price Blackwood” set to music composed by William R. Dempster. Under the title of the first page of this publication is a note that reads: “Portraying the feelings of an Irish peasant previous to his leaving home, calling up the scenes of his youth under the painful reflection of having buried his wife and child, and what his feelings will be in America.”[58] “Irish Emigrant” was the most widely-printed song of emigration in street balladry, and one of the most popular Irish-themed songs overall outside Ireland. A title search on Bodleian Ballads Online produces 20 English-printed results (including various spin-offs) and it was widely printed as musical score and in published song collections. It was printed by all the mid-century London street-ballad printers such as Elizabeth Hodges and Ann Ryle, and by later London printers such as Disley and Henry Such, as well as by printers in Manchester (Thomas Pearson), Birmingham, Leeds and Liverpool. The song also inspired various parodies and “answers” that were sold on the street, such as “The English Emigrant” and “Answer to the Irish Emigrant”.

A number of factors make this song sentimental as conceived here: male narration, indirect narration, the idealized treatment of death, and its regular rhyme and metre. Like the two songs written by middle-class, female authors and analysed below (“Kathleen Mavourneen” and “Come back to Erin”), “Irish Emigrant” is written from the perspective of a male narrator who addresses his dead or departed lover rather than the hearer of the song. Immediately, a sense of remove results in which the hearer of the song either becomes an imposter in, or viewer of, a drama rather than a participant or recipient. As a result, the sense of emotional directness evoked by the anonymous songs is lost here, and the hearer’s new role allows them to remain at a polite remove, uninvolved.

[58] William Richardson Dempster, “Lament Of The Irish Emigrant” (184). *Historic Sheet Music Collection*, 289. https://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/sheetmusic/289/

This remove builds upon the sense of artifice (that many hearers experience upon reception of the sentimental genre) created by the idealization of tropes that occur in these songs. In "Irish Emigrant", Ireland itself is a place of cultivated nature and domestic idyll rather than of wild sublime. The ordered cultivation implied by the "stile" in the opening line is further emphasised by the "corn" growing "fresh and green". The image of the "village church" in the third verse (as printed by Such) where the couple "were wed" further emphasises respectable domestication and conservative values. Mary had been a respectable "bride", one of the "honest country maidens" mentioned by Derek Scott, rather than a "love" or "sweetheart".[59] Mary's death is sanitized in the idealized nature of the scene and in the relative complex, yet regular rhyming scheme (a-b-c-b-d-e-f-e).

Another aspect that makes this lyric inherently "sentimental" in the judgemental sense of vapid and artificial, is its lack of political critique. As already mentioned, the songs that became popular in mid-century street balladry were less political than those exile ballads that had been authored in response to the Irish political events of the 1790s (explored in Chapter Two) – ballads that had reflected a Romantic-period aesthetic in celebration of wild and sublime nature. Conversely, the street-ballad versions of "Irish Emigrant" (likely the versions most heard) diminish any sense of transgression of any kind – including the political. In the full version of "Irish Emigrant" published in the Boston score and in subsequent poetry collections such as Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Oxford Book of English Verse* (1919), there are eight verses, one of which includes mention of "hunger" as the reason for the death of the emigrant's wife (Mary) and their child. However, this critique is diminished in the street ballad versions that all only include five or six of the original verses – leaving hunger only as an implied theme in the last (or second last) verse in the mention of "bread and work for all" in the land of the narrator's destination. As a result, as in most other songs of emigration of this period, the home place and the people in it are idealized and the song ends with: "…I'll not forget old Ireland, Were it fifty times as fair."[60]

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[59] Dereck B. Scott *The Singing Bourgeois*, 77.
[60] "The Irish Emigrant" as printed by H. Such. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/17584.gif

The authorship of this song about Irish emigration by an author with tenuous links to Ireland is significant. Like many people living in England, Dufferin evidently felt an affinity to Ireland because of her Irish heritage – despite living most of her childhood and adult life in England (and some of her early childhood in South Africa). Although she spent more time on the estate of her late husband in Clandeboye, Co. Down, after becoming widowed, this was not a song written by someone immersed in Irish music and culture. As Derek B. Scott notes, "this is a ballad for the English middle class" – or rather, it was at least very popular with the piano-score-buying classes as musical score sales show. In 1842, it was listed under "List of New Publications" in *The Musical World* as newly published by London music publishers Chappell (a list that included another Irish-themed song also by Chappell, "Kate O'Shane" by G. Linley).[61] This publication of the song by Chappell was likely the musical version composed by George Barker (composer of the popular song "White Squall" in 1835)[62] that seems to have become better known in England, but was also later published in Boston.[63] The *British Musical Biography* (1897) lists Barker's three best-remembered works as "Irish emigrant", "Scottish blue bells" and "White Squall" – a fittingly representative example of the prevalence of "Celtic" and naval themes in mid-nineteenth-century popular song.[64] As Derek B. Scott notes of Barker's melody, it is "not remotely Irish in character" (an observation just as relevant to the earlier composition by Dempster), adding that this "merely serves to emphasize that this is a ballad for the English middle class."[65]

Evidently however, the song was also popular on the street. The 1865 article "Street Songs and their Singers" published in the *St. James's Magazine* states that Lady Dufferin and her sister Mrs. Norton, "have the well-won honour of having contributed to street music two or three of the most popular songs of the last quarter of a century." Moreover: "Lady Dufferin's" 'Irish Emigrant' I have heard in the streets of London, Dublin, Belfast, Edinburgh, Birmingham, New York, Toronto, and Quebec, and within a month or two found it enthralling a numerous audience in a crowded street in

[61] *The Musical World*, 1842, 294.
[62] Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 100.
[63] George Barker and Lady Dufferin, "I'm Sitting by the Stile Mary" (1850). *Historic Sheet Music Collection*. 827. https://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/sheetmusic/827/
[64] Stephen Samuel Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, 26.
[65] Derek B. Scott, *The Singing* Bourgeois, 101.

Newcastle-on-Tyne" (two more Irish-themed ballads – "Katie's Letter" and "Sweet Dublin Bay" – are also mentioned as being popular).[66] These accounts of street audiences being "enthralled" indicate a profound identification with the theme and sentiments of the song – despite representations of Irishness elsewhere, for example in publications such as *Punch*, often being derogatory. This dichotomy of representation (and reception) is also illustrated in the range of woodcuts that accompany the song on various street-ballad sheets; for example, on one sheet printed by Disley the woodcut depicts what is an appropriately chosen village complete with church spire,[67] while on another sheet printed by Henry Such, a woodcut depicting a simian-like, rather menacing male portrait has been chosen to accompany the song.[68]

The song's popularity on the street is evidenced by the various spin-offs that the song inspired with both comic and sentimental results. In the "Sequel to the Irish Emigrant", printed by Ryle & Co, the originally sad narrative is rectified with Mary's slightly far-fetched return from the dead. An omnipotent narrator appears in the fourth verse declaring Mary's return, after which Mary herself tells Dermot that she was "not dead, but in a trance" when she was placed in her "bier", and that she was "exhumed … for the dissector's knife, / But when the blade did pierce" her "flesh" it brought her "back to life" – a narrative that brings to mind that of the contemporaneous penny dreadfuls.[69] In "Answer to the Irish Emigrant", also printed by Ryle & Co as well as by W. McCall of Liverpool, Dermot receives the opposite fate. In this version of the song, Dermot returns to Mary because despite there being "food and labour" in Australia, and despite "heaven's all bounteous hand" having "shed its gilts on all around, / And blest this stranger's land," Australia can "yield no balm to sooth" his "grief". So in the last verse, Dermot declares: "I've come to join my babe and thee, And lay me down to die."

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[66] R. T. "Street Songs and Their Singers," 1865, 195.
[67] "The Irish Emigrant" as printed by Disley. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/16297.gif
[68] "The Irish Emigrant" as printed by H. Such. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/17584.gif
[69] "Sequel to the Irish Emigrant" as printed by Ryle & Co. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04365.gif

The parody, "The English Emigrant", is further evidence of the familiarity that audiences had with the original.[70] Set to the tune of "Irish Emigrant", it closely follows the rhythm, rhyme and theme of the original for comic effect. There are three copies of the parody in the Johnson collection in the Bodleian and one in the Harding collection (also in the Bodleian) – all of which come from the same printing, possibly a sheet printed in conjunction with a performance (because it was not printed by any of the usual London ballad printers) where it was "Sung with unbounded applause by Mr. E. Morgan at the White Conduit."[71]

This is a comic song in which a London costermonger couple replace the original rural Irish characters. As in the original, the narrator addresses his dead wife – this time in cockney dialect. His dead bride's name is "Sarey" instead of "Mary":

> I'm standing at the stall Sarey with Pincher by my side,
> A dealing out the pickled eels like when you was my bride;
> The gas is shining clear and bright in the beer-shop lamp so high,
> And the glass was in your hand Sarey, & the gin-shop in your eye.
>
> *etc*

This depiction of drunken cockney costermongers serves as a comic release from the idealized innocence and sentimental pathos of the original: The "love light" in Mary's eye is replaced by the "gin shop" in Sarey's eye, and the "corn … springing fresh and green" is replaced by a landscape of pickled eel stalls, beer shops, gin shops and lanes where the couple were "spliced, ven drunk or wery nigh." The "lark's loud song in [the narrator's] heart" is replaced by "rough music played up cherily [their] blessed hearts to cheer." Like Sarey, the narrator is no blameless victim, declaring that he will emigrate while owing Sarey's "chandlers shop score" which "to pay [he] ne'er intends." His bids his "old voman" a "long good bye" and looks forward to "the land [he's] going to" where "there's not one pickled stall, and the sun shines always." The song ends with "But I'll not forget dear Vestimnester, vos if fifty times as dear" instead of the original "But I'll not forget old Ireland, / Were it fifty times as fair."

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[70] "The English Emigrant" as printed by T. King. BBO.
[71] Warwick Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens*, 1869, 131-140.

In bringing the scene from Ireland home to the London audiences in this way (the performance on this ballad-sheet refers to the White Conduit – a venue in Islington until 1849),[72] and by de-idealizing the song's subjects by describing the "hard blow" of Sarey's hand and the "paint upon [her] cheek", the song takes on a tragi-comic tone that in its relatability almost becomes more poignant than the original. The White Conduit was a neglected venue by the 1840s – described by William Hone as a "'starveling show of odd company and coloured lamps' possessing a mock orchestra with mock singing, and a dancing room, in which no respectable person would care to be seen."[73] But it was evidently a venue known fondly enough for it to be nicknamed "Vite Cundick Couse" by its cockney visitors, and not deemed too disreputable (or was perhaps fashionably disreputable) to act as advertisement on this ballad sheet.[74]

All of these parodies and answers to the original song serve to mitigate the sentimentality of the original in various ways while at the same time acknowledging the powerful hold that the original evidently had within popular culture. As a whole, the popularity of this group of songs (including the original and parodies) serves to highlight the resonance that *disconnection* from people had within Victorian culture – whether that disconnection was treated by the hearer from a distance with self-indulgent sentimentality, or whether it was experienced as lived grief in a more necessarily dispassionate way. But the act of tampering with the original narrative has a similar affect to breaking through the fourth wall in its exposure of the inherent artifice in any act of narrative creation – especially one designed to affect pathos. The spell of sentimentality is thus broken; despite the new happy ending created in "Sequel to the Irish Emigrant", Mary's resurrection is so ludicrous that the effect becomes more comic than sentimental. And, in "Answer to the Irish Emigrant" the emigrant's desire to return home to die, is reminiscent of the grief expressed in the eighteenth-century songs of sensibility rather than the more removed sense of grief expressed in songs of sentimentality. In turn, the "English Emigrant", despite its comedy is almost the most tragic narrative of all in its depiction of urban poverty, squalor, alcoholism and dysfunctional relationship.

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 138.
[74] Ibid., 137.

"Kathleen Mavourneen" and "Aileen Mavourneen"

Two further mid-nineteenth-century, Irish-themed, emigration songs by female authors are "Kathleen Mavourneen" and "Aileen Mavourneen". The fact that in contrast to "Irish Emigrant" neither of these songs seem to have been parodied in street balladry, perhaps reflects the more subtle, abstract treatment of the theme of parting that both present.

"Kathleen Mavourneen"

"Kathleen Mavourneen" was especially well-known throughout the century among all social classes. Like "Irish Emigrant", this song was also first published as music manuscript in *c*.1840 in a collection titled *Irish Songs* with music was composed by Frederick Nicholls Crouch. Crouch described the circumstances surrounding his reaction on first finding the lyrics, and the song's subsequent composition and first performance, as follows:

> The words instantly attracted my attention by their purity of style and diction. I sought the authoress, and obtained her permission to set them to music. Leaving London as traveller to Chapman and Co, Cornhill, while prosecuting my journey towards Saltash I jotted down the melody on the historic banks of the Tamar. On arriving at Plymouth, I wrote out a fair copy of the song, and sang it to Mrs. Rowe, the wife of a music publisher of that town. The melody so captivated her and others who heard it that I was earnestly solicited that it should be given the first time in public at her husband's opening concert of the season. But certain reasons obliged me to decline the honour. I retired to rest at my hotel, and rising early next morning, and opening my window, what was my surprise to see on a hoarding right opposite a large placard on which was printed in the largest and boldest type: F. Nicholls Crouch from London, will sing at P. E. Rowe's concert, "Kathleen Mavourneen," for one night only![75]

Crouch's excitement on finding lyrics displaying "purity of style and diction", and Mrs. Rowe's evident keenness to have the song performed as soon as possible, reveals

[75] S. J. Adair Fitzgerald, *Stories of Famous Songs*, 1898, 134-135.

how strongly the song appealed to the *zeitgeist* of the time. The speed with which Rowe's placard was displayed and the evident excitement of publishing houses and concert venues surrounding new songs – and new songs with Irish themes – was a phenomenon that subsequently grew in the nineteenth century and can be seen in the success of the ballad concerts in the second half of the century.

The first musical score was published by D'Almaine, music publishers in London, but as was commonly the case, it was immediately pirated in England and the US, prompting Crouch to complain that "not one of these brain-stealers has had sufficient principle to bestow a single dime on the composer!".[76] The lyrics had been published on their own some time before Crouch's discovery of them in *The Metropolitan Magazine* in 1835. The author was "Mrs Crawford" who regularly wrote for the *Magazine* at the time and was a prolific author of over one hundred songs and poems. Subsequent references to the song often falsely attributed the lyrics (as well as the composition) to Crouch which was due in part to the relative disregard given to song authors generally (as evidenced with songs such as "Exile of Erin" and "Mary Le More") and to female authors especially. Compounding this was the fact "Mrs Crawford" used a number of different names – Louisa, Matilda, Jane, Julia, Annie, and Marion. She was born in Cavan in 1789, but was of English/Scottish parentage born to an English army officer (and keen naturalist) while the family were on a posting there, and she spent most of her life in London, dying there in 1857.[77] Despite this, the author of *Stories of Famous Songs* declared confidently in 1898 that Crawford was, due to her Cavan birth, "a true daughter of Erin."[78] However "true" a "daughter of Erin" Crawford was, she clearly felt affinity and affection for the place of her birth, but more importantly in authoring this poem, Crawford delivered an image of Ireland that evidently resonated. As a street-ballad, "Kathleen Mavourneen" was popular, appearing in 13 different printings in the Bodleian collection (6 from London printers, 5 from printers in other English cities and 2 with no printer imprint). There are also copies in the collection held by the National Library of Scotland and in the Holt collection, as well as multiple printings in the Madden collection. All of these texts are very similar with only very minor spelling and punctuation differences.

[76] Ibid., 136.
[77] "Crawford, Louisa Matilda Jane, c.1791-1857 professional songwriter." *Archives Online*.
[78] S. J. Adair Fitzgerald, *Stories of Famous Songs*, 1898, 132.

The "Mavourneen" of the title is an anglicisation of the Irish phrase *mo mhuirnín* meaning "my darling," although the capitalization of the phrase in this printing means that it is read as Kathleen's second name. Literal translation was likely uncommon in England itself where the Irish language would only rarely have been heard apart from in phrases in songs such as this. So these phrases would have been interpreted via the individual reception of the combination of text, tune, performance, venue and theme. They would have been received as mysterious and untranslatable poetic language, and perhaps later embodied as familiar, musical nonsense sounds. As Aikin noted of songs in the Scottish dialect in 1772: "I suspect Ramsay gains a great advantage among us by writing in the Scotch dialect: this not being familiar to us, and scarcely understood, softens the harsher parts, and gives a kind of foreign air that eludes the critics' severity."[79]

This incomprehensibility forms a mysterious aural hook, but combined with the unthreatening name of "Kathleen" its potential uncanniness or Otherness is domesticated. Moreover, the rhyming of Mavourn-"een" with Kathl-"een" emphasises the high vowels sounds ("een") – vowels which in many languages (Italian, Portuguese) are associated with smallness (with juvenility) – and seem to make the adjective (or surname) safe and potentially beloved. In this way endearment is denoted even if direct linguistic translation does not occur.

But this juvenility or smallness is transformed into vulnerability in the opening lines of the song with the introduction of the ominously "grey" dawn. This is no glistening dawn of pastoral pastiche but instead one that is grey and silent. The lark wakes to shake the dew from her "light wing" but does not sing; the only sound is the cautionary hunter's horn "heard on the hill." Inside, Kathleen is found "slumbering" – the word "still" forming the paronomasia of *stillness* and still *yet*. The narrator's surprised "what" (although "what" does not appear with question mark even in the original *Metropolitan Magazine* version) creates the only movement in a scene that is otherwise noiseless, and the implication of the stillness of death seems to overpower the possibility of wakefulness. The narrator's repeated plea "Oh, hast thou forgotten"

[79] Dr John Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing*, 1772, 29-30.

further hints not only toward the inevitable forgetting between parted lovers, but also toward the permanent forgetting of death. The association in the fifth line between forgetting and severing (“sever”), and between forgetting and parting (“part”) in the sixth line, creates more interplay between the sense of temporality and permanence in the subsequent “may be for years, and it may be forever.” The possibility of death is again conjured in Kathleen’s silent response to the narrator’s questions; her silence in stark contrast to the description of her as the “voice” of the narrator’s heart. Again, only the narrator’s voice is heard in his exclamations (“what”, “Oh”, “Oh”), the repetition of which intensify the sense of impending emptiness and grief.

By the opening of the second verse, the narrator’s “awake from thy slumber” becomes more urgent in the face of the awakening day – the “blue mountains” now glowing “in the sun’s golden, light” (the original version reads as one continuous line with no comma, and a semi-colon after “light”). The images that follows, of the animate Kathleen inherent in the “spell” that “once hung” on her “numbers”, and the invocation of her beauty via “star” and “night”, serve as further contrast to her current inanimate state. And the image of his “falling” tears again emphasises his life-force in contrast to her “slumber”.

In the third-last line, “Erin” is introduced as a new signifier – of place and of departure from place. The inevitable chain of further interpretant signs forms a new realm of associations for the hearer; that ancient place name “Erin”, perhaps especially outside Ireland (as noted in Chapter Three), is that ethereal place of myth and romance that forms a contrast to the contemporary associations connoted by “Ireland”. In the 1840s when this ballad was first heard on the streets, “Ireland” was a place of famine, “Erin” on the other hand, was a place of potential transcendence. In the narrator’s parting from “Erin and thee”, the signifiers “Erin” and “Kathleen Mavourneen” become associated with each other. Erin is that place of natural dynamism where the hunter’s horn sounds, where the lark dwells and where the “blue mountains glow in the sun’s golden, light”, and that place over which the narrator’s “star” once shined. Now in contrast, in its innermost spaces of protection, memory, home and sleeping, Erin slumbers in a state of imminent forgetting and possible death.

In bringing the hearer into this most private of spaces, the song evokes in them the emotional sensations of parting.[80] Parting from Erin becomes associated with parting from paramour and family who inhabit the domestic sphere. Received (outside Ireland) as Otherness, Ireland potentially becomes a more effective metaphor for the emotions of parting than the hearer's own home place. As Other, Erin's mythical and artistic associations create a neat idealizing metaphor through which to represent the parting from a home that once left (physically or temporally), always takes on an element of imaginative memory before it fades to eventual silence and forgetting. At the same time, the domesticity of this scene creates a type of empathy between the Otherness of Erin and the hearer.

Further potential interpretive nuances and associations can be found in the song's printed context on a sheet by Paul (of London) who printed it as the first of four on a sheet of songs that might all fit the description of sentimental: "Isle of Beauty", "Molly Bawn", and "Love Lies Asleep In The Rose".[81] There are two woodcuts on the sheet and the woodcut above "Kathleen Mavourneen" is in the style of Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) – an oval-shaped rural scene. The scene includes a figure surrounded by trees and sky, but on closer inspection reveals an incongruity in which the man holds an axe and faces a snake that seems to be rising from the ground beside him, as if about to attack. The other woodcut printed above "Isle of Beauty", is that of a dog – possibly a hunting dog, standing on a grassy surface. Both images might be associated with rural life, and perhaps the printer was making an Irish association with the first image – imagining it as St Patrick killing the snakes of Ireland.

The most prominent song on this ballad-sheet after "Kathleen Mavourneen" is "Isle of Beauty" by Thomas Haynes Bayly (author not named). This was evidently a very popular song; there are around 27 extant printings in the Bodleian, and it is mentioned by one of Mayhew's street-ballad singers as the "very best sentimental song that ever I had in my life … I could get a meal quicker with that than with any other" although he mistakenly attributes it to Byron.[82] "Isle of Beauty" was first published in *Songs to*

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[80] Gaston Bachelard's ideas in *The Poetics of Space* are brought to mind here.
[81] "Kathleen Mavourneen" as printed by Paul. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02865.gif
[82] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour,* vol. 3, 1861, 196.

Rosa, volume I, by Bayly in 1825 – possibly just as verse without the sheet music.[83] Subsequent musical scores were widely republished with the melody and lyrics attributed to Bayly, while the arrangements ("arrangements" being defined as "symphonies and accompaniments" or "composed") were variously composed by T. A. Rawlings or Charles Shapland Whitmore, Esq. The ambiguity of which "Isle" the song refers to makes it especially malleable to fluid interpretation. Bayly was born in Bath, England, but had spent time in Dublin in his 20s and married Helena Beecher Hayes, the daughter of Benjamin Hayes from Marble Hill in Co. Cork (although Helena herself also grew up, at least in part, in Bath).[84] He wrote a number of other songs with more obviously Irish themes such as "I'll hang my Harp on a Willow Tree", so the idea that the song's reference to the dwelling place of the narrator's "old companions" might pertain to his visit to Ireland is not so far-fetched.[85] It is possible also that his reference to "Isle" was deliberately and pragmatically ambiguous, signifying either Britain or Ireland depending on performance context. In England, it became a patriotically British song – being played for example by brass bands at Remembrance Day services in London in the 21st century.[86]

Like, "Kathleen Mavourneen", "Isle of Beauty" contains the tropes of loneliness and parting – but in this instance it involves a parting from "friends" and "companions" rather than from the domesticity of relationship and home. The memories of "happy faces" and of songs sung are contrasted with the narrator's present in which they pace the deck of a ship alone, their eye in vain "seeking / Some green leaf to rest upon."[87] The last phrase of the song "Absence makes the heart grow fonder / Isle of beauty, fare thee well" is commonly accepted as the origin of the well-known phrase – a tribute to the lasting cultural impact that the popular songs of this period had.[88] So, this song makes fitting companion, with its themes of parting, grief, remembrance and forgetting, to "Kathleen Mavourneen".

[83] Helena Beecher Hayes Bayly, editor. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Haynes Bayly*, 1844.
[84] Ibid., 14-21.
[85] "Isle of Beauty" as printed by Paul, London.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02865.gif
[86] For example, at the remembrance service in London in the presence of Queen Elizabeth II in 2009.
[87] "Isle of Beauty" as printed by Paul, London.
[88] "Information" for "Long Long Ago" on *Contemplator*.
http://www.contemplator.com/england/longago.html

The other two songs at the bottom of the ballad-sheet printed by Paul are "Molly Bawn" and "Love Lies asleep in the Rose". "Molly Bawn" is the title of a song with multiple variants but with two main branches. One of these branches is an old song (Roud 166) in the old narrative style – possibly containing evidence of ancient Irish origin.[89] The variant on the Paul sheet however, and all the English printings in the Bodleian, is a two-verse sentimental piece (evidence in one song of the change from narrative to sentimental-descriptive). The Bodleian contains eight English variants of this version in total, four of which are blackface parodies of the sentimental version. Another descriptive-sentimental version contains no imprint so its origin can't be verified, but the fact that all three of the Irish-printed versions (2 from Dublin and 1 from Cork) are versions of the "old" song (Roud 166) is significant. The English sentimental version is perhaps a shortened answer to this original narrative in which a girl gets shot by her lover because he mistakes her for a swan. The main focus of the original song revolves around the actions taken by the lover after the incident. The sentimental song on this sheet on the other hand is less tragic. The songs begins with parted lovers, "Oh Molly Bawn, why leave me pining, / All lonely, waiting here for you?" and continues as a eulogy likening Molly to "pretty flowers", "pretty stars", flowers with "rosey faces". The theme of emigration in this case takes the form of threatened transportation in the face of the narrator's desire to brave the "wicked" "snarling" "watch-dog" that guards Molly, and steal her away.[90]

"Love Lies asleep in the Rose," the fourth song on the Paul sheet, was originally set to music at some point during or before 1830 because it was sung at Vauxhall Gardens in July of 1830 in celebration of William IV's accession to the throne, and was the one song in particular that "called forth loud applause" on that occasion.[91] The text was likely written by well-known lyricist Edward Fitzball (who also wrote "The Bloom is On the Rye") and it was set to music first by Henry Bishop (the pair often

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[89] See Jennifer J. O'Connor, "The Irish Origins and Variations of the Ballad 'Molly Brown'."
[90] "Molly Bawn" as printed by Paul, London. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02865.gif
[91] "Vauxhall Gardens," *Morning Post*, Sat. 24 July 1830, 3. The bottom of this article contains an aside: "At a place of amusement, conducted in such good taste by the proprietors as this in general is, we are astonished to observe so great a breach of propriety allowed as the policemen are now suffered to commit. They mingle with the company and attend the spectacles, and stare at the sights, and laugh at the jokes, with quite as much freedom as they could do had they paid their admission money, and were not there for the purposes they are. We hope this will be amended, for there is something repulsive and disgusting in having policemen shuffled among us in our amusement like so many threatening court cards in a pack."

collaborated on songs) and later in the century by Frederic Hymen Cowne. In the first verse, it reads like a purely idealized and sentimental ditty on love:

> The lady-bird skims o'er the woodbine,
> The bees in the lily repose,
> The summer fly rests on the cowslip,
> But Love lies asleep in the rose.

The following three verses however hint at the more sinister consequences of love as the meaning of "asleep" becomes sinister in the second verse

> The rose is the casket of Cupid,
> His spell from its redoline [*sic*] flows,
> Beware of the hand that presents it,
> For Love lies asleep in the rose.

The third verse uses various insects as metaphors for various kinds of attraction – the ladybird that "flaunts from your presence", the bee that "thrills your lip with a smart", and the summer-fly that "flutters around you", while "Love" on the other hand "plants a thorn in your heart". The last verse seems to suggest that although the death of Love (in the casket) is inevitable, if presented with "Affection", the rose's perfumed "soft magic" might negate its thorn. Another ballad-sheet that emphasises the culture of sentimentality in which "Kathleen Mavourneen" would have been received, is that mentioned in Chapter Three printed by Manchester printers Bebbington (and later Pearson when he bought Bebbington's business),[92] consisting of "Dear Irish Boy", "Cushlamachree" and "Little Nell".

So, all of the songs associated with "Kathleen Mavourneen" on these ballad sheets by Paul and Bebbington are rooted in the sentiments of (romantic or *philia*) love and parting from that love. The theme of Ireland is immediately conjured via the song titles that stand out from the page and words such as "Mavourneen, "Bawn", and "Isle". And place and love are bound in the signifier of Ireland as green idyll – as

[92] "Kathleen Mavourneen" as printed by Bebbington, Manchester. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03168.gif

vision of pastoral beauty and natural abundance. In “Kathleen Mavourneen” it is only the gloom of coming parting, represented by the lark’s wing and the distant hunting horn (and death), that disturbs the space that would otherwise be peaceful and homely, surrounded by a golden morning and distant glowing blue mountains. Similarly, the narrator of “Molly Bawn” is situated under “pretty stars” and amongst “pretty flowers”, and the narrator of “Isle of Beauty” having parted and being at sea, seeks in vain a “green leaf” to rest his eye upon. So Ireland becomes a signifier of *green* and all that that denotes (in some traditions the colour green is associated with love – for example in the Hindu Yogic, Shakta and Buddhist Tantric traditions it is the colour associated with the heart chakra).

As seen above, “Kathleen Mavourneen” was performed on stage as well as being widely printed for street sale, but the wide spectrum of its popularity is best illustrated by its becoming the signature song of the Irish soprano Catherine Hayes after she sang it for Queen Victoria and 500 guests at a concert in Buckingham Palace in 1849.[93] It was also popular in America, sung by soldiers during the American Civil War – so all of these associations reveal not only a song-culture that transcended social class, but also the popularity of Ireland as theme across the entire social spectrum.

“Aileen Mavourneen”

Although the lyrics of “Aileen Mavourneen” are not necessarily sentimental, its context as a street ballad – its repetition of “mavourneen” occurring at the same time that “Kathleen Mavourneen” was a popular song – can be viewed as such.[94] In fact, “Aileen Mavourneen” originated as a stage song. Written by Anna Maria Hall (or “Mrs. S. C. Hall” as she sometimes called herself as wife of Samuel Carter Hall) as part of her play *The Groves of Blarney*, it was first performed in the Theatre Royal Adelphi (London) in 1838[95] and was published as musical score in the same year.[96] The song was well received at the time, and was singled out by reviewers writing for

[93] Basil Walsh, *Catherine Hayes*, 114-115.
[94] “Aileen Mavourneen” as printed by M’Call of Liverpool. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/23900.gif
[95] Mrs S. C Hall, *The Groves of Blarney*, 1838.
[96] *Aileen Mavourneen ballad sung by Miss Agness Taylor* … words by S. C. Hall; the music by Alexander D. Roche. London: J. Duff & C. Hodgson, 1838. http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000367772

the *Journal of Belles Lettres* as "to our taste, a very sweet ballad."[97] This was praise indeed coming from the same writers whose judgment upon, for example, *A Set of Six Songs* (poetry by Lord Byron and others set to music by the Marchioness of Hastings) was: "a failure … all alike … the monotony is unbroken from the beginning of the volume to the end."[98] As a street ballad however, like "Kathleen Mavourneen", it was only first published in the second half of the century – by printers such as W. McCall of Liverpool and a number of later-century, provincial ballad-printers such as Wilson of Whitehaven, Harkness of Preston, and Ross of Newcastle. As such, the change in context would in turn have changed its reception.

In a similar way that it is the *repetition* of representation that creates the damaging stereotypes of colonial discourse (rather than simply the representation itself), in the later-century context, it is the fixing of the "ideological construction of otherness" via the repetition of "mavourneen" that makes the song a sentimental cliché.[99] In the original context of the play, the song's role can be seen as representing Irish sentimentality through its depiction of the wistful and impotent longing that is unrequited love. It is sung by a relatively minor character, Aileen, who is vainly in love with a man bound to marry another – and unsentimentally, she does not get her man at the end of the play. So the play as a whole is observational and comic rather than sentimental. Taking place in Ireland, with Irish characters of various social standing and a cockney interloper taking on the role of stage Irishman, it plays upon stereotypical national representations of Englishness and Irishness. Hall was a prolific writer of novels, plays and prose, her entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* notes that her work contains "fine rural descriptions [of Ireland], … [that] are animated by a healthy tone of moral feeling and a vein of delicate humour", but adds that her work was "never popular in Ireland, as she saw in each party much to praise and much to blame, so that she failed to please either the Orangemen or the Roman catholics."[100] So, as someone who moved to England from Ireland at the age of 15, and who remained in England for the rest of her long life, Hall could be viewed as someone uniquely suited to writing from an unsentimental perspective.

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[97] "Music", *The Literary Gazette*, 1838, 283.
[98] Ibid.,
[99] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 94.
[100] "Hall, Anna Maria (1800-1881)," *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900*, Vol. 24, par. 4.

Yet, heard in the context of other songs by female song-writers such as "Irish Emigrant" and "Kathleen Mavourneen" (and "Come back to Erin" below) it emphasises Ireland in that sentimental way as passive, nostalgic, and female. Unlike "Irish Emigrant" and "Kathleen Mavourneen" that are narrated by the male character, the street-ballad version of "Aileen Mavourneen" is narrated by both the male and female partners – one of the four verses being narrated by the male partner and the rest by the female.[101] In this sense, like the "Irish Girl" songs, it was made to echo the eighteenth-century dialogue songs of the type epitomized by Thomas Arne's "Colin and Phoebe".[102] Yet, that sense of remove inherent in Victorian songs of sentimentality is also evident here in the sense that the "dialogue" is more a narration by each partner to a third party rather than to the audience; and, while this third party might be the hearer of the song – thus creating the sense of intimacy found in the songs of sensibility – the wistful relaying of the lover's speech in the repeat of "… sweet [or "fond"] words he [or "she"] whispers to me, / My Aileen Mavourneen, Acushlamachree" lends a sense that the narrator sings to themselves rather than to any hearer. This is emphasised in the play when as introduction to the song Aileen declares "… thank Heaven she has left me, and in solitude I can think over my hopeless passion."[103] The sense of intimacy between singer and hearer is then less than it might be if the singer were singing to the audience directly instead of to herself – and a sense of polite (sentimental) remove is maintained in performance as a result.

A sense of insecurity and doubt are immediately evident in the opening of the song when Aileen sings "he *tells* me he loves me … and can I believe / The heart he has won, he would wish to deceive". The anxiety raised by this rhetorical question creates a sense of isolation (a sense of "exile in Ireland") that is perhaps yet more emphasized by the *remembrance* of the lover's soothing words (and the lover's present absence) – the repetition of which might raise doubts about their authenticity rather than produce the palliation that they intend. His words "Aileen Mavourneen, Acushlamachree" are an Anglicization of the Irish *cuisle mo chroí* which means pulse, or beat of my heart. The way that the name of "*Ail*een" rolls into the unfamiliar (to English-speaking ears)

[101] In the original play and score versions, this change in voice did not occur and the narrator remains female throughout.
[102] See Frank Kidson (ed), *Traditional Tunes*, 73, and "Colin and Phaebe A Pastoral" in Thomas Arne, *Lyric Harmony*, 1745, 30.
[103] Mrs S. C Hall, *The Groves of Blarney*, 1838, 19.

sound of “Ma-*vour*-neen a-*cush*-la-ma-*chree*” produces a soothing familiarity – the phrase as a whole rolls off the tongue. And when the translation is not directly understood, as would have been the case for most hearers on English streets, the softness of the consonant sounds – of the “sh”, the “l” and the “che” – might also be “translated” as consisting of soothing intent. However, although these sounds and the pronoun “my” communicate a sensation of tenderness, made yet more poignant by the lovers’ separation, the insecurity of narration gives Aileen’s words a sense of weakness and self-delusion – which to give voice to, to elevate in performance, would be to sentimentalize.

In a similar way as occurs in “Kathleen Mavourneen”, there is a sense that the female voice is silenced. Reminiscent of Kathleen’s “silence”, in the last verse of “Aileen Mavourneen” Aileen loses her opportunity both for hearing (“all a lover can say”) and for voicing (“the [same] words he whispers to me”). So the parting and abandonment of emigration serves to silence the female characters left behind in these songs. This can perhaps be received as metaphor of Ireland’s loss of voice in its colonial relationship with Britain, but in its context in a song that endears the Irish female Other, it also serves to fetishize that Other and female silence as a whole. As such, and either way, the song’s repetition of “mavourneen” increasingly renders both Ireland and the Irish female sentimental – weak, subordinate, silent.

In its context on the printed ballad sheet printed by M’Call, “Aileen Mavourneen” is printed alongside “Banks of the Lea”. Alongside the latter, the sense of Aileen’s (and the association of Ireland) innocence and vulnerability in the face of deception is emphasised. “Banks of the Lea” is a mixture of Romantic-period comic song and eighteenth-century classical-pastoral, the latter of which itself potentially indicates Irish authorship in its reflection of the popular enthusiasm in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish hedge schools for learning the classics.[104] It has similarities to the various versions of “Colin and Phoebe” both in its use of pastoral imagery as well as in its use of playful rhyming. Classical references such as “Cupid”, “Sampson”, “Hercules” and “Parnasus” are prominent throughout. The “swain” meets “the second Pandora”, or “the lovely Aurora” despite her reservations: “Your lofty discourse is a

[104] See Tony Lyons, “Inciting the lawless” 2016, or Siobhán McElduff, “Not as Virgil has it,” 2011.

mass of seduction, / Bestowing false praise, on filth and corruption, / Remember the grave and eternal destruction, / So teaze [*sic*] me no more on the banks of the Lea." And despite her initial reluctance (also a feature of some versions of "Colin and Phoebe"), the "clergy" eventually knit the pair's "hearts firm and true".

The green of pastoral is evident from the first verse in the song's depictions of spring and summer, and their implication of fertility, courtship, and marriage:

> In the sweet summer season, Dame Nature seemed pleasing,
> The fields most engaging were charming to view;
> Quite careless I roved by the side of a grove,
> Where warblers in droves their sweet notes did renew
> It was down by the banks of a full flowing river,
> I spied a young damsel, both handsome and clever,
> Sly cupid appeared with his bow and his quiver,
> And wounded me sore on the banks of the Lea.[105]

So, this viridescent imagery and fertile language serves to contextualize and emphasize the *parting* from this cozy idyll and the isolation and anxiety that occurs in the other song on the sheet, "Aileen Mavourneen". The Irish connection is not necessarily explicit in this song – the name of the river and use of the commonly-used Irish cardinal idiom of "the west" being the only indicators – so it can either be interpreted as Irish or English; a river *Lee* runs through Cork city, but there is also a river Lea that runs north of London through Luton. However, the song's pastoral references mean that it fits with conventions that were by the second half of the century increasingly associated with Irishness.

"Come Back to Erin"

An example of a female-authored, Irish emigration song written later in the century is "Come Back to Erin". Both lyric and melody were written in 1868 by Charlotte

[105] Verse 1 of "Banks of the Lea" as printed by M'Call of Liverpool. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/23900.gif

Alington Pye Barnard (1830-1869)[106] the prolific song and hymn-writer also known as Claribel.[107] The song's popularity was widespread; it is extant in the Bodleian in five English printings (and three with no printer imprint) from London, Manchester and Preston, and the song evidently also travelled to Ireland as seen in the song's printing by Dublin printers J. F. Nugent and Co. It was also soon popular in America, at least as musical score, almost immediately.[108]

In comparison to Dufferin's (grand)parentage and marriage, Crawford's birth, and Hall's childhood – all of which provide a link, however tenuous, to Ireland – Claribel seems to have had no links to Ireland; she was born in Lincolnshire and lived most of her life between there and London, and for a short while Belgium. Yet, this song displays very similar tropes to those above, not least in the repetition (in the chorus *and* in each verse) of the word/phrase "mavourneen"; and as one music scholar has noted, Claribel possessed an "intuitive expression of the sentimentality of her day."[109] Like "Irish Emigrant" and "Kathleen Mavourneen", "Come Back to Erin" is narrated by a male, located in Ireland who addresses the lover from whom he is separated rather than the hearer of the song. However, in this song it is the female partner who takes on the role of emigrant rather than the male narrator. The printing by Harkness (a printer in Preston) reflects this in the accompanying woodcut of a female portrait in sailor dress.

The song centres upon on the narrator's cry-out for his lover to "come back to Erin" which is emphasised in the chorus as well as in the opening lines:

> Come back to Erin, Mavourneen, Mavourneen,
> Come back, aroon, to the land of thy birth,
> Come with shamrocks and spring time Mavourneen,
> And it's Killarney shall ring with our mirth.

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[106] "Barnard, Charlotte Alington," by William Barclay Squire, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885-1900, Vol. 03.
[107] Claribel, "Come Back to Erin. Song. Written and Composed for Madame Sherrington," c. 1864.
[108] "Come Back to Erin" *The Traditional Ballad Index*.
http://www.fresnostate.edu/folklore/ballads/OCon103.html
[109] Sigmund Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America*, 143.

So like “mavourneen” and “cushlamachree” (in “Aileen Mavourneen”), the word *aroon* in the second line is similarly onomatopoeiaic. It is an anglicization of the Irish phrase “a rún” that can be translated as “my dear” or “my loved one”, but in the context of its reception amongst those without knowledge of the Irish language, and in the context of grief, the sound of the long vowels begin to resemble a kind of primal keening across the Irish sea for the lover’s return – the soft consonants of the Irish phrase embodying a more endearing sound than the more defined consonant at the beginning of the English word “dear”. So these sounds become familiar in popular culture via their onomatopoeiaic, almost soporific qualities.

Like some of the other sentimental emigration songs, this is not an Irish song that became accidentally popular on English streets despite its inclusion of non-English words; it is instead a song in which Irish phrases have been deliberately included as signifier. To the English-speaking audiences for whom the song was first published, the inserted Irish words signified not only Irishness specifically, but potentially more fundamentally, an idyllic other-worldliness that nevertheless came to be relatively familiar. By 1868 when this song was authored, the signifier “Erin” was enough to evoke the natural charm and heroic mythology that had become associated with Ireland via the countless songs that had been disseminated previously in the century. And the calling back of the narrator’s “Mavourneen” to the “land of thy birth” evokes the impotent nostalgia for temporal homeplace, as well as the sense of yearning or abandonment experienced by anyone affected by migration of any kind. Yet, the other-worldliness of “Erin” also means that the experience of abandonment and parting can be experienced both cathartically, *and* at a safe and polite remove.

As in the other emigration songs of this cohort there is no indication of “Erin” as a place of political distress, poverty or famine and it is instead a place where spring thrives; the narrator yearns for his love to return “with the shamrocks and spring time” so that Killarney can “ring” with the pair’s “mirth”. The narrator only “lends” his love to England – she is expected to return. And moreover, England is “beautiful”, rather than oppressive or deceitful, which flatteringly serves to romanticize both nations. So in this song’s lack of “eviction”, “tyrants” or “oppressors”, a sense of spiritual surrender is allowed to occur; the narrator pines but does not starve, and there is a measure of comfort in the last scene in which the narrator sits by the “fireside”,

watching the "bright embers". Although the narrator's sense of abandonment is evident when the clouds like a "grey curtain" of "rain falling down" cuts out the last sight of the departing "white sail", and despite his "heart" flying to England and his "craving" to know if she "remembers", there is an inherent hope in his calling her "back to Erin."

This is a relatively emotionally sanitised narrative that would not have been out of place in any Victorian, drawing-room concert repertoire – but evidently this did not preclude its popularity on the street. There are no allusions to eros or rusticity, nor any potentially uncomfortable, guilt-inducing stories of state- or power-induced tragedy, and Derek Scott describes this song and others like it as "pseudo [national] song" created for the middle classes. However, as Phil Eva notes, this did not stop it from being printed and sold to street singers from Bebbington's printshop in the Angel Meadows area of Manchester, "half of whose residents were Irish" and as its printing by Nugent shows, it travelled quickly to Ireland itself.[110] So despite the song's sanitary sentimentality and its national artificiality (as potentially received), this song's consumption in Ireland illustrates what Juliet Shields describes as a kind of "feedback loop" in which Romantic or sentimentalized representations of nation are reinforced outside the nation in question, before they return back to appear, for example in Ireland's case, in the imagery of the late-nineteenth-century Irish Gaelic revival.[111]

In fact in Ireland, even this song was potentially received in terms of resistance if viewed in the context of what Kerby Miller describes as Ireland's nineteenth-century "culture of exile" – a culture dating back to the Tudor conquest of Ireland when many Irish Catholics (as a result of the plantations) first became "strangers at home! / … exiles in Erin!" as well as exiles *outside* Erin.[112] Miller describes the nineteenth-century Irish practice of holding "American Wakes" – leave-taking ceremonies which were "archaic in origin yet adapted to modern exigencies" and which "both reflected and reinforced tradition communal attitudes toward emigration":

[110] Philemon Eva, *Popular Song and Social Identity*, 200.
[111] Juliet Shields, "Highland Emigration," 765.
[112] "The Downfall of the Gael" translated by Sir Samuel Ferguson in *Anthology of Irish Verse*, 1922 edited by Padraic Colum. *Bartleby.com*. Accessed 12th May 2018.

> Indeed, these rituals seemed almost purposely designed to obscure the often mundane or ambiguous realities of emigration, to project communal sorrow and anger on the traditional English foe, to impress deep feelings of grief, guilt, and duty on the departing emigrants, and to send them forth as unhappy but faithful and vengeful 'exiles' – their final, heart-rending moments at home burned indelibly into their memories, easily recalled by parents' letters, old songs, or the appeals of Irish-American nationalists.[113]

Miller adds that most examples of these wakes are *pos*t-famine, but there is evidence that they were also "common in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century Ulster, where they were held by Presbyterians as well as by Catholics."[114] So in Ireland, this "culture of exile" was inherently political; and emigration was made political even if the reasons for that emigration were "mundane or ambiguous". The reinforcement of the idea that emigration is a very bad thing is still very powerful in Ireland in the twenty-first century – and the call to "come back" is echoed, for example, in the organisation of "The Gathering" in 2013 in which the Irish diaspora were invited back to Ireland for various events designed to boost tourism and create jobs.

Arguably, by 1868 in England, Irish emigration had become a trope used as vehicle of sentiment for the universally recognisable sense of parting and disconnection felt in Victorian England. A contemporary account of a performance of "Come back to Erin" in 1877 in a backroom free-and-easy in Manchester provides some insight: "in between young men singing comic music hall songs to indifferent response, the woman pianist sang 'Come back to Erin' … Much table thumping and jingling ensued … and then we went back to Erin once more and had it all over again."[115] This glimpse into the song's reception provides insight into the enthusiasm that even sentimental songs such as this were able to provoke in a group of "young men" singing predominantly comic songs in a free-and-easy. As Eva notes, although Manchester did indeed have a high population of Irish emigrants with whom the song's theme would have chimed, "we are not specifically told by the writer that the

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[113] Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 556.
[114] Ibid., 557.
[115] *Freelance* 1855-1878, 4 May, 1877, 141-2. Quoted in Philemon Eva, *Popular Song and Social Identity*, 201.

audience was wholly or predominantly Irish."[116] Moreover: "Irish songs appear to have been generally issued alongside English songs in the 1830s. Similarly, in free-and-easies in the 1860s and 1870s, Irish songs were performed amongst British patriotic songs, English ballads, recent music hall successes and other favourites."[117] Evidence for this kind of mix of songs can be found in every concert list in London and provincial newspapers throughout the nineteenth century.

The printed context of "Come Back to Erin" emphasises both otherness and the theme of parting and return. On the ballad sheet produced by printer Harkness of Preston, "Come Back to Erin" is printed alongside "Down in a Diving Bell".[118] The latter represents the late-Victorian obsession with technology, and in contrast to some of the more horrifying accounts of physical ailments when taking real trips in diving bells[119] the account in the ballad is instead a fantastical ditty about a sailor who marries a mermaid after meeting during his diving bell trip. The pair "married in a church that was built of oyster shells, / A merman was the minister, and the cod-fish rang the bells; / There was fun and variety – we had of fiddlers three - / We sang all night, got jolly and tight, at the bottom of the sea." The accompanying woodcut is a fossilized sea monster. So in England, this sheet with its fantastical world under the sea and the other world of "Erin" and "Mavourneen" encourages thoughts of places somewhere else. On another sheet printed by Pearson of Manchester (a printing that appears on Pearson's original catalogue and so was likely printed at some point before 1872) emphasises hope and the potential impermanence of emigration with "Come back to Erin" appearing alongside "The Belfast Lovers" and "Maggie May!" – both of which are songs about parted and returning lovers.[120] In a sense then, these sheets as a whole, take on a more comic, hopeful tone than the song itself expresses.

[116] Philemon Eva, *Popular Song and Social Identity*, 202.
[117] Ibid.
[118] "Come back to Erin" as printed by Harkness. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01856.gif
[119] See "Down in a Diving Bell", an article published in the *Southern Reporter* on Thursday 23 September 1869, 4.
[120] "Come back to Erin" as printed by Pearson. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/12347.gif

SENTIMENTALITY, COMEDY AND BETRAYAL

The last two songs of emigration explored in this chapter represent this comic tone. Both were, like the previous songs, by female authors and printed on street-ballad sheets in the second half of the century, and both take on the themes of emigration, abandonment and parting. However, their more overt treatment of the less sentimental and less palatable topic of betrayal produces an affect closer to comedy than to sentimentality.

"Teddy O'Neale"

Like "Come Back to Erin", "Teddy O'Neale" was written in England by an author with no discernable links to Ireland. Eliza Cook (1818-1889) was a Chartist poet who was especially popular amongst the working classes – to the extent that her portrait hung on the walls of many homes. She represented the kind of English patriotism akin to that of the eighteenth century in its combination of anti-establishmentism and celebration of homeliness through the "native earth". [121] One of her biographers, John Ingram, writes that she was famous as a poet who "sang for the people" and was "comprehended of the people" and whose work was "consistently humane".[122] Her vision of Englishness was one that celebrated a spiritual connection to the land and that criticized the "griping hand" that wrested away the " 'hallowed' land" of the "English common".[123] Ingram writes that her "… works are filled with sympathy for the down trodden and helpless, and the earth-weary and oppressed" and at the same time that "[no] writer has been more national, without being narrow-minded, than Eliza Cook."[124] The "sympathy" that Ingram writes of here is not the kind dependent on the evocation of self-indulgent pathos from the safe remove of relative privilege, but is instead a sympathy, or rather *empathy*, written from one in closer proximity to the narrators through which she spoke, and from the perspective of one whose political leanings suggested an active (at least earlier in her life) interest in campaigning for real and positive change for the underprivileged classes.

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[121] Eliza Cook, "The Englishman", *The Poets and the Poetry of the Century*, 1905-7, 273.
[122] John H. Ingram, "Eliza Cooke" in *The Poets and the Poetry of the Century*, 1905-7, 270.
[123] Eliza Cook, "The All Belong to Me" and "God Speed the Plough" in *The Poets and the Poetry of the Century*, 1905-7, 274-9.
[124] John H. Ingram, "Eliza Cooke" in *The Poets and the Poetry of the Century*, 1905-7, 270.

Whether Ingram would have included Cook's "Celtic" poems in his reference to Cook's poems about her "own country" cannot be known. But Cook wrote a number of such poems including the romantic song "Star of Glengarry" which is printed alongside "Teddy O'Neale" on a ballad sheet by Pearson. Evidently, Cook identified with Ireland in some way; one of the best-known portraits of Cook shows her wearing a harp brooch under her collar, and her first poetry collection, published when she was still a teenager, was named *Lays of a Wild Harp* (1835). So already as a teenager growing up in Sussex, she had had enough contact with imaginative literary works about Scotland and Ireland to enable her to recreate these works for herself. This trend is echoed in other Chartist poets such as her contemporary William James Linton (see next chapter) although Linton was not as well known among the lower classes which is likely explained by the fact that his writing-style was far more literary than Cook's. What they have in common however, is the association in their works between Irish imagery and English socio-cultural critique and political radicalism.

"Teddy O'Neale" as a character is representative of an ordinary man of "the people" both through the necessity of his emigration, and through the familiarity that his stage-Irish persona held in nineteenth-century popular culture. The narrator of the song, "Norah", also represents that prosaic state of abandonment as feature of nineteenth-century culture, but more significantly, her direct narration to the hearer of the song echoes the conventions of sensibility seen in the songs of parting printed earlier in the century.

It was perhaps in reference to the Romantic-period "Banks of Shannon" explored at the beginning of this chapter, that Cook named the subject of this song "Teddy". So this song's Romantic-period heritage is evident in its mix of sensibility and stage-Irishness. In the first lines, Teddy's "mud cabin" undergoes a tongue-in-cheek act of rehabilitation in the point that despite the "poultry and pigs" it was kept "illegant and clean":

> I've seen the mud cabin he danced his wild jigs in,
> As neat a mud cabin as ever was seen,
> Considering he used to keep poultry and pigs in,
> I'm sure it was always kept ilegant clean; [*sic*]

Rhyme and metre contribute to the comic effect. W. H. A. Williams, writing on comic Irish songs in the antebellum, writes that "Paddy" of stage-Irish provenance "looms large" in these songs – and that he is "ever ready to prance in our presence, full of energy and mischief. He is also a charmer, a slippery ladies' man" and that "these comic songs often associate Paddy with poverty."[125] Williams also notes (commenting on Samuel Lover) that "Paddy, it would seem, was supposed to be real."[126] Of "Teddy O'Neale", Williams writes briefly that it was a "parody of the romantic emigration" and that it "… also refers to pigs."[127]

An element of superiority humour is indeed inherent in the idea that any cabin with poultry and pigs can be kept clean let alone elegant. But the language of the second part of the first verse very soon turns to the grief of parting from this character and his cabin:

> But now all around seems sad and most dreary,
> All sad, and all silent, no piper, no reel,
> Not even the sun thorough the window shines clearly,
> Since I lost my own darling, sweet Teddy O'Neale.

Cook here contrasts the Romantic-period comic image of Irish social life that includes both dancing "wild jigs" to the "piper" and "reel" *and* "mud" and "pigs", with the "silence" that is felt in Teddy's absence. As Williams notes of Cook's song "Fair Rose of Killarney", the romantic Irishman and the denigrated "Paddy" are linked by their "reckless passion". Yet the popularity of this "reckless passion" in songs such as this was evidently something that participants of those songs in England identified with to some extent rather than wholly disparaged.[128]

The remainder of the song is a lament for Teddy's departure that includes the narrator's fear of betrayal (beginning of second verse of three) which is again an echo of those songs of sensibility, and contrasts with most songs of sentimentality in which

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[125] William H. A. Williams, *Twas Only an Irishman's Dream*, 72.
[126] Ibid., 77.
[127] Ibid., 73.
[128] Ibid., 76.

such negative emotions (negative in the sense that they are potentially immoral or representative of self-pity) don't feature as obviously:

> I dreamt last night, och! bad cess to me dreaming, [*be* instead of *me* in other versions]
> I'd die if I thought 'twould come truly to pass:
> I dreamt, as the tears down my pale cheeks was streaming,
> That Teddy was courting another fair lass.

The sorrowful narrator wakes from the dream "weeping & wailing", and remembers her farewell with Teddy with "a tear" in her eye and "a stone" in her heart. Cook ends the ballad in the last (third) verse with a very subtle critique of poverty in Teddy's leaving to "better his fortune." As was so common in Cook's songs, the narrator emphasises the value of qualities other than material wealth in the "joy" she would feel if Teddy were to remain "honest & loving", "though poor", at home. This acquiescence to the idea of poverty potentially invites the criticism that Cook's work fetishizes the poor, and women, and promotes a socially conservative ideology of acceptance that only benefits those in more powerful positions. Yet, for audiences where such powerlessness and poverty combine, the viewing and performing of characters under relatable circumstances – especially in comic tone – provides potential catharsis.

The song was evidently widely disseminated, being published in numerous song collections, including collections of Irish songs such as *Duncombe's Irish Songster* in 1858.[129] It appeared in the catalogues of ballad-printers Pearson (1872), H. P. Such (1890), and Chas Sanderson (1830-1910), and was printed by late-century printers such as Henry Disley, R. March, Such and Fortey. In Manchester, Pearson printed it on a sheet alongside "Star of Glengarry" (another song by Cook as seen above), with a third song, "O'Connell and the Irish Tinkers in London", completing the sheet's "Celtic" theme. "The Star of Glengarry" is a short, four-verse love ditty in which the narrator "Donald" praises the virtues of his "bonny Mary" (the "star of Glengarry") who is "health" and "wealth" and "a good wife" to him; at the boundaries of the

[129] Mr. Adams, *Duncombe's Irish Songster*, 1858.

imagined nation, the people, especially women, remain in a state unspoilt by the corrupting influences of the industrial world. In contrast, the song "O'Connell and the Irish Tinkers in London" is the epitome of Irish comic resistance in its narrative of Daniel O'Connell advising some Irish Tinkers on how to gain "redress" for the landlord who had thrown them out of a London hotel. The redress involves a practical joke for which "Dan" (the "member for Clare" and the "lawyer") supplies the Tinkers with "suits of black cloth" and "gloves of green shammy."

"Teddy O'Neale" was collected by a number of late-nineteenth-century folk-song collectors such as Frank Kidston and Lucy Broadwood, and recorded as part of the Keith Summers English Folk Music Collection (now available on the British Libraries *Sounds* archive), sung by a singer in rural Suffolk in 1974.[130] This recording, gives insight into potential nineteenth-century interpretations; in this instance, the singer Jimmy King sings it as a kind of tongue-in-cheek lament with the emphasis on lament. The performance may seem full of pathos and sentiment only because of the advanced age of the singer, but the short "very good" from the audience at the end of the clip indicates a kind of reverence that is surely partly directed at the song itself.

Further insight into reception of this song can be found in the subsequent use of its melody that was used only for songs of pathos such as for the emigration song "The Parting Kiss; or, the Emigrant's Farewell"[131] and various songs about real-life tragedies such as "Burning of the Emigrant Ship Cospatrick"[132] – which emphasise the original song's association with the sentiments of loss and sadness.

"Terence's Farwell"

The final song explored in this chapter, "Terence's Farewell" (1848), brings this section on sentimentality full circle to Selina Blackwood Dufferin, author of that epitome of Irish sentimentality, the "Irish Emigrant" that was explored at the

[130] "Teddy O'Neale", 1974, *Keith Summers English Folk Music Collection*. *Sounds.* British Library. https://sounds.bl.uk/World-and-traditional-music/Keith-Summers-Collection/025M-C1002X0078XX-3400V0. Accessed, 6th May, 2016.
[131] "The Parting Kiss; or, the Emigrant's Farewell" no imprint. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03863.gif
[132] "Burning of the Emigrant Ship Cospatrick" no imprint. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/17566.gif

beginning of this section.[133] Like “Teddy O’Neale”, “Terence’s Farewell” provides an example of a song that combines the qualities of comedy and sentimentality, and of tragi-comic lyrics being given an impassioned delivery, this time in a 1934 recording of a performance given by Irish tenor John McCormack.

The song’s use of the name “Kathleen”, which appears in the first line “So, my Kathleen, you’re going to leave me”, means that the song almost acts as parody or answer to Crawford’s “Kathleen Mavourneen” – both because this time it is Kathleen who leaves, and because of the use of the comic tone expressed via the Irish brogue throughout. But as in “Teddy O’Neale”, there is ambiguity in the mixture between the comic lyrics and use of the mournful minor melody, “The pretty girl milking her cow”. This tune was originally published by Edward Bunting and it was also used by Thomas Moore for the lyrics “The valley lay smiling before me” / “The song of O’Ruark, prince of Breffni.”[134] Like “Irish Emigrant”, “Kathleen Mavourneen” and “Come back to Erin”, this song uses a first-person, male narrator who addresses his lover rather than the audience – making the performance an *act* rather than confession.

The song is reminiscent of late-eighteenth-century, sentimental stage-Irish songs especially in its expression of pathos by a male narrator, as well as in Dufferin’s use of dialect writing. But dialect writing also finds heritage in a long tradition away from the stage. Aikin’s comment in 1772 (quoted above) about the appeal of Ramsay’s dialect poetry in England provides one example among many others – Robert Burns being the most obvious. In 1870s Manchester, antiquarian William Axon wrote that the majority of songs “heard alike in the streets of smoky Manchester, and in the green country fields on pleasant summer evenings” were “written in the Lancashire dialect.”[135] “Friends are Few When Foak are Poor” by W. M. Billington (“The Blackburn Poet”) is an example printed on a Manchester street ballad.[136] Songs in the cockney dialect were very common especially on London ballad-sheets – most recognizable by the substitution of “w” by “v” – as seen for example in “The

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[133] For date of authorship/publication see Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 101.
[134] Una Hunt, *Sources and Style in Moore’s Irish Melodies*, 160.
[135] W. E. A. Axon, *Folk Song and Folk Speech of Lancashire*, 1870, 14. Quoted in Philemon Eva, *Popular Song and Social Identity*, 87-90.
[136] This example can be found in the Holt collection, number 095 (reference number of song digitized by Chetham’s Library).

Gentleman vot vishes to Retire" printed by Roake and Varty *c*.1838.[137] So although the most obvious association with Irish dialect is the stage-Irishman (both comic and sentimental) Dufferin was also participating in a long tradition that celebrated, or exoticized, the simplicity perceived to have been lost in modern society in general.

As in "Teddy O'Neale", the theme of (the fear of) betrayal and deception features strongly in this song – displaying qualities closer to sensibility than to sentimentality, but unlike the former, narration by the male partner seems to give the song a tone of insincerity. Already in the third line the narrator sings "I'm sure you will never deceive me", and anxiously talks about England being a "beautiful city, / Full of illigant boys":

> So, my Kathleen, you're going to leave me,
> All alone by myself in this place;
> But I'm sure you will never deceive me,
> Oh no, if there's truth in thy face,
> Though England's a beautiful city,
> Full of illigant boys, oh what then,
> You wouldn't forget your poor Terence,
> You'll come back to old Ireland again.

The second verse continues in self-pitying vein that, in stronger language than the first, sings of the English "deceivers by nature", and continues by advising Kathleen to ignore their "flattering speeches" and tell them that "a poor lad in Ireland / Is breaking his heart for your sake." In a further expression of defeatism, the third verse sees the narrator lament that even if Kathleen comes back to him, he'll be "none the better … off then" because she'll be "speaking such beautiful English" which means that he "wont' know [his] Kathleen again." This precursory rejection of Kathleen reveals that conservative-nationalist ideology of authentic nationhood, as represented by female purity. Terence's anxiety is not only that Kathleen will betray him with "illigant boys" but even worse that she will be irrevocably infected with Otherness – a fear still alive in Ireland today in the use of the label "plastic paddy" to describe Irish

[137] "The Gentleman vot vishes to retire" printed by Roake and Varty. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/23843.gif

immigrants returning to Ireland after many years away or various other members of the Irish diaspora.

The passive-aggressive behaviour that seeks to play victim while at the same time attempting to underhandedly control his emigrating lover, is embodied by the narrator in the last verse in which his bumbling either exposes or deliberately emphasises, his distress: "Don't fluster me so in this way, / forgot, 'twixt the grief and the hurry, / Every word I was maneing to say." Nevertheless, he gains enough self control by the last line of the song to wish her well: "Kathleen my blessings go wid ye, / Every inch of the way that you go." The depiction of relative psychological complexity in this song compared to other emigration songs – the narrator's vexed parochial distrust and the unromantic, prosaic dialogue in the last verse – seems almost to parody the more melancholic emigration songs. Yet, although the realism in the narrator's clumsy distress likely endeared him to some hearers, this evocation of pity in response to the self-disparagement of the narrator contributes to the fetishization of the emigration theme that can only occur from a slight emotional or economic remove.

As mentioned above, John McCormack's delivery made full use of the combination of (the potential for) pathos and sentiment in the lyrics, and the doleful key.[138] McCormack was himself Irish, so his performance can be seen within the paradigm of the stage-Irish tradition of Irish actors playing the stage-Irishman – although he does dispense with the exaggerated Irish brogue in this recording. It was evidently considered integral to the lyrics however, because sheet-music versions – for example the sheet music arranged by Henry Le Patoure and published c. 1857 – retain it.[139]

The song was popular on the street, being printed by all the usual mid- and post-mid-century printers such as Ann Ryle, Elizabeth Hodges, Harkness, Pearson, Such and Fortey. It was also printed in Dublin by P. Brereton. The Ryle sheet as a whole satisfies romantic and Romantic sentiments – comic and tragic. The song appears here alongside "William & Harriet", a song about a young couple facing parental opposition, and the woodcut depicts a couple in a rural scene. The man is dressed in a kilt and carries a shield. He holds the woman's hand and leans towards her as if to

[138] John McCormack, "Terence's Farewell to Kathleen," recorded in 1934.
[139] Henry Le Patoure, "Terence's Farewell to Kathleen," *c*. 1856 to 1858.

kiss her. She holds his hand but pulls her face away. The emotional ambiguity of the scene fits the song well – and the female's stance was likely interpreted either as realistic in its ambivalence or sentimentally coy. On a ballad-sheet printed by Pearson (of Manchester), "Terence's Farewell" is printed alongside two songs, "I'm one of the olden time or 'Fifty years ago'" and "The Harp that Once through Tara's Hall". "I'm one of the olden time" fits the conservative sentiments of "Terence's Farewell"; it is both nostalgic for the "olden time" (of George III) and also critical of for example the "young men" singing "Champagne Charlie is my name!" when "to hear them praise a sparkling wine, / it makes a man severe, / When he knows they cannot raise the price, / Of a half a pint of beer," or, "our Ladies" who "wear both hats and jackets and / appear quite masculine." "The Harp that Once" gets the honour of being the title of the sheet as a whole, emphasising the Irish theme and, arguably, the nationalistic tone present in "Terence's Farewell".

CONCLUSION

As seen in the printing dates of the songs of sensibility, the theme of parting or parted lovers was present in street-balladry before the sentimental ballads of emigration emerged in the mid-nineteenth century. Ireland was a feature of both, but the difference in tone between the two categories reveals that Ireland signified something different in each despite the shared theme. In the songs of sensibility, Ireland is a place associated with sensuality and with the celebration of courtship. It is associated with the direct, albeit relatively formulaic, expressions of emotion, madness and grief. In common with many of the songs analysed in chapters two and three, Ireland forms a bucolic or "wild" backdrop to these narratives, or a personified extension of the narrators themselves. And this visionary view of nature, the product of the "internal eye constantly stretching its view beyond the bounds of natural vision", chimes more easily with anti-enlightenment and (therefore potentially also) anti-establishment perspectives.[140]

In the sentimental songs, Ireland is usually associated with a slightly more sedate version of nature; and just as the emotions of parting are viewed from a certain

[140] Dr. John Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing*, 1772, 6.

remove, so is Ireland itself. Significantly, these songs of sympathy were most prevalent on English streets between the 1850s and 1870s during decades that saw both relative economic stability as well as increasing inequality – decades during which stories of the Irish famine would still have been fresh in the memories of those who encountered Irish immigrants or more educated hearers. Unsurprisingly perhaps, these were also decades that experienced rising nationalisms (with the rise of the Fenian movement) as well as a period that saw, arguably, the germination of the "imperial nationalism", "missionary nationalism", and the "moment of Englishness" that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century.[141] The resultant consolidation of the association of identity with nation, of people with place, and the fear triggered in the face of the Other's distress, would have reinforced a sense of otherness at the same time that it triggered the mid-Victorian "concern with 'benevolence'" as a means of closing the economic gap.[142] The paradox here is similar to that in colonialism between the impulse of the civilizing project and the systemic economic exploitation with which it is so closely intertwined. Moreover, it might be argued that the strong association created between Ireland and sentimentality in popular songs such as "Irish Emigrant" is one of the most obvious expressions of a colonial attitude toward Ireland as dependent colony in English popular culture (just as it might be seen as an expression of class within Irish culture).

In the next chapter, the more overtly political associations between Irishness and English anti-establishmentism in the street balladry of the same decades will be explored. A significant number of these songs were also emigrant and exile songs, the difference being that the reasons for reluctant departures from Ireland were made more explicit.

[141] Krishnan Kumar, "Nation and Empire: English and British National Identity in Comparative Perspective," 592.
[142] Fred Kaplan, *Sacred* Tears. Kindle ed. (Intro).

Chapter 5: "Erin go Bragh": Irishness and resistance in mid-nineteenth century English-printed street ballads.

In the nineteenth century, Ireland provided one of the most potent and coherent symbols of anti-establishment resistance in English street balladry; it represented a structure of feeling that railed against systemic oppression and the "state of great distress" that existed in England in the decades leading up to 1850.[1] It came to signify the type of growing, often unavoidably incoherent, anger among the poorer classes that occurred in the face of insidious and pervasive systemic change. It represented the type of resistance against issues beyond the specific – beyond issues such as enfranchisement, the Corn Laws, or taxation – but for which Chartism and its activities often provided a focal point.[2] This chapter presents the various ways that Ireland represented "resistance" in English street balladry from the 1830s onward. It charts a rough chronology beginning with songs that embodied defiance and physical retaliation, before moving on to songs in support of O'Connell and the repeal movement that were printed in 1843/44, and then to songs that linked English radicalism or anti-establishmentism to Irish political causes or to Irishness more generally in the 1830s and 1840s. The penultimate section on songs of emigration as songs of resistance, were all printed after 1850, and the last section on songs in support for the Fenian martyrs were printed after the planned Fenian uprising and subsequent trials in 1867.

Contemporaneously, there was considerable contradiction in perceptions of how politically expressive or effective street-ballads were; in the explosion of printed song material that occurred in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and the resultant democratization of themes that included "all popular subjects" as wide ranging as "ghostly apparitions" to "teetotalism",[3] it is no surprise that the dominance of the political ballad – especially if compared to the preponderance of political balladry in, for example, the seventeenth century – appeared to be in decline.[4] It is perhaps this problem of proportion – and the huge increase in songs of other kinds, especially

[1] T. C. Hansard, Third Series, vol. 63, 03 May 1842, cc. 13-25 (Mr. T. Duncombe).
[2] Gareth Stedman Jones, "Rethinking Chartism," 90.
[3] "The Press of the Seven Dials," 1856, 401-402.
[4] W., "English Ballad-Singers," 1822, 216.

songs of sensibility and sentimentality – that prompted later scholars such as Denys Thompson to declare that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the English political street ballad was "dead".[5] Yet, the account in 1849 from one of Henry Mayhew's singers that "comic songs that are popular in the street are never indecent, but are very often political" suggests that part of the problem may stem from contradicting definitions of "political" and from the question of how much political agency might be attributed to comic or sentimental songs.[6] One writer in 1855 argued that political songs in England had never been popular, and that the "only popular song in England that ever rose to the dignity of a great political agent was the famous 'Lilli Burlero',"[7] presumably because it was believed to have successfully "rimed the king out of his kingdoms."[8] This writer also lamented the fact that there was no equivalent of "The Marseillaise" in Britain – a song that could cause "our friends across the water to fly to arms and cut throats at the bare humming of it."[9]

Some of the contradicting perceptions of political street balladry in the nineteenth century were due to regional differences and temporal fluctuations. An account written in the 1850s by the "prim and disapproving Gladstonian Liberal" Benjamin Grime, declared that the political cries and ballads that arose during times of periodical conflict in Manchester, were "…too expressive of the struggles and emotions that animated the body of the people" and that they "enabled the great untaught to give vent to sarcasm and turbulent passions which ardour and zeal aroused within them."[10] This picture of political ferment is contrasted with an account on the nature of street balladry from London in 1865 that takes pride the lack of political content on the streets:

> Glancing over the list [of street ballads] I have been given, one cannot fail to be struck at the diversity of style and value of the street songs. Sometimes it is its good poetry which attracts, sometimes it is an easily learnt melody; sometimes only nonsense verses, and a popular air which seizes on the ears

[5] Denys Thompson, *The Uses of Poetry*, 132.
[6] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour*, vol. 3, 196.
[7] "Ballads of the People [Art. II]," 1855, 37.
[8] Joseph Ritson, "A Historical Essay on the Origin and Progress of National Song," 1783, lxii
[9] "Ballads of the People [Art. II]," 1855, 51.
[10] From B. Grime, Memory Sketches (Oldham, 1887), 134-5. Quoted in Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People : Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914*, 235.

> and on the imagination of the populace. It is worthy of remark that few of our street songs are ever political ones. It is a boast of mine that our most political popular song in England is only "God save the Queen" to which must now be added "God bless the Prince of Wales," which for Mr. Brinley Richard's comfort,[11] is already a street song.[12]

That songs about the Prince of Wales (eldest child of Queen Victoria born in 1841) were popular is supported by extant collections (for example there are 15 songs about him extant in the Bodleian). Yet, although these songs are described here as political, the term "modern semipolitical" that was used in an 1864 article to describe songs sung by London mechanics such as "Cheer, boys, cheer!" (by Charles Mackay) is more accurate.[13] "Cheer, boys cheer!" (nine extant printings in the Bodleian) acknowledges the state of "toil and little to reward it" in England, but celebrates the promise of "empire that glitters in the west" and the sailing away from "mother England" in "search of fortune". This song's mix of pathos, critique of economic conditions and implied celebration of empire – means that it is inherently political even if it lacks specific political reference such as the mention of a campaign, the passing of an Act, or a change of government.

"Anti-establishment", is a term used throughout this thesis to describe those songs that don't call for specific political change, but that criticise or satirize the status quo. This term covers all categorizations that, for example in the Bodleian, are divided into categories such as: "Trade Depression" ("The State Of Great Britain, Or, A Touch At The Times"); "Ireland" ("O'Connell's advice" or "Exile of Erin"); or "emigration" ("The Emigrants Farewell" beginning "The shamrock, rose, and thistle I overheard conversing"). Yet all are also "political" in various ways, and the latter category of "emigration" provides another example of how easily the political dimension of a song is obscured by its reception in terms of sentimentality. All of these songs express various types of socio-political critique, and there are many examples of songs such as this in mid-nineteenth century street song. As one contemporary observer noted in 1861 "… on the whole, the ballad-singer is a Liberal, though of an old-fashioned

[11] Henry Brinley Richards (1817 to 1885), Welsh composer.
[12] R. T., "Street Songs and Their Singers," 1865, 190-201.
[13] "Poems of Rural Life [IV]," 1864, 291.

kind, and loses no opportunity of telling the Tories that he, for his part, does not look upon them as the men whom he desires for his rulers" – and this definition of "liberal", taken in the widest meaning of the term to include the radicalism that emerged in the 1790s, is reflected in the large numbers of anti-establishment songs that were printed for street sale.[14]

And it was this type of "old-fashioned Liberal" who was attracted to the activities of the Chartist movement in the thousands, and whose language is evident in so many of the street ballads of the mid-nineteenth century – language that reveals social and political critique that extends beyond the campaign of enfranchisement. When the 1842 Petition was introduced, the Chartist leaders declared that Chartists were "those who were originally called radicals and afterwards reformers."[15] And it was this cohort whose "old-fashioned" nature was manifest in their use of the "vocabulary of patriotism" that had originated in the eighteenth century with the oppositional patriotism against the tyranny of George III and the corrupt government of Walpole. Hugh Cunningham argues that this vocabulary reached a new peak in the early days of Chartism "comparable to that of the 1790s", and was still in evidence when the "radical Patriotic Society formed in Clerkenwell in 1869."[16] And Cunningham's argument is supported by the language used in the street ballads of the mid-nineteenth century where vocabulary such as "patriot", "tyrant", "slave" and "liberty" is common not only in the Irish repeal ballads but also in the anti-establishment songs concerning England.

It was in this climate that Irish songs expressing a tone of native, rural resistance became potent symbols of oppositional patriotism against overwhelming socio-political and cultural change. In a similar way that slogans such as "take back control" in the Brexit referendum helped to create nationalistic nostalgia at the same time as they tapped into and provided emotional solutions to widespread feelings of economic disenfranchisement – the expressions of injustice and defiance in Irish songs against more obvious (nationally Other) antagonists provided a sense of clarity and defiance that was not so easily created in song-narratives pertaining to the socio-political

[14] "Street Ballads [Art. VII]," 1861, 411.
[15] Thomas Duncombe, T. C. Hansard. Third Series, vol. 63, cc.12-25 (03 May 1842), quoted in Gareth Stedman Jones, "Rethinking Chartism", 90.
[16] Hugh Cunningham, "The Language of Patriotism", 17-18.

system in England. In Ireland itself, street-ballads from the 1790s onward were overwhelmingly nationalist in tone and this continued throughout the nineteenth century, "so much so that only a very small proportion of broadsides ever took a pro-British or Orange position."[17] This was also true of the Irish-themed ballads printed in England. Although many songs extolled "union" between Britain, Scotland and Ireland, very few mentioned the Orangemen and many of these "unionist" songs also supported O'Connell's repeal movement. The perception that political songs in Ireland were more widespread than in England was likely a result of the numbers of nationalist songs on Irish streets. This resulted in another lament from the author above, who had wished for a ballad in England such as "The Marseillaise", to complain that the only equivalent of popular Irish ("political") songs such as "Fontenoy" (by Thomas Davis), "Soggarth Aroon" and "The Croppy Boy" in England was the "fine ballad of Thomas Holcroft's 'Gaffer Gray'."[18] Yet, even "Gaffer Gray" was not widely printed, appearing in extant collections of nineteenth-century street-ballads only in the form of parody.

It is this relative lack of rousing political rhetoric in aid of a clear, evocative cause that potentially caused Irish songs and themes to act as substitutes in England for the expression of structures of feeling that desired a sense of political and individual autonomy. As seen in Chapter One, English radicals and Irish nationalists certainly mixed in the same circles in London in the 1790s, and the same was true of the 1830s and 1840s – and so in these circles, even if nowhere else, there was a crossover of political ideas as well as of song culture. The political atmosphere is best illustrated by the account of one young Irish weaver, Robert Crowe, who emigrated to London as a teenager in the late 1830s. His memoirs provide a unique insight into the political excitement of the times:

> Before I reached my nineteenth year [1843] my spare time was divided between three public movements – the temperance movement under Father Mathew, the repeal movement under Daniel O'Connell, and the Chartist or English movement under Feargus O'Connor. In the bewildering whirl of excitement in which I lived during those years I seemed almost wholly to

[17] Colin Neilands, "Irish Broadside Ballads," 209.
[18] "Ballads of the People [Art. II]," 1855, 41.

> forget myself. Night brought with it long journeys to meetings and later hours, though the day brought back the monotony of the sweater's den.[19]

The prominence of Irish political figures in this account is obvious. Irish influence is also evident, for example, in the name of the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star* (inspired by the newspaper of the radical United Irishmen of the 1790s), or in the many Irish-themed poems that appeared in that paper. In turn, support for Irish nationalism was evident in the works of various English reformist poets such as in the poems of William Linton that were published in the Irish-nationalist paper *The Nation*, or in Eliza Cook's Irish-themed poems and songs (see Chapter Four) that appeared as street ballads, or slightly later in the century in Chartist poet Ernest Jones' support of the Fenians. As Dorothy Thompson notes, the relationship between Chartism and the Irish repeal movement was a close one: "The Chartists always expressed common cause with the Irish repealers … it is important to remember that the six points of the Charter would have given self-determination to the Irish people … The question of Ireland was continually brought forward by the Chartists."[20] Moreover, Thompson argues that "[t]hose Irishmen who were prominent in British radical politics tended to be from the tradition of the United Irishmen rather than from the Catholic Emancipation movement of the late 1820s" and that "[n]either O'Connell nor the Catholic Church accepted as strong a commitment to a complete rupture with Britain as the Chartists demanded, and later nationalist movements were to reiterate."[21] So, with support for Chartism (as Crowe's account shows and despite the fact that the Catholic church in England discouraged it) from Irish people sympathetic to the revolutionary ideals of the United Irishmen, radical circles in England were suffused not only with the English patriotic idealism of the eighteenth-century, but also with a more recent sense of revolutionary resistance.

The manifestation of these cross-overs and interminglings in the street-ballad repertoire, reveals that in addition, these sets of associations went beyond those circles directly involved in political activity, and into wider popular culture.

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[19] Robert Crowe, *Reminiscences of a Chartist Tailor*, quoted in Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartist Experience*, 120.
[20] Dorothy Thompson, "Ireland and the Irish in English Radicalism," 145-46.
[21] Ibid.

ERIN GO BRAGH & PHYSICAL RESISTANCE

There was also at this time, the 1830s and 1840s, a parallel between the ambiguity inherent in perceptions of the political nature of nineteenth-century street balladry, and the ambiguity with which the biggest political movement of the time, Chartism, was held. While Chartist leaders saw themselves as "the radicals of former days", others perceived them as far more threatening "wild and visionary persons" with no respect for property.[22] Gareth Stedman Jones argues that what really "seized the imagination of contemporaries" more than any continuation of political tradition, was "the novel and threatening social character of the movement." He notes Thomas Carlyle's perception of Chartism's "living essence" as "the bitter discontent [of the "Working Class of England"] grown fierce and mad…"[23] Moreover, Stedman Jones' description of Chartism as an unprecedented event – "[a] nation-wide independent movement of the 'working classes' brandishing pikes in torchlight meetings in pursuit of its 'rights'" – provides insight not only into Chartism but more widely into the political atmosphere of the time.[24] And these conflicting narratives touch upon the tensions in these movements between those determined against "physical force", and those various groups who, disappointed after the failed Chartist petition of 1842 and the failure of O'Connell to achieve repeal of the union in 1843, were impatient for reform. Dorothy Thompson again highlights the links between radicalism and Irish politics, noting the awareness within Chartism of previous uprisings within Ireland:

> For those among the Chartists who believed that an armed rising was either desirable or unavoidable, the experience of the United Irish rising of 1798 was always in their consciousness, both as illustrating the possibility of a popular rising, and as illustrating the dangers of lack of preparation and the ruthlessness of British government action."[25]

Chartist historian R. G. Gammage noted that already in 1839 at the first Chartist National Convention, a conflict within membership was evident: "While one small section endeavoured to prevent the Convention from doing anything in the shape of

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[22] T. C. Hansard, Third Series, vol. 63, 03 May 1842, cc. 13-25 (Mr. T. Duncombe).
[23] T. Carlyle, Chartism (1839), Ch. 1, quoted in Gareth Stedman Jones, "Rethinking Chartism", 90.
[24] Gareth Stedman Jones, "Rethinking Chartism," 90.
[25] Dorothy Thompson, "Ireland and the Irish in English Radicalism before 1850," 145.

ulterior measures, another section, equally small, sought to urge it forward with railroad velocity." The two opposing sides were described as being proponents either of "moral" or "physical", or "ultra physical", force.[26] This tension was to remain within the Chartist movement throughout its existence over the next decade, and in O'Connell's Repeal Association, it came to a head in 1846 when William Smith O'Brien and others (members of the Young Ireland movement) broke away to form what was to become the Irish Confederation in 1847, and which eventually came to a head in Ireland with the 1848 uprising.[27]

"Erin go Bragh"

It is within this combustible atmosphere that the song of physical resistance titled "Erin go Bragh" and beginning with various versions of "My name is Pat Murphy, I'll never deny", emerges. This song can be viewed as being part of a long tradition of Irish songs that celebrate use of the shillelagh for fighting, as well as being part of Romantic-period, stage-Irish tradition in which the shillelagh was an essential prop.[28] These "shillelagh songs" were common in Ireland and appeared enough on English street ballads for the public in England to have been familiar with them. They fall into two broad categories. The first might be described as rollicking songs that form a category in which the narrative is set at a festive event – usually a fair or wedding – and where the stick is used for recreational fighting. "Sprig of Shillelagh" and "Darlin Ould Stick" fall into this category.[29] The culmination of the fair or wedding is an orgy of violence that is reflected upon with nostalgic affection at the end of the song – although heads become "soft with blows", no long-term injury is done. In the second category, songs such as "Billy O'Rooke the Boy" and "Erin go Bragh" celebrate the stick as a weapon of defence in which the object of oppression is killed.[30] All of these songs have been criticized for perpetuating the stereotype of the violent, drunken Irishman. However, as Ellen O'Brien argues, the latter can also be viewed as reflective of an embodied defiance or necessary defence against societal and state

[26] R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement 1837 – 1854*, 106-107.
[27] W. J. Lowe, "The Chartists and the Irish Confederates," 174.
[28] See "Sprig of Shillelah and Shamrock so Green" as printed by Laurie & Whittle. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/00856.gif
[29] "The Darlin Ould Stick" as printed by T. King, Birmingham. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01690.gif
[30] "Billy O'Rooke's The Boy, Sir" as printed by W. Armstrong. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/10859.gif

oppression.[31] After all, these lyrical associations between Irish characters and physical defiance were also to be found in the real world when, for example, the home of Thomas Hardy the radical was attacked in 1797 by anti-Jacobin protestors. Hardy writes that the protestors were "beaten off by a guard of 100 members of the LCS [London Corresponding Society] many of them Irish, armed with *good* shillelaghs" (my emphasis). Hardy's use of the adjective "good" here, owes as much to the gratification evoked by the use of justified and uncomplicated physical defence, as to gratitude for his own safety; but it also reveals the association made by many English radicals between working-class physical resistance and radical change – and the idea that the former was necessary to achieve the latter.[32]

"Erin go Bragh" the phrase:

And these associations spread beyond those groups directly involved in political campaigning or radical activity and into wider society – as one case from the Old Bailey in 1844 illustrates. On the night of the 18th January 1844, an argument broke out in a lodging house in Tooley Street, London, between a George Gifford, landlord of the establishment, and one of his regular guests, Henry Howard. The disagreement began as a minor dispute about exactly when Howard was going to pay Gifford for the room. Howard had entered the communal room that he intended to stay in after a night of drinking, and Gifford had followed him. The argument escalated when, even after Gifford's request for payment, Howard had continued singing snippets of the song "Sprig of Shillelagh" while waiving a poker ("joking-like") that he had picked up from the fireplace – presumably in place of a shillelagh. Gifford's response to Howard's antics was to say "Oh is that what you mean", and disappear downstairs only to come back moments later with a sword shouting "Here's for Erin go bragh."[33] What this encounter reveals, is a dialogue of Irishisms between two English men in which a song about a shillelagh and the phrase "Erin go Bragh" serve as metaphors of resistance in situations beyond their literal translations, and outside the realm of entertainment.

[31] See Ellen O'Brien, "Irish Voices in Nineteenth-Century English Street Ballads."
[32] John Binns, *Recollections* (Philadelphia, 1854), 84-6. Quoted in E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 82.
[33] "George Gifford, Breaking Peace: wounding," *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 1844.

As seen in previous chapters, the phrase "Erin go Bragh" was used in the poetry and literature of the United Irishmen – for example on flags during the battle of the uprising in Ireland of 1798 alongside images of the cap of Liberty and the Irish harp. The phrase and its association with Irish resistance was recognized in London at least as early as 1798, evidenced by the mass-production of a print published that year titled: "Portrait of an Irish chief; drawn from life at Wexford", engraved by James Gillray and published by Hannah Humphrey (associated by some sources, such as the British Museum, with a caricature of Henry Grattan).[34] It depicts a man standing on a hill in defiant stance with his left arm raised in the air and the other arm drawing a musket from his belt. He is dressed in green military attire with orange and gold trimmings; behind him a burning village is seen in the distance from which faintly-illustrated figures can be seen fleeing. A speech bubble from the man's mouth reads "No UNION, Erin go Brach!". The caption at the foot of the print reads "Portrait of an Irish Chief: drawn from Life at Wexford." Gillray's prints, as seen in Chapter One, were often ambiguous in their political affiliation, and this print is no different in its depiction of violent destruction (in the far distance) at the same time as its elevation of the Irish "Chief" in heroic stance. The word "chief" possibly brought to mind an idea of the colonial savage but also, conversely, potentially evoked the idea of an ancient Irish heroism rising in justified protection of ancestral rights. Either way, use of the phrase in this print associates it with Irish resistance.

As noted by the author of a periodical article in 1864, songs written in "outlandish dialects" or "foreign poetry" possessed a "strange charm" that is lost and becomes "insipid when translated, its subtle flavour … evaporated." The writer then concludes that this "love for foreign poetry" provides a "hint to the heart that all of us must, after all, be brothers, when we find in the very diversity of speech which sunders us a fresh reason for loving the stranger …"[35] More than anything, this observation highlights the way in which non-semantic words and phrases can act as projections for personal and subjective sentiments. As seen in the analysis of other Irish-language phrases such as "mavourneen" (Chapter Four), reception of non-English-language phrases would have resulted in interpretation that relied on textual, performance and melodic contexts. The phrase "Auld Lang Syne" for example, when sung by non-Gaelic-

[34] James Gillray. **"**Portrait of an Irish chief; drawn from life at Wexford," 1798.
[35] "Poems of Rural Life [IV]," 1864, 292.

speaking singers in the familiar, celebratory context of New Year's Eve likely conjures a set of sensations broadly linked to the text of the rest of Burns' song – old times, the past, new and old friendships. In a similar way, the phrase "Erin go Bragh" was likely to have been interpreted within certain paradigms – in this case relating to Ireland and to resistance – and therefore meant *something* to non-Irish-speakers even if that something was not directly translatable into English. Moreover, as the anonymous writer of the 1864 article above notes, its non-semantic qualities meant that its meaning extended beyond the literal which may have appeared relatively insipid compared to the meanings given it in the imagination. It meant that interpretation for non-Irish speakers took place in the realm of sentiment, rather than in the realm of prosaic and (immediate) conscious endorsement of the fight for Irish political independence.

In the 1844 Old Bailey case, the types of meaning attached in popular culture to the phrase "Erin go Bragh" are revealed, as are the potential receptions of Irishness in song more generally. A further account of the case here aims to provide further insight.

The trial began with cross-examination of the plaintiff, Henry Howard, who described his evening leading up to the incident during which he drank with friends and afterwards met the "female", Isabella Simpson, who lived in the boarding room where the dispute took place. On entering the lodging house, Howard and Simpson went to Simpson's room on the top floor followed by Gifford who gave Howard the ultimatum of immediate payment or vacation of the premises. While in the room, Howard recalled in his own words:

> I had the poker in my hand [that he'd taken from the fireplace], and was swinging it round, and singing a bit of a song, "The Sprig of Shillalah and Shamrock so Green"—the prisoner [George Gifford] then said, "Oh, is that what you mean?" and left the room, shutting the door after him—he came up again with a drawn sword, and said, "Now, you go out of my house".[36]

[36] "George Gifford, Breaking Peace: wounding," *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 1844.

Howard's singing of "Sprig of Shilellah" (analysed in Chapter One from a ballad-sheet printed in 1807) provides insight into the relatively long periods of time that certain songs remained popular in the nineteenth century. And its appearance in this encounter also shows the extent to which different representations of Irishness – in this case the stage Irishman and the rebel – became merged; and the complexity of this merging is revealed in the further questioning of the plaintiff Henry Howard:

> … I did not brandish the poker round my head, I only twisted it round in my hand, holding it in the middle – I do not know whether that is the way they fight with shillalahs [*sic*] – the prisoner came in while I had it in my hand—I do not know what "Sprig of shillalah" means – I believe the prisoner said I must either pay him then or go away – I did not then take up the poker, and brandish it—I said, "You can wait a minute or two surely" – I began to brandish it as he was about leaving the room—I did not say, "Show me the man that will turn me out; I will give you a taste of sweet Erin go bragh" – when the prisoner brought the sword up, he said he would give me Erin go bragh – I did not use that expression …[37]

So Howard did not "know whether that is the way they fight with shillalahs" and he did not "know what 'Sprig of shillalah' means." Evidently however, he knew enough to associate it with the "twirling" of a stick, or poker; he had likely seen performance in which a shillelagh was branded alongside singing of the song, or perhaps had seen the stick-waving figures depicted as woodcuts on street-ballad versions of the song,[38] or perhaps shillelaghs were familiar to him through Irish people who lived in London. Whatever his previous knowledge, it is significant that these questions – about whether or not he knew how "they" fight with "shillalahs" and whether he knew what "Sprig of shillalah" meant – were asked; and although his reply may not have been entirely sincere, it is likely true that he could not answer the question definitively. But more significantly, this also reveals the ease with which foreign words were, and still are, used in song by people with little understanding of their literal translation.

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[37] "George Gifford, Breaking Peace: wounding," *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 1844.
[38] "Sprig of Shillelah and Shamrock so Green" as printed by Laurie & Whittle. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/00856.gif

Meaning is nevertheless derived, and in Gifford's mind, if not Howard's, a link was evidently made on hearing the comic violence depicted in the song "Sprig of Shilellah" with the nationalist resistance implied in the phrase "Erin go bragh". From Howard's perspective however, his singing of the song may have been more to do with a state-of-being, and with the physically carefree existence depicted in the song (especially since the evening had been spent drinking) rather than with any deliberate decision to rebel or make a stand of defiance against landlord's request for payment.

It is clear that although Howard and Gifford may not have agreed on the impulse behind Howard's singing of the song, it was nevertheless presupposed by Gifford – evidenced by his "is that what you mean?" – that meaning was derivable. And he interpreted the singing of "Sprig of Shilellah" as an incitement to violence, as he did the phrase "Erin go Bragh". Furthermore, Howard's denial that he used the phrase first, and Gifford's association of the phrase with the use of his sword, suggests that both protagonists agreed on the meaning of the phrase – that it was an expression of violence of some kind. So the case provides an example of Irish tropes and expressions being familiar enough for use in common parlance. This was dialogue that toyed with signifiers to provoke and to undermine. Speaking in a language that was only half-understood in a cognitive sense meant that half-truths were only ever possible or desired. Whether Howard's provocation was genuinely unintentional or not would always have been difficult to determine because of the ambiguous nature of the language and the medium, but somehow, "Erin go bragh" was understood in a similar way by all involved. This case shows that it was so much part of the London soundscape that it had become signifier for something other than Irish nationalism. As far as we can tell from their names, Howard and Gifford were two English men arguing about money – possibly provoked by elements such as drink and bad-temper; and if it was an argument about governmental politics at all, it was heavily veiled in metaphor.[39]

[39] The only potentially Irish protagonists were the two police constables who attended the scene named Patrick M'Cormack and Thomas Hickey, and possibly also the surgeon who attended to the plaintiff's wound in Guy's Hospital – Henry Stanley Robert Pearse.

“Erin go Bragh” the song:

Analysis of the most contemporary (to this Old Bailey case) street-song titled “Erin go Bragh” (as seen in previous chapters there were a number of songs associated with this title) provides further insight into how the phrase might have been received in the popular culture of the time. In contrast to many of the Romantic-nationalist songs associated with the phrase in the 1820s and 1830s (and analysed in Chapter Three), this song embodies a highly individualistic narrative that transgresses the boundaries of national identity, and involves a narrator who seems to reject nationhood completely. It is this version of the song (Roud number 1627) that has survived to this day being recorded by numerous singers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[40] The London-printed version of the song begins “My name is Pat Murphy I’ll never deny.” However, the original version (of which there are no London street-ballad printings) arose in Scotland, its first line being “My name is Duncan Campbell, from the shire of Argyll.” The original narrative takes place in Edinburgh (“Auld Reekie”), where the Highland narrator is accused of being Irish by a policeman and suffers discrimination as a result. In retaliation, he kills the policeman with a “switch of blackthorn,” and when “[t]he people” gather round him “like a flock of wild geese, / Saying, stop that d____d rascal, he’s killed our police,” he manages to escape on a “wee boatie” and sail “north”.

The protagonist counters the policeman on the accusation of being Irish as follows:

> I am not a Paddy, though Ireland I have seen,
> Nor am I a Paddy though in Ireland I have been;
> But, though I were a Paddy, that's naething ava,
> There's many a bold hero from Erin go Bragh.[41]

However, his sense of solidarity with Ireland is made clear in the last line of the song: “But I ne’er took it ill when called Erin-go-bragh.” This version thereby provides a critique of oppression not from the perspective of (evidently) the most oppressed (the Irish), but from the perspective of one similarly oppressed (the Scottish Highlanders).

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[40] The most well-known version being Dick Gaughan’s released in 1981 on the album *Handful of Earth*.

[41] “Duncan Campbell” as printed by James Lindsay of Glasgow. Glasgow University Library. http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/teach/ballads/campbell.html

In doing so, it makes a nuanced comment on the absurdities and constraints of national identity, and ends with a breaking-free of any physical tie to nation when the narrator sails off to the "north". It reveals both a systematic discrimination by the police, but also an experience of individual freedom in the narrator's migration "Through England, through Ireland an' a'" (and Scotland) that might be viewed as radical, or anarchic, in itself.

However, a narrative that centred upon the relationship between the Irish, the Highlanders, and the Lowland authorities in Edinburgh, was likely to have caused confusion in the English south. It is not surprising then, that the further south the song travelled, the more Irish the narrator became, turning the song into one about English, rather than Scottish, oppression against its Irish immigrants.[42] In Manchester, two printings begin confusingly with "My name is Pat Murphy, from the shire of Argyle", but when the song emerges in London, the first line becomes a decisive "My name is Pat Murphy I'll never deny".[43] In the shift of narrative location from Edinburgh to London, and of national identity from Highland to Irish, the theme of proud solidarity between oppressed peoples is lost – making the denial of Irishness (and the potentially deliberate donning of a false identity) in the London version all the more subversive:

> It's I am no Paddy tho' to Ireland I've been,
> Fath [*sic*] I am no Paddy tho' Ireland I've seen,
> And if a Paddy faith what's that to you,
> There is many a hero from Erin go Bragh.
>
> I know your [*sic*] a Pat by the twist of your hair,
> But you always turn Scotchman when you come here,
> You have left your own country for breaking the law
> I am seizing all stragglers from Erin go Bragh.[44]

[42] A London-based version of the song was also published in *Ancient Irish Music comprising One Hundred Airs Hitherto Unpublished, Many of the Old Popular Songs and Several New Songs*, 1873.
[43] The first lines vary around the following versions: "My name is *Duncan Campbell* from the shire of Argyle" (7 results in Bodleian – Preston, Gateshead, Newcastle, Liverpool and unknown), "My name is *Pat Murphy*, from the shire of Argyle" (2 results in Bodleian – both Manchester) and "My name is *Pat Murphy, I'll never deny*" (2 results in Bodleian, both London), and 2 results in *An Album of Street Literature* – Pitts and Birt, also both from London).
[44] "Erin go Bragh" as printed by Birt, London. An album of street literature, University of California Libraries. https://archive.org/details/analbumofstreetl00arylrich/page/n269

With the loss of the intermediary Highlander there arises a more immediate sense of self-preservation in the (now Irish) narrator – leading him at the same time to "never deny" his Irishness while also necessarily doing just that when faced directly with systemic injustice and physical threat.[45] In a further act of subversion in this London printing, the narrator takes one of the central motifs of Romantic-nationalism, music, and turns it back upon the oppressors in order to make his escape, "Where I had got one friend I'm sure he'd got two, / But I played them a tune they call Erin go Bragh." The variety of associations of the phrase "Erin go Bragh" throughout the song (name of individual, of place, of tune) serves to emphasise the ideological nature of the phrase beyond narrow identifier of nation (or any place). And so the narrator's enchantment of the crowd through his playing of the "tune" of "Erin go Bragh" seems to use the crowd's Romantic views of nation against them (as Other place to sentimentalize) while at the same time that the narrator himself embodies the phrase as signifier of individual freedom (also from nation).

Police harassment in general was not an unusual phenomenon during this time as seen in a letter to the editor of *The Times* in 1841. In it, the writer, who signed himself as "A Foreigner" relayed an incident that he had witnessed on a London street, in which a street-singer was violently accosted by a policeman for no apparent reason and hauled to the station house. A number of onlookers including the "Foreigner" followed the policeman and singer to the station house and "expressed their indignation" of the singer's treatment. The Foreigner continues:

> I do not know whether singing in the streets is one of those new offences which have been created by Mr Hawes's late Police Act; but, if it is, I am sure it is very capriciously dealt with, as I have but very recently seen policemen among the quiet listeners to street-singers. However, whether it be or not, I must say that if the higher and middle classes allow this hunting down of the poor to continue, the day of reckoning will assuredly come, when the masses, goaded to despair, will turn round upon their persecutors and rend them, although the whole frame of society should be shivered to atoms at the same

[45] Ellen O'Brien, "Irish Voices in Nineteenth-Century English Street Ballads," 154-167.

> time, and the masses themselves be the greatest sufferers. England is a free country, a charitable Christian country; yet there is no country in the world where the poor are so weighted down by the law and its functionaries, high and low.[46]

Evidently, it was the poor in general, and not only Irish immigrants who were harassed – but widespread harassment such as depicted here reveals potential reasons for the poor in England identifying with the sense of resistance expressed in this song, and in turn with the themes signified by the phrase "Erin go Bragh".

As such, "Erin go Bragh" can be used as metaphor for the reception of Irish themes in England more generally. When the novelist Sidney Owenson commented in 1807 that she "never listened to the air of Erin go Brach … without a thrill of emotion which was sweet, though mournful, to the soul," she summarized the wistful view of Ireland that prevailed in London street song in the years after the failed rebellion of 1798 and the 1801 Act of Union.[47] By the time we reach the volatile 1840s, the phrase had again come to be associated with physical resistance and anti-establishment defiance (as it had been in the 1790s), albeit in the case of this song (as well as in the court case), in an individualistic rather than nationalistic sense. I suggest however that as an undercurrent, the mythic, the nostalgic, as well as the heroic, elements combined in this phrase as signifier, and affected the reception of all the more prosaic and political song-contexts with which Ireland was subsequently associated – both for Irish audiences as well as for listeners on English streets.

POLITICAL SONGS ABOUT IRELAND

As well as having been a stock phrase in Romantic-nationalist street-songs, the phrase "Erin go Bragh" was also a feature of songs about contemporary Irish political themes – some of which were arguably, in the 1840s, the songs containing the most direct potential for political agency on English streets – in their reference to a specific political figure, O'Connell, and a specific political campaign, the repeal of the union. Although the biggest contemporary political movement pertaining to England,

[46] "The Police Act: To the Editor of the Times," *The Times*, 1841.
[47] Sydney Owenson, *The Lay of and Irish Harp; or, Metrical Fragments,* 1807, 11-12.

Chartism, had its own hymns, songs and poems, they are (as mentioned in Chapter Two) rarely found in extant street-ballad collections. Chartism only appears in street-song in the form of relatively rare lyrical or pictorial references. This may mean that the singing of Chartist hymns was confined to Chartist events, and perhaps printed by Chartist printers who also disseminated them at meetings leaving no space in the market for the ordinary street-ballad printers. Inevitably, it seems that if Chartist songs or hymns had achieved widespread popularity, or if they had been deemed appealing enough to sell as ballad-sheets, they would now be found in greater numbers in extant street-ballad collections. One way of illustrating the dearth of Chartism as a theme in street-song is to undertake a search of the songs categorised under the label of "Chartism" on Broadside Ballads Online; it yields only eleven songs, most of which are sympathetic although some also treat the topic in a mocking tone, for example "The Chartists are Coming" to the tune of "The bailiff is coming" beginning "What a row and a rumpus there is I declare, Tens of thousands are flocking from every-where" which is printed by Elizabeth Hodges (1845 to 1861).[48]

During the 1840s, the type of less overtly political Irish-themed songs that weighed more heavily in Romantic-nationalist imagery (as explored in Chapter Three) than contemporary political reference, were still being printed for street-sale (and were continually printed albeit in smaller numbers until the end of the century) but were increasingly superseded by newer songs containing more prosaic, contemporary political language. Within the cohort of street-songs about Daniel O'Connell, the Romantic-nationalist tropes of heroism and personification of place could be found in a song such as "O'Connell, and Erin go Bragh" (mentioned in Chapter Three) that were printed by early-century printers such as Pitts. In contrast, those street-songs about O'Connell printed by later printers such as Paul (1838 onward), M. Birt (1844 onward) and Harkness (1838 onward), show a marked difference in tone with less reference to "harps" and "flowers", more language such as "repeal", "rights" and "justice", and more reference to contemporary state bodies and political figures.

Despite still containing elements of the Romantic aesthetic, all four of the songs analysed in this section are far more rooted in the contemporary struggle for political

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[48] "The Chartists are Coming" as printed by E. Hodges. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/18178.gif

change than in the mournful Romantic-nationalism such as seen in some of the Irish-themed songs analysed in Chapter Three. Specifically, they all relate to the year 1843-44, the year that O'Connell promised repeal and the year when he organised a series of "monster meetings" across Ireland to rally support for the cause. This was also the year of his indictment in November and trial that followed (despite O'Connell's calling off of the last planned meeting in October 1843) in the January and February of 1844.

"Repeal and Erin go Bragh"

The political nature of "Repeal and Erin go Bragh", printed by Preston printer Harkness, is evident in the title that flags the specific cause of repeal of the 1801 Act of Union. The familiar language of oppositional patriotism is evident in the opening line in the calling of all "you" who "wish for freedom". And an invitation to political action occurs in the next lines: "Some time she [Ireland] has suffered by starvation and distress, / To relieve her from her troubles let us strive to do our best." So although Ireland is still personified in that visionary way so common in Romantic-nationalist imagery, and although this song still creates an association between Ireland and music ("All you that wish for freedom, come listen to my song" as the first line), the language overall is nevertheless more literal than figurative – as seen for example in the reference to O'Connell's monster meetings ("In town and in country, they are meeting every where") and in the sixth and penultimate verse:

> Orange Peel and Nosey, with all the tory crew,
> Say they'll not grant the repeal, but make bold Dan to rue,
> Then rally round your leaders, protect them (mind the law)
> And show that you're united for Erin go Bragh.

Daniel O'Connell had given MP Robert Peel the nickname "Orange Peel" before 1829 in reference to the protestant and unionist Orange Order and because of the latter's long-time opposition to Catholic emancipation and "Nosey" was the popular nickname given to the Tory Duke of Wellington. The "(mind the law)" at the end of line three, is a reminder of O'Connell's wish, counter to others within his repeal association, for "bloodless" and political resolution – and implies a contrast to (Robert Peel's) "peelers" and their reputation for violence. Yet, as if in an effort to remind and

inspire the hearer to loftier sentiments, Romantic and patriotic tropes are emphasised in the last verse in the "sons of old Ireland", "Bold Scotia" and "merry England". This verse calls for unity, "let all united be", and declares that the "sons of old Ireland, shall once more happy be." And, when "Bold Scotia joins the cry of sweet Repeal to one and a" then in England "they will sing old Erin go Bragh". So, this songs ends with nations uniting in their reforming intent at the same time that the song (as in previously explored songs) strengthens these nations' sovereign identities.

"Daniel O'Connell And Erin's Green Isle,"

"Daniel O'Connell And Erin's Green Isle" printed by Paul C, was likely authored during January or February of 1844 when Daniel O'Connell's trial occurred. Its regular rhyming pattern and flippant language gives it a breezy, comic tone reminiscent of the stage Irishman or Irish comic song:

> I will sing you a ditty will cause you to smile,
> Concerning O'Connell and Erin's Green Isle,
> Daniel O'Connell and Erins Green Isle.
> He says for my dear native Country I'll stand,
> As long as I live and my name it is Dan,
> I was bred in sweet Kerry and trained to the law,
> Freedom and liberty Erin go Braugh,
> Here's Daniel O'Connell and Erins green Isle,

"Erin go Braugh" is again rhymed here with "law", pairing it with the oppositional-patriotic tropes of "Freedom" and "liberty". In the second verse, the song marks its contemporaneity with "My trial is on and I care for no rigs" and makes its political nature explicit in "I'm afraid of no radical, tory, or whig." The song mixes the tropes of Romantic-period street-songs of sensibility (seen in lines such as "To the ladies of Erin their health I propose, / Their hair black as sloes and their cheeks like a rose") with the call for repeal and with praise for O'Connell's skills as a barrister:

> I'm a true Irish boy and well skilled in the laws,
> Don't you think I am able to plead my own cause
> I want equal rights, equal justice and laws,

And prosperity crown poor old Erin go Braugh,
I want to see all Erin's children at home,
And never again be compelled for to roam,

The final two verses constitute a jocund and defiant rebuttal against the indictments brought against O'Connell and a breezy confidence in his ability to fight them. Despite "Ninety-three yards of indictment they have brought against Dan, / Enough for to cover ten acres of Land" O'Connell will "plead his own cause from morning to night, / And we hope he will bring every thing to light." When the trial is over, "old Erin is so gay, / Shall strike up the tune of St. Patrick's Day" – a reference to the tune of "St. Patrick's Day" or "St. Patricks' Day in the Morning" discussed in Chapter One.

"O'Connell & Liberty"

Two songs printed after O'Connell's trial and the successful appeal in September of 1844, pun on O'Connell's twin roles as Catholic emancipator and his ability to free himself from incarceration through letter of the law. Named "O'Connell & Liberty" and "Daniel O'Connell & Liberty", they are printed by London printers Mary Birt and Paul respectively. The first of these, "O'Connell & Liberty", is more reminiscent of the comic stage Irishman than "Daniel O'Connell And Erin's Green Isle" (above). It is written in common ballad metre with four-line verses composed of rhyming couplets contributing to its comic effect, with a two-line refrain: "I have bother'd my enemies well with the law, / And still I'm at liberty Erin go Bragh." In the song's depiction of O'Connell with a shillelagh, it repeatedly contradicts his commitment against "physical force" and contributes to a popular image of him as heroically, yet jauntily, defiant: "with my sprig of shillelagh and shamrock so green." However, most of the rest of the song emphasises O'Connell's intellectual victory, albeit via the relatively combative language of a popular comic-Irish fighting song. For example, in response to "S--- and Grantham and Staffordshire Bob" being determined to send O'Connell to "quod" (prison), the latter "moved them about with the points of the law" so that they "got frightened by Erin go Bragh." Ultimately it is moral force that triumphs; "Nosey and Bobby" (Wellington and Peel) "may kick up a rumpus, laugh, blubber, and jaw" and "Hatchel and Whiteside, Fitzgibbon and Shiel, / Can twin round the points of the law and repeal", but O'Connell defeats them all with the

"law". He "tire[s] them out with the errors of law", he is "Dan O'Connell well skilled in the law" and as declared in the second-last line, he is the "Irish champion of law."

"Daniel O'Connell & Liberty"

The second song about O'Connell's trial, "Daniel O'Connell & Liberty" printed by Paul, is similar in its jovial tone. It begins with the traditional "calling on" opening associated with orally-transmitted song – "You Hibernians all come listen awhile, / My ditty I'm sure will cause you to smile" – and then continues with celebration of O'Connell's judicial victory:

> Huzza for O'Connell and Erin go bragh!
> The lords have met and they do declare,
> That the trial was void, made his enemies stare,
> And an order was sent for O'Connell's release,
> With Traversers all so Repeal will increase,
> So long life to O'Connell and Erin go bragh.

The song is openly contemptuous of the premise of the trial – "In jail Dan O'Connell and Traversers all, / Been confin'd for what? Oh, why nothing at all" – and of those against repeal of the union – "'Tis repeal galls the foes of old Erin go bragh." As in the previous song, O'Connell's victory is celebrated, and the continued fight for repeal is determined upon: "But now they are free and once more at large, / For Repeal of the Union they yearn to discharge … Shout Repeal and O'Connell & Erin go bragh."

As seen in "Repeal and Erin go Bragh", specific establishment figures are derided: "Orange P___ Bob he may make a great [f]uss"; and the "attorney for Ireland you know who I mean / Made a hodge podge indictment as the Judges ne'er saw … ." And again as seen in "Repeal and Erin go Bragh", the last verse includes a return to Romantic imagery in its celebration of O'Connell as the heroic "great liberator" and in the vision of Romantic-unionism in the entwining of ancient sister nations in service to the cause of Repeal:

> Before now my ditty I bring to an end,

> Three cheers then for old Ireland's friends,
> The great liberator and Erin go bragh,
> May each friend of liberty truly combine,
> And the rose, shamrock, and thistle firmly entwine.
> Then soon will the doom of oppression be sealed,
> Ireland's rights will be granted she'll get a Repeal,
> Sing long life to O'Connell and Erin go bragh.

Like "Repeal and Erin go Bragh" and "O'Connell & Liberty" this song also ends with the phrase "Erin go Bragh", making O'Connell's campaign for repeal an inheritor of the Romantic-nationalist tradition of the United Irishmen even if O'Connell's campaign was not revolutionary in the way that the United Irishmen eventually became.

The shift in Irish-themed street balladry in the 1830s and 1840s from poetry centred around Romantic, natural imagery towards more explicitly political subject-matter, echoes what Mike Sanders describes as the shift within Chartist poetry from "natural" to "social" metaphors that occurred in the mid 1840s after the failure of the second Petition in 1842. The parallel is not perfect; Chartist poetry is seen (by Anne Janowitz) to have become "less militant and more analytical", and more "aesthetic" – the aesthetic label coming from the more complex, abstract poetic structures, rather than from the imagery itself. No such significant change in style appears in the poetry of street-song (if anything, it becomes less "aesthetic" in its moving away from the visionary imagery of the Romantic period).[49] But what Sanders sees as the replacement of "nature" by "history" ("history replaces nature as the ultimate guarantor of Chartist success") finds clear parallel in the shift from use of Romantic-period metaphors (such as the comparison of "Erin's green shamrock" lying "undisturb'd between the moss and the vale" with the shaking in the breeze of the "rose and the thistle")[50] to the explicit political language at the end of this song ("Ireland's rights will be granted she'll get a Repeal, / Sing long life to O'Connell and

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[49] Michael Sanders, "Poetic Agency: Metonymy and Metaphor in Chartist Poetry," 115.
[50] "The Sons of Fingal" as printed by Pitts. BBO.
http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04288.gif

Erin go bragh") – albeit without the sophistication seen in some of the Chartist poetry.[51]

The reason for the lack of Chartist poetry in street balladry is perhaps the result of a more widespread sentiment expressed by Percy Bysshe Shelley that "Didactic poetry is [an] abhorrence; nothing can be equally well expressed in prose that is not tedious and supererogatory in verse."[52] In this light, because songs about O'Connell did not deal in events that directly affected English ballad customers, their poetic remove meant that they could evoke the sentiments of political resistance and victorious political triumph without seeming didactic. In this sense, they provided an artistic outlet of resistance in visionary, comic and entertaining historic/social forms that were perhaps all the more effective in inspiring sympathy (for the political sentiments expressed) precisely because of their (national) remove and the "strange charm" of their (almost) "foreign poetry".[53]

INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN ENGLISH-RADICAL AND IRISH THEMES

However Irish political ballads were received by hearers in England, the songs explored in this section all make explicit, in various ways, the conceptual link that was repeatedly made in popular culture between Ireland on the one hand and anti-establishmentism on the other. Analysis begins with those songs that set anti-establishment lyrics (lyrics with no mention of Ireland) to the melodies of well-known songs that were associated with Ireland. The second part of this section explores those songs that connect, in different ways, Irishness and English anti-establishmentism within the text itself.

The ethereal, and what must often have been instinctual, nature of political thought in the nineteenth century (in the absence of the type of communication networks that only developed later in first half of the twentieth century) is made manifest in the medium of song as dissemination of political inspiration and ideas; and the political

[51] Michael Sanders, "Poetic Agency: Metonymy and Metaphor in Chartist Poetry," 115-6.
[52] Denys Thompson, *The Uses of Poetry*, 131.
[53] Poems of Rural Life [IV]," 1864, 292.

relevance of music is evidenced in the use of melody in street-song to communicate political sentiment. The use of tunes associated with Irish themes provides an example of the wider conceptual link between Ireland and English radicalism – or between Irish themes and reform of any kind. Examples of this phenomenon include use of the tune "Rory O'More" (a comic song turned into a play by Samuel Lover in 1836 that was "among the first comedies to have an Irish peasant character as the hero")[54] for lyrics published by the Anti-Corn-Law league (also active in the 1830s and 40s), or the use a couple of decades before this of the tune "Erin go Bragh" for a song about the 1820 trial of the popular and beleaguered Queen Caroline. This kind of melodic association has precedent in the broader association of "Celtic", or more precisely Scottish, music in England, for example in the use of the air "Scots, wha hae wi Wallace Blad" for Anti-Corn-Law lyrics titled "The League's Address."[55] Or, the use of this melody by a procession of working men in favour of reform in Sheffield in 1819, who marched, as Linda Colley observes, "to the tune of one of the foremost Scottish anthems celebrating a victory over the English."[56] Evidently, the sentiments arising and associated with these melodies were not seen as contradictory, were not viewed in a sectarian-nationalist sense, and were instead received, and embodied, as representing a similar impulse against oppression within England as it had in Scotland.

Two songs that don't mention Irish causes, and that were first printed in the 1830s and 1840s, are "The State of Great Britain, or A Touch on the Times" and "What's Old England Come To". The melody for the former is noted in most street-ballad printings as being "Irish Molly"[57] or "Irish Molly O"[58], and for the latter, the tune is the "Irish Stranger" (the song of the same name analysed in Chapter Two).

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[54] William H. A. Williams. *Twas Only and Irishman's Dream*, 66.

[55] "The League's Address" can be found on a ballad sheet printed by the Anti-Corn-Law League in John Rylands Library, Manchester.

[56] That is, Robert Burns's "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," Colley, *Britons*, 345.

[57] See "The State of Great Britain, Or, A Touch at the Times, for 1841" as printed by Paul and co. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/18517.gif

[58] See "The State of Great Britain, Or, A Touch at the Times" as printed by Harkness. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02948.gif

“The State of Great Britain, or A Touch on the Times”

The texts of both of these songs echo the language of Chartism as Stedman Jones outlines it (as in anti-establishment and class-based), as well as the vocabulary of patriotism as outlined by Hugh Cunningham. “The State of Great Britain, or A Touch on the Times”[59] opens with the line “As old John Bull was walking” – immediately evoking patriotic tradition, closely followed by Romantic-period imagery in the form of the personified “rose”, “shamrock”, and “thistle”, who sing together that “an alteration must take place … in the Corn Laws, and the Poor Law Bill, / And many other things.” Each verse takes on the causes of Great Britain’s downfall with the first two verses consisting of the old complaint against technology: the “railroads”, “machinery of every kind” and “steam boats” that “all through England, / Has great depression made.” Machinery has “put a stop to trade”, and the steamboats have “nearly ruin’d” the watermen. In the fourth verse, the Poor Law Bill and its failings are denounced as “arbitrary laws” before the song moves, in the last five verses, to the familiar problem of the gap between rich and poor. In particular, as comes up with relative frequency in songs such as this, the farmers come in for especial criticism in their benefitting from the corn laws: “Behold the well-fed farmer, / How he can strut along.” And as usual, the farmer’s daughter is singled out for some misogynistic ridicule over her frivolous fashions, for example for her “bustle nearly seven times, / As a big as a milking pail.” In the seventh verse, the “nobles from the pockets of / John Bull are all well paid”, while in the eighth, the “tradesman he can hardly pay, / His rent and keep his home; / and the labourer he has eighteen pence, / A day for breaking stones.” The song ends with both critique of the gap between rich and poor – “Some can live in luxury, / while others weep in woe” – and a nostalgic look to the past with a cynical view of the future – “the world will shortly move by steam … So you must all acknowledge / That England wants a change.” So the mention of the Corn Laws and the Poor Law Bill in the first verse are specific complaints, but the song’s declaration that “England wants a change” expresses resistance but does not constitute a direct call to action.

The tune to which this text was sung, “Irish Molly O”, was a popular song – evidenced by multiple extant printings in the Bodleian and Madden collections, and

[59] “THE STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN, Or, a Touch at the Times” as printed by Pitts. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04572.gif

by its inclusion in folksong collector Frank Kidson's *English Peasant Songs* in 1929 (published posthumously from his private song collections).[60] "Irish Molly O" opens with that convention associated with orally disseminated song in which the narrator walks "out" one morning (sometimes evening) in (usually) Spring: "As I walk'd out one morning all in the month of May". As in the original version of "Erin go Bragh" analysed above, this song's narrative occurs in the space between Scotland and Ireland. It is a tragic love story in which the Scottish narrator, prevented from courting his Irish lover by her father, is doomed to spend his days as a "poor forlorn pilgrim" in "lone woods and valleys". The song ends with that declaration of passionate despair indicative of eighteenth-century sensibility (and also associated with orally disseminated song) – with the narrator dying for love and giving instructions for his funeral – "For to come to my funeral, I hope she will incline":

> When that I'm buried, there is one thing more I crave,
> To lay a marble tombstone at the head of my grave,
> And on this marble tombstone a prayer shall be said,
> That young Mc. Donald lies here for his bonny Irish maid.[61]

So, this older song of passion, yearning, lament, death and the meting out of unjust and arbitrary oppression (by Molly's father), underlies the lyrics of "The State of Great Britain, or A Touch on the Times" about Britain's "grief and agony" and the greed of the rich that is seen as its cause.

"What's Old England Come To"

"What's Old England Come To" is a song with lyrics far more reminiscent of Romantic-period song than "A Touch on the Times", especially of "Exile of Erin". In fact, it reads almost like a parody of the latter, opening with the figure of a dispossessed stranger in tattered clothes, cold, starving, and wandering by a "hill".[62]

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[60] There are eleven (definite) English-printed printings in the Bodleian and five in the Madden collection. This is not the American stage version of "Irish Molly" written by Wm. Jerome and composed by Jean Schwartz in 1905 and recorded by De Danann and many others in the twentieth century. https://www.itma.ie/digital-library/text/10415-sm

[61] "Irish Molly, O!" as printed by Pitts. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02680.gif

[62] "What's Old England Come To" as printed by Hill. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/06682.gif

Like "Exile of Erin", each verse ends with a tribute to the visionary nation of Romantic-period song – with the mythical "*old* England" of patriot imagination replacing the nation of "green sunny bowers" and "sea-beaten shores" of "Erin go Bragh". The author clearly had "Exile of Erin" in mind in a deliberate attempt to associate this song with the sentiments of the former, and as an additional short-cut to sentiment, the tune "Irish Stranger" is recommended.

In "What's Old England Come To", the narrator's dispossession is made explicit in the second verse, when his cottage is "sold" from him, claimed (in the third verse) by a "villain with plenty of gold." In another echo of "Exile of Erin", the narrator laments his friends who are now "few". The last two verses turn to the contemporary political landscape – to the villainous "Farmer and Comedian" and to the "trades" that are now all "near standing still." The narrator's grief at seeing his "babies starving", results in the implication that he longs for the return of war – that he would "boldly face a ball" in return for an income. The last verse laments the slump in trade experienced in "Manchester and Birmingham" and the starving of the "Tars" due to lack of paid labour while "shipping lays in harbour." And in a final reference to "old England", the narrator declares that the hearts of the "monarchs bold" of previous ages would break if they could "view our desolation." In the end, like in "Exile of Erin", the narrator-stranger's pain is so great that he turns to ideas of death to "ease" his pain.

Use of the tune "Irish Stranger" reinforces the narrator's dispossession and his fate as rootless wanderer within his own nation; and the narrator's grief at his enforced displacement from his place of birth implies (via *place*) the oppositional-patriotic stance that criticize those whose policies necessitate migration in search of economic stability. The melody was collected by both by Lucy Broadwood (from a quarryman in Pulborough, West Sussex) in 1901,[63] and by Percy Merrick (from Henry Hills in Lodsworth, Shepperton, Sussex) in 1900.[64] Although these versions are slightly different, they obviously derive from the same melodic source. And in turn, this is likely to be the same melody that was associated with the lyrics of "Irish Stranger" in

[63] Lucy Broadwood, editor, et al, "Songs from County Waterford, Ireland," 1907. 10.
[64] Lucy Broadwood, editor, et al, "Songs from the Collection of W. P. Merrick," 1901, 116, https://www.vwml.org/record/RoudFS/S149282

nineteenth-century street balladry because both collectors noted that the lyrics sung by these singers were the same as those printed by Henry Such. The melody (as noted down by Merrick) is in 4/4 time and in B minor which seems to necessitate slow, mournful rendition. In the first verse, the high, drawn-out notes (three beats in total) land upon the words ("day was") "dawning", ("snow was") "falling", ("the clothing he was wearing, was tattered and") "torn" – resulting in a kind of keening effect that emphasises the pain and desolation of the "stranger". In turn, the lowest, drawn-out parts of the melody (also three beats) fall upon ("hollow and") "shrill", "hill", "forlorn". At the end of each verse, the "I shall ne'er see them more" of the "Irish Stranger" becomes in this song a similarly lamenting "England what have you come to" serving to emphasise the song's nostalgic hopelessness.

The palimpsest of both "Exile of Erin" and "Irish Stranger" combined, reinforces in "What's Old England Come To" the concept of England as dispossessed of its legacy, as dispossessed of that "old" nation of freeborn people that existed before the Norman yoke. And in turn, this sentiment is merged with echoes of the more contemporary language of Chartism – for example in the references to "all trades are near standing still" and to "Manchester and Birmingham, alas are fell to ruin" – although it should be noted that these echoes do not use language quite as strong as that found in some Chartist literature such as in this extract from the *Northern Star* in 1838:

> The attention of the labouring classes – the 'real' people – has been successively … aroused by the injuries they have sustained by the operation of a corrupt system of patronage hanging around their necks a host of locusts, in the shape of idle and useless pensioners and a swarm of hornets, in the form of mischievous placemen and commissioners to support whom they are weighed to the earth by the pressures of taxation; by the operation of the Corn Laws which made rents high and bread dear; by the iniquitous protection of the fundholders which made money dear and labour cheap; by the horrors of the factory system which immolates their progeny and coins the blood of their children into gold, for merciless grasping ruffians and by the abominations of the poor law act which virtually and practically denies them the right to live. All these and one hundred minor grievances, subservient to the same grand end (of making the working classes beasts of burden - hewers of wood and

> drawers of water – to the aristocracy, Jewocracy, Millocracy, Shopocracy, and every other Ocracy which feeds on human vitals) have roused the feelings of the people and prompted the respective parties to seek a remedy for the smarting of their wounds.[65]

The language of street-ballad texts was rarely this aggrieved, although stronger sentiments may have manifested in performance. One way of making the language of injustice and grievance more palatable for moments during the day of reflective transcendence, or evenings of recreation, was to make it humorous. The next four songs analysed here were all printed in the 1830s and 1840s, and did not necessarily use Irish melodies (or at least there is not evidence of this because no tunes are listed) but instead made the merging of Irish and English contemporary political concerns explicit either in the text or via parody. Two of the songs analysed in this section are ironic in some way – "Irishman's Picture of London" and "Sons of John Bull" – and the other two, "Reform and Repeal, or The English Radical's Plea for Ireland" and "England & Ireland Sing Erin go Bragh" are more direct in their language.

"England & Ireland Sing Erin go Bragh,"

The first of these songs was printed five years before the *Northern Star* extract, in mid-1830s Newcastle, and provides forewarning of some of the socio-political grievances raised in that article. The song at first reads like a mishmash of Irish and English political topics throughout its thirteen verses, but it nevertheless accurately reflects the type of associations that were made between the political movements of the time, and that were made in other street-songs of resistance. Its apotheosis, beginning in the ninth verse, rests upon events in London in 1833 and the aftermath of the Calthorpe Riot that occurred there that year in response to the limited extension of the franchise brought about by the 1832 Reform Act.

As is typical of street balladry in the 1830s when Romantic-nationalist themes were first being combined with more contemporary political references, the first verse evokes the nations of the union before the song continues on to more contemporary topics:

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[65] *Northern Star*, 4th August 1838, quoted in Gareth Stedman Jones, "The Language of Chartism", 13-14.

As the Shamrock, rose, and Thistle met upon a certain day,
Come cheer up, Hibernia, The Rose to her did say,
You seem to hang your drooping head, but never mind the law,
Here is England and Ireland, sing Erin go bragh.

The following verses pertain mainly to Irish issues, and begin with the declaration that "the Whigs" who were the governing party from 1830 to 1833 "for old Ireland has seldom done good" – a reference to the Coercion Bill enacted by the Whigs in 1833 that "restricted public meetings and provided for the suspension of habeas corpus, the imposition of martial law, and the trial of offenders by court-martial."[66] O'Connell remarked in parliament that "had the Tories introduced such a measure, the Whigs would have delivered 'flaming orations' in defence of the sacred constitution,"[67] and he was evidently also seen by the public to have stood up to the Bill because the verse continues with praise for the "brave and valiant patriot" (O'Connell) who said "I'll protect my country – a fig for martial law." In the third verse, and as in the songs "O'Connell & Liberty" and "Reform and Repeal, or The English Radical's Plea for Ireland" (below), the depiction of O'Connell with a "stout shilelah" [*sic*] who will "shew [*sic*] them the law" portrays him as a hero of physical force despite the fact that this (as noted above) opposed his own commitment to "moral force". Yet, these depictions, oft-repeated in popular song, evidently worked to endear him to the street-ballad-buying public, and to boost his image as "hero", as did expressions of bravado such as "… all the heads in Europe can never frighten Dan" (also third verse).

The song includes praise for the English radical figures – John Arthur Roebuck the flamboyant M.P. for Bath (who later became M.P for Sheffield in 1849),[68] and Thomas Attwood, one of the leading figures in the Reform movement,[69] before condemning "they" who "borrow'd Ireland's Union full thirty years and more" – "they" referring to the government in general rather than the Whigs (a Tory government oversaw the 1801 Act of Union). The song then declares that if Ireland

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[66] Abraham D. Kriegel, "Liberty and Whiggery in Early Nineteenth-Century England," 271.
[67] Ibid.
[68] S. A. Beaver, "Roebuck, John Arthur (1802-1879), politician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, Sept 23, 2004.
[69] Clive Behagg, "Attwood, Thomas (1783-1856), political and currency theorist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, Oct 08 2009.

was “return’d”, then “she” would “covet neither parishes, nor any other law, So let England and Ireland sing Erin go bragh.” The “nobility of Ireland” are also denounced, for taking “Hibernia’s treasure … far away from home” – for which they “deserve to be brought forward, and tried by martial law / For they’ve ruin’d poor Ireland, sing Erin go bragh.” Next, it is “Britannia” who comes in for condemnation in “her” neglect of the many Irish soldiers who had returned from the Napoleonic Wars only to find themselves forced to “find employment like pilgrims … some weeping, some lamenting, thousands starving by the law.”

It is against this backdrop of discontent that the Calthorpe jury of seventeen receive a hero’s tribute in the ninth verse for their unanimous verdict of “justifiable homicide” for the death of a policeman (PC Culley) during the Calthorpe riot. The public support for this decision not only illustrates support for the protests against the limited affects of the 1832 Reform Act (which only enfranchised those with property of a considerable £10 or more), but also highlights the resentment many felt towards Robert Peel’s police, formed with the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829. So, in the first two lines of this verse the jury are described as “gallant heroes” who did “their duty” with “courage”, and then the topic returns again to “Dan O’Connell, who daily lays the law / Down — for England, for Ireland — sing Erin go bragh.” The remaining verses continue, and repeat, praise for the radicals Attwood and Roebuck, and mention the names of “Hume, Evans, and O’Connell adored be each name,” and denounces both the “Whigs” and the “Tories” declaring that by neither will “Britons be laid low.”

The song ends in the last two verses on a celebratory note. The discontent evident at this time clearly foreshadows the popular pull of the Chartist movement that came soon after – and the anger and optimism that defined that movement as a whole. Union is again celebrated here, not of the Romantic and metaphorical rose, shamrock and thistle, but of the contemporary nations of “England and Ireland, and Scotland” – all of whom “toast” the “glorious seventeen, Who brav’d the storm so manfully, and like Britons fear’d no law.” So this jury came to represent a sense of justifiable, political resistance, as is emphasised in the last line of the penultimate verse in which the “gallant Calthorpe jury sing *Erin go Bragh*” (my emphasis). The last verse emphasises their legacy:

May the Unions of England and Ireland agree.
May each member of the Union pass his days in harmony.
And when the glorious seventeen in their cold graves lie low,
Their names shall be recorded — sing Erin go Bragh.

So union and harmony between nations in support of justice and equitability is celebrated here, and a sense British heroism (like the "Britons" "who fear'd no law" in the twelfth verse) is created by the elevation of those whose names will be "recorded" when they lie in their "cold graves". And again, the last phrase of the song, used as metaphor to emphasise these sentiments, is "Erin go Bragh".

"Irishman's Picture of London"

"Irishman's Picture of London" was printed a little later than "England & Ireland Sing Erin go Bragh" in *c*.1840, and is more theatrical in tone with its evocation of the stage Irishman – a narrative device that would have required a certain measure of acting in sung performance. It appears in extant collections on sheets printed by Pitts, T. Birt and Anne Ryle & Co. and appears under various titles such as "Irishman's Picture of England" or just "Picture of England".[70] It echoes some of the issues raised in the Chartist extract above: taxation; a critique of the "factory system"; condemnation of the "overseers' (or the "millocracy" as termed in the *Northern Star*); and the idea of the labouring classes as "beasts of burden" is echoed in this song in its description of the poor as "no better than oxen" and "the rich" being "their drovers." Yet, the difference in language and tone between many Chartist writings and this song (especially in this song's comic tone) illustrates the ways in which radical ideas were most effectively dispersed in popular culture – and how Ireland was used as trope in service to this popularisation.

The narrator declares his Irish birth in the opening line, both via mention of Dublin, as well as via the Hiberno-English patterns of language used ("It is myself that was born now in Dublin") which is more or less emphasised in the different versions of the

[70] This song was first printed at some point before 1840 (T. Birt ended trading in 1839), and was also printed after 1845 (Anne Ryle & Co. started trading under that name in 1845) as well as in the intermittent years.

printed song. Use of this distinct Other national identity to comment upon England's ills, provides a radical critique all the more effective for its externality.[71] In a play on listenership, the first verse makes the point of informing the purportedly non-English (but obviously English) listener to "not be troubling" with "a picture of England's joys" because it's "all twaddle, / And nought but palaver and noise." Overall, the song is an ironic critique of England's declarations of "liberty" with each verse criticizing in turn the corruption and hypocrisy of the police (the "bogtrotters in blue"), the "Ministers", "Bishops", "Magistrates" and "Overseers". Each four-line refrain makes a return to irony:

> Talk of America, Greenland, or Finland,
> Here's Liberty's flag is unfurl'd;
> Oh! This a picture of England,
> The glory and pride of the World!

In this "glory and pride of the World" the ministers are a "set of rapscallions and calves" who "bother the poor wid taxation", while "poor Johnny bull starves". The Bishops "wid gospel they stuff ye", but if a "poor man says he's starving / They tell him to starve and be dammed!"

Oppositional-patriotic language emerges in the last two verses where the nation-elevating British anthems are mocked through the voice of the Irishman: "they tell you in songs so bewitching, / That 'Britons will never be slaves!'" The solution to the oppression that was expressed in the preceding verses, becomes a patriotic one in the last verse with the narrator's imaginative return to Ireland as that place of natural freedoms: "Then give me Old Ireland for ever." In this line, despite the "old", and despite the dire economic and social conditions in Ireland during this time (just before the famine that began in 1845), Ireland seems to become a contemporary manifestation of the *old* England of the freeborn Englishman.

So Ireland again becomes that imagined place of natural abundance and of individual freedom, as envisaged for example in older songs such as "Exile of Erin" or

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[71] Imagistic in the sense proposed by Joep Leerssen in "Imagology: History and Method," 17-32.

"Seventeenth of March". The idea of Ireland as last bastion of "British" (or the nearby geographical area of the Western islands) freedom, as it might have been imagined on nineteenth-century streets, is reinforced here. The fact that the song was printed by multiple London printers as well as by printers in Birmingham and Manchester, and not, according to extant British collections, in Ireland or America, reinforces the point that the "you" of the song was directed at English hearers, and that those English hearers understood the song to be addressing themselves:

> They tell you in songs so bewitching,
> That "Britons will never be slaves!"
> What I mighty big lie they are pitching,
> And I'll tell them so too, by their leaves.
> The Ministers poverty mocks you,
> Oppression is all they bestow,
> The poor are no better than oxen,
> And the rich are their drovers, you know.
>
> Then give me Old Ireland for ever,
> Where beauty and elegance smile,
> It's boys are the boys that are clever,
> Hurrah for the Emerald Isle!
> With my pigs and my cow, and mud tenement,
> I'll dwell there without any dread;
> No more will I quit that sweet element,
> But live all my days 'till I'm dead.

While this last verse reinforces the derogatory stage-Irish stereotypes that associate Ireland with "pigs" and "mud", it also simultaneously subverts and re-appropriates those stereotypes in the implication that they are preferred to the imprisonment and inequalities faced under industrial capitalism. "Then give me Old Ireland for ever" translates the hazy other-worldliness of the phrase "Erin go Bragh" and makes even contemporary Ireland a place preferable to England. It reinforces Ireland as a place of escape – from taxation, low-paid labour, corrupt policing and the institutional disregard for the destitute. Heard by the English poor, this image of Ireland alongside

critique of English governance from the voice of the comic Irishman potentially cements the idea of Irish-English/British affiliation under the common banner of oppression, and potentially brings a measure of international self-awareness that opposes the self-congratulatory sentiment that songs such as “Rule Britannia!” came to represent.[72]

“Reform and Repeal, or The English Radical’s Plea for Ireland”

This sense of affiliation under the banner of resistance is made explicit in “Reform and Repeal, or The English Radical’s Plea for Ireland” which combines the themes of Irish repeal and Chartist reform, and mixes the vocabularies associated with oppositional-patriotism (“slaves”, “tyrants”, “liberty” and “justice”), contemporary Chartist critique (“temperance, “Feargus O’Connor”, “equal laws”), and Romantic-nationalism (“brave sons”, “Hibernia”, “Wallace”, “sweet Erin go Bragh”). The first two lines constitute a Chartist call to the “working men of England” who by their “labour” live (and who therefore deserve the franchise). The sentiment of the patriot is aroused in the third line in the call to “all lovers of freedom.” And Romantic-nationalism is addressed in the fifth line in the call to the “brave sons of Hibernia” – the “brave” and the “sons” evoking that implied natural inheritance, of ancient heroism on the battlefield in service to the personified “Hibernia”, due to Ireland’s current “sons”:

> Ye working men of England,
> Who by your labour live,
> And all lovers of freedom,
> To me attention give;
> The brave sons of Hibernia,
> Who seek their country’s weal,
> Are join’d in peaceful union,
> For to obtain Repeal.

[72] Phil Eva in her unpublished PhD thesis takes a different view – that this song illustrates the separation and distance between English radical politics and Irish politics.

In a similar way to some of the Romantic-unionist songs, it is union that is emphasised in the four-line refrain, alongside the call for (political) Repeal of that same union:

> So let English, Scotch, and Irishmen,
> One bond of union feel,
> In freedom's cause, for equal laws,
> The O'Connell and Repeal.

The combination of radical, patriotic and Romantic-nationalist vocabulary continues in the remaining five verses. After the "working men of England" are addressed in the first verse, the next two verses begin by addressing "Ireland" and the "men of Scotland" respectively. Emphasis is placed, in the second verse, on the "same power" which has "long oppress'd" Ireland, being the same power that has "[l]ikewise kept "England low". The text constitutes a call to action in a way that similar songs do not. It declares that "[b]oth [Ireland and England] wallow'd in blind prejudice / For the interest of knaves" – presumably referring to a kind of unthinking deference to traditional class authorities – and adds that now "they [Ireland and England] see their folly, / And no longer will be slaves." In the third verse, national identity based upon the legacy of ancient heroism is reinforced *alongside* the call for union; the "men of Scotland / Whose sires by Bruce was led / When struggling for their liberty, / And Wallace fought and bled" are called upon to join in this "sacred union, / Of Peace, Order, and Law / To obtain Repeal for your own weal" (and for "sweet Erin go Bragh"). The fourth verse steps away from the idea of "England" to address "Britain", constituting a warning to the latter that if Erin is "struck", "Britain the blow will feel."

> See, see, how Ireland's deadliest foes,
> With threatening aspect stand,
> The course of justice to oppose,
> And desolate the land,
> Let them beware – if Erin's struck,
> Britain the blow will feel,
> And their own ruin pave the way
> To freedom and Repeal.

This idea that eventual “freedom and Repeal” for Ireland might only occur through Britain’s “own ruin” seems an especially pertinent prospect at the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century. The fifth verse turns to the memory of the “glorious cause” for which the “patriot dead” and Robert Emmet (Irish-nationalist rebel leader) “bled”, and links this cause (the United Irishmen’s cause of Irish independence) to the contemporary movement of “freedom and Repeal” while at the same time calling for a “bloodless victory” guided by “justice, [t]emperance,” and “[l]aw.”

The tensions between the moral- and physical-force elements in the English reform movement as well as in the Irish repeal movement are mirrored in the song as a whole in the evocation of physical battle and uprising alongside the call for “bloodless victory”. And although the song identifies Dan O’Connell and Feargus O’Connor as “Brothers”, tension is manifest in the knowledge of the ideological and cultural differences between them, and in the outright hostility that O’Connell felt toward the Chartist movement in England (as well as toward the little-heard-of Chartist movement within Ireland). Yet the song repeatedly emphasises, via the refrain, the ideological “bond of union” between the nations, and between the causes of “reform and repeal.” And the last verse toasts the repeal movement, Chartism, and the union:

> So, success to Dan O’Connell,
> And Feargus O’Connor too,
> Henceforth like Brothers may they strive,
> All tyrants to subdue,
> May the English, Irish and the Scotch,
> Their future union seal,
> By a full reform for each and all,
> The Charter and Repeal.

“Sons of John Bull”

Another more ironic song is “Sons of John Bull”, parody of “Sons of Fingal”, printed by Elizabeth Hodges at some point after 1845 (and extant in both the Bodleian and Madden collections). It provides testament to the popularity of the original Romantic-

nationalist song (analysed in Chapter Three and said by some to be by Thomas Moore) that was printed from the time of Pitts (pre 1844), just as its existence underscores the widespread prevalence of the Romantic view of Ireland in song overall. As parody, the song implicitly contrasts the poverty and drudgery of life for many in England with the lofty and Romantic image of Ireland depicted in the original song; and Ireland's Romantic image is therefore further reinforced in its comparison to the prosaic English everyday. The song's comic tone, for example its use of Cockney dialect evident in the replacement of "w" with "v" (a relatively common phenomenon in street balladry) belies the serious critique of the "condition of England" that underlies it. It might be argued that the parody also potentially takes an oppositional stance to the idealization of nation that was a feature of so many songs about Ireland – an idealization that is not only made possible but strengthened when it occurs outside the place itself.

The same societal conditions that are highlighted in other anti-establishment songs of the time are highlighted in this song – the gap between rich and poor, hunger, and the justice system:

> Oh England my country, how blest is thy nation.
> How happy thy people, there pockets are so full,
> Where bread, beef & beer, & thy fine vegetation,
> Is sarved out so cheap to the sons of john bull,
> Oh, this is the country of sweets without sours.
> No music to me like brixton's tread-mill,
> Thy nice necks of lamb, and thy nice cauliflovers,
> O what is more sweet our dear bellies to fill
> Then hail, happy England, the land of my daddies.
> So kind are thy rich – so contented thy Poor,
> Vare no one's not sorry, but every one glad is.
> Then jollygood luck to old England, hur-raw.

As in "The State of Great Britain, or A Touch on the Times", the Poor Laws are ironically praised in the second verse – "Thy vurkhouses built for thy poor, lame and silly, / O, who is the covey wot from 'em would part?" – as is the workhouse uniform

in the line “fine suits of grey,” and the workhouse diet in the line “nice soup and skilly.” The “rags and bones” of the “brave sons of freedom” are implicitly contrasted with the “heroes” of the original song. England is a “happy country,” a “bright gem of the ocean” in which the “prisons are full” and the “tread-mills [are] in motion.” The last line of each verse, “[t]hen jollygood luck to old England, hur-raw,” replaces the lines in the original song that include the phrase “Erin go Bragh” (at the end of two of the original verses) with the affect that England’s poor social conditions are again contrasted with the loftier connotations of the phrase “Erin go Bragh.”

SONGS OF EXILE AND EMIGRATION AS SONGS OF RESISTANCE

As seen in Chapter Four, there was a significant cohort of new songs printed from the mid-nineteenth century onward that can be described as sentimental Irish emigration songs that were published as sheet music for the pianoforte and for the Victorian parlour and drawing room market, as well as being pirated and sold as street-ballad sheets. However, alongside this trend in post-mid-century street-balladry, there was also a cohort of songs that combined the theme of emigration with a more explicit political anger and contemporary political critique against the economic and political reasons for that emigration.

Unlike the songs analysed in Chapter Two that were all authored near to the year 1800 and that all consisted of a more raw sense of systemic violence and isolated disconnection (symptomatic of the revolutionary years, the 1798 rebellion and the Napoleonic Wars), the songs analysed here were all written in the mid century. As a group they veer toward sentiments associated with the phenomenon of mass emigration rather than sentiments associated with the trauma of isolated, political exile. The difference in those songs authored around 1800 and these printed forty or fifty years later, is not only a question of emphasis on place (in the earlier songs) versus people (in the later songs) but also one of tone and of aesthetic, in which the older songs such as “Mary le More” and “Irish Stranger” contain more of the visionary imagery of raw sublime than these later songs.

It was during the mid-century that English songs of emigration emerged for the first time. All of these seem to have been heavily influenced by the Irish songs of emigration and by Irish themes more widely; and their inclusion in this section seeks to illustrate this influence.

"Poor Pat must Emigrate"

However, the first song of political-emigration explored in this section is an Irish-themed song. The nostalgia and reverence with which the trope of "home" was held in nineteenth-century popular song, meant that emigration songs that highlighted the systemic and economic necessitation for departure from that home, inherently became tools of political condemnation. "Poor Pat must Emigrate", is a lament on "Pat's" departure from "Paddy's land" and a polemic on the wrongs wrought against Ireland. This song was relatively widely printed for example by T. Pearson of Manchester (printed after *c*.1860 and extant in the Holt collection), and by Disley (after *c*.1850, Bodleian), Such (after *c*.1849, Bodleian), and Fortey (printed after c.1855 and extant in the Madden collection). So these printers all denote post-mid-century printing, as does the "memory of brave Dan" line in the fifth verse because Daniel O'Connell died in 1847. As discussed in Chapter Four, these were printed at a time post mid-century when despite the relative improvement in economic circumstances for many, political disappointment and economic hardship were still rife. The Repeal movement had failed, as had Chartism in its last petition of 1848 and the rebellion of the Young Ireland movement in the same year.

"Poor Pat must Emigrate" opens with the cause of the narrator's emigration being the "rent and taxes" that are "so high." In the third line it becomes clear that the song is narrated from that particular situation (found relatively commonly in street-song) of the emigrant being in transit in England, having "sail'd away from Dublin quay … yesterday" and imminently moving on to "America" ("The Shamrock sails immediately") where "[t]hey say there's work for one and all, which we can't get in Donegal." However, before he departs, he has "just called in to let you know, the sights [he's] seen [in Ireland] before [he] goes." The narrative then, in its erroneous application of the date of "'98" (twice repeated) in reference to the famine, seems to embody the dissociative shock of the narrator's experiences. But this date also brings into the song's picture of associations the memory of the Irish rebellion of that year –

although it is unlikely that the emigrating narrator would have "seen", or had direct experience, of a rebellion that had happened more than 50 years beforehand.

Yet, that time period is also evoked in some of the song's imagery, and in the pathos-inducing male exile or emigrant as dishevelled and penniless "My frieze, my brogues, my shirt in holes, is all that I've got in my kit" is reminiscent of "Exile of Erin" or "The Irish Stranger". And "Mary le More" is brought to mind in the second (of six) verse during which the narrator describes being hunted "out of house and home, to beg and starve to death" due to having "no half-pence" with which to pay the rent. He declares that selling his "little plot of land" was the reason that he must emigrate, but continues in the third verse to inform the hearer that he "saw worse in Skibbereen" – a town in Co. Cork that suffered particularly badly during the Irish famine (1845 to 1852). Harrowing images are then conjured of "fathers, mothers, boys and girls, with rosy cheeks and silken curls" who, starving, "patiently reconciled themselves to what they thought their fate; / They were thrown in graves by wholesale, / Which caused many an Irish boy and girl to be glad to emigrate."

A stark sense of the injustice of this situation emerges in the fourth verse, in which the narrator notes that "Pat" has "bled for England's Queen, where'er a foe was to be seen", in particular, in pursuit of "that Indian chief, Nena Sahib, that cursed thief, / Who smother'd babes and mothers, and left them to their fate." This topic of the Indian rebellion of 1857 is emphasised in the Thomas Pearson printing, by the woodcut above the song depicting a figure riding an elephant.[73] "[B]rave Dan" himself is also championed and defended by the narrator who asks "[w]hy should not every Irishman respect the memory of brave Dan?". He reminds the hearer that O'Connell "struggled hard with heart and hand" but cites the death of the "Liberator" as another reason necessitating his emigration – "death no favour to us shows … / Since he took our Liberator, poor Pat must emigrate." That this song was authored by an Irish person is made more likely by the unusual (in English-printed street-song) Irish phrase that in the Thomas Pearson printing reads "*beid-na-hutch*" – "He told us for *beid-na-hutch*, and in him for to put our trust" (which written with the correct Irish spelling would be "*bead ina háit*" [or "*beidh mé ina háit*" in more formal language]

[73] "Poor Pat must Emigrate" as printed by Pearson. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/12107.gif

that translates as "I will be in their [or his or her] place").[74] In the Disley printing this becomes a nonsensical "ths hisht" (likely because the printer did not recognise the Irish phrase in the same way that he might have recognised more frequently-used Irish phrases) and in the New York printing (by H. De Marsan) it has been changed to a more coherent "He told us for to be in no haste, / And in him to place our trust." So the geographical journey that the narrator takes is echoed in the dissemination of the song itself that can be traced from the more accurate Irish-language printings in Cork and Manchester, to the nonsensical printings in London and the later English-language printing in New York.

Ultimately, in contrast to exile songs such as "Exile of Erin", and sentimental emigration songs such as "Irish Emigrant", this song ends on a relatively upbeat note. The narrator's "purse is light" but his "spirits" are "bright" and there is a sense of urgency in case he be "too late", presumably to catch the boat. There is hope in the desire that if he should ever return to "this land" that his companions will "find [him] a better man."

"God speed the Good Ship; Or, the English Emigrant!" and "The English Exile"

"God speed the Good Ship; Or, the English Emigrant!" by Eliza Cook and "The English Exile" are two songs neither of which have explicit reference to Ireland, but both provide examples through their print contexts (and by the songs that they were printed alongside) how closely Ireland was associated with emigration as well as how Irish themes and tropes eventually came to be taken on in service to anti-establishment song pertaining to England. In "God speed the Good Ship!" for example, one verse is devoted to images of idyllic rural life and another to the friends, family and community left behind; both verses look back on these with a sense of nostalgia:

> You'll sometimes think of the hawthorn leaves,
> And the dog-rose peeping through,
> And you'll sometimes think of the harvest sheaves
> Though the wheat was not for you.

[74] With thanks to Aoife Nic Fearghusa for the translation.

Or,

> Perhaps you leave a white-haired sire,
> A sister or a brother,
> Perhaps your heart has dared to part
> For ever from a mother;

Although the second-person narration differs from many similar Irish songs, the sentiments of nostalgia towards family are the same, and the mention of the wheat that “was not for you” also echoes conditions in Ireland especially during the famine. The printer Henry Such associates Cook’s song with Ireland in his printing of it alongside “Shamrock, Rose and Thistle”, a comic songs that begins: “The land of old Erin is the land of delight, / Where the women can love, and the men can all fight.” And Fortey made the same association (using the title “The English Emigrant”), printing it alongside “Erin’s Green Shore” (about the return of Daniel O’Connell’s daughter from England to Ireland, as saviour of the latter).

Eliza Cook was not the only Chartist poet to write Irish-themed songs – another notable example was William James Linton (1812 to 1897) from Essex whose Irish-themed poems include “The Voice of the Barricades”, “At Bay” (beginning “Potatoes are rotting….”), “Irish Harvest Song”, “Eviction” and “Landlordism”. Both Cook and Linton also wrote songs about St Patrick, “St Patrick’s Day” and “Saint Patrick” respectively. However, the difference in intended audience was evident in their poetic styles. Linton’s poems were less frequently written in ballad metre while Cook was very concerned that her ballads and poetry appeal to the poorer classes and as a result she deliberately sought to write regular, conventional prosody. Linton’s poetry, in keeping with later Chartist poetry, was more self-consciously poetic, as evidenced for example in the opening of “At Bay” which begins: “Potatoes are rotting: / Rottener foes / The land are blotting; / The corn yet grows.” The poem “Landlordism” uses a more rhythmical form, but the antiquated language and the sparse, present-tense perspective, make it less suited to singing: “Landlord Acres nothing needeth, -/ Full his purse and paunch; / On the grass the peasant feedeth, - / Famine’s dogs are

staunch…”.[75] Moreover, Linton’s poems are far more overtly political and so less sellable on the streets; he was instead, a regular contributor to *The Nation* – newspaper of the Young Ireland movement during the time that it was edited by Charles Gavan Duffy.[76]

“The English Exile”

“The English Exile” echoes the nostalgia evident in Irish songs of emigration in its sentimental depictions of parting from mother (“thy loving face beaming with joy, / Oh, why are you weeping, dear mother”) as well as the tragedy of the exile songs in the sister’s “repining, / Sick, cold on a pallet of straw” and the narrator “unable to giver her the succour, / To keep her from death’s craving door”. But it is in the last verse that the tone of resistance, and of oppositional-patriotism, emerges in use of vocabulary such as “freedom”, “tyrant” and “slave”, and in its satirical subversion of the “brave” rulers of England:

> Farewell to the shores of Old England,
> Farewell to its rulers so brave,
> The boast of an Englishman’s freedom,
> And the first that would make a slave.
> Your liberty’s proved you a tyrant,
> The dockyards has proved you are free,
> Take the bread from our wives and our children,
> And transport them across the blue sea.

“The Emigrant’s Farewell”

“The Emigrant’s Farewell” treats emigration in a different way to the all the previous songs in this section in its invocation of “Britannia” as separate entity, set apart from the nations of Ireland, England and Scotland (as usual Wales is not mentioned which may be a matter of poetic convenience, or because of a lingering association in the nineteenth century which implicitly binds the idea of the ancient Britons of Wales with Britannia). This sense of Britishness as a separate phenomenon, has precedent in,

[75] Peter Schnecker, editor. *An Anthology of Chartist Poetry*, 250.
[76] Ibid., 338.

for example, "England & Ireland Sing Erin go Bragh" above, in which "Britannia", rather than England, "wanted men" in "the height of war" and in the idea that "[n]either by Whig nor Tory will *Britons* be laid low, / Long live the Calthorpe jury – sing Erin go bragh." In the opening lines of "The Emigrant's Farewell", the Romantic-nationalist invocation of the personified nations heightens the sense of crisis in the image of something like national elders "conversing" during a crisis while the figurehead, or godmother/father figure, stands "mournfully" by. The narrator tells the hearer in the third line that it is "on the subject of Emigration" that they discourse, and on the "dark clouds of poverty that had set o'er Briton's isle" – so a political standpoint of resistance is clearly presented.

Ireland and England form the two voices in this version of the song, with the "shamrock" being the first of the "brothers" to describe the suffering he has undergone and the reasons that emigration had become necessary. The shamrock has endured "sufferings"; his "mind is wrought to such a state", the reasons for which are made explicit in the second half of the second verse:

> But the chilling hand of famine has our fertile fields laid prostrate,
> Our iron-hearted landlords has turned us out of doors,
> And the neglect of our absentees has reduced our homes to such a state,
> That I will bid adieu to Old Ireland to seek Australia's shore.

A nostalgic look back to an imagined (or perceived) time of prosperity occurs in each national narrative; in Ireland, its "hardy sons" had once risen "at morn to prepare for daily toil, / With hearts as light, and minds as bright as the Shannon or the Liffey."

England is represented by a "poor artisan", who in previous times, when he had been for his labour paid, he had "gaily worked in sweet content." In contrast, the artisan now has "sunken eyes" and a "visage pale", and is "driven to despair" by the "tyrant task-masters" who "grind" him down "till by our trade we cannot live." While in Ireland, the "chilling hand of famine" has laid the "fertile fields … prostrate", in England, the artisan asks whether there is any man throughout "this" land who could bear to "hear his children cry for bread when no relief is near." As in other anti-

establishment songs such as “Irishman’s Picture of London”, inequality is addressed in the penultimate verse:

> England possesses far more wealth to what it did in bygone days,
> And yet the poor man in those days of comforts had his share,
> But instead of being scattered round, they sweep it in large heaps,
> And its keepers with a miser’s eye watch it with a jealous care;
> Such selfish acts brings to light that right is overcome by might,
> But time will prove their golden fruits are rotten at the core,
> So with my brothers hand in hand I’ll quit this pride-tainted Babylon,
> And seek a home on that fair land called blest Australia’s shore.

The strong language and the socio-political condemnation levelled at the establishment in this song stems from a position of economic and political powerlessness that leaves the individual with little option but to rail against the system as a whole and to emigrate – to “quit this pride-tainted Babylon” with “brothers hand in hand” – in search of a fairer system.

In the final verse, a kind of separation of the mythic nation and of politics takes place; the wrongs of the “pride-tainted Babylon” are not attributed to “Britannia” herself and instead she stands helplessly by, “tearfully” grieving from her “sons” to part. She has no power to change the political or economic situation and can only bestow her blessing upon them; she wishes them “God speed” on the “briny main”, hopes that they “endeavour to forget the past,” and wishes for them a “bright” future that will lead them to “fame” in Australia. Government-run emigration schemes would have welcomed the sentiment of hope that this verse expresses, so there is a possibility that this song was propaganda; if so, it effectively tapped into a sense of popular injustice among certain sectors of society at the time. Either way, the song represents the discontent that led many to take the drastic action of setting up new lives elsewhere, and reflects the ambiguous tension between despair and hope around such events; as Britannia bestows her final blessing, the vessel spreads her “swelling sails”, and the narrator hears the emigrants voices raised high “amid the billows roar” as they “cried farewell to England … one lasting long adieu.”

On the ballad-sheet by Ann Ryle, printed at some point between 1845 and 1860, the song is accompanied by a woodcut depicting a scene of parting in which a standing man beckons a seated female, and points to the sun rising on the horizon.[77] The accompanying song is Ben Jonson's love poem ("Song. To Celia"), "Drink to me only with thine Eyes", although the author is not listed. So there is a balance on this sheet as a whole between the expression of hardship and political critique in the main song, and a lighter expression positive sentiment in the accompanying verse.

SONGS OF SYMPATHY FOR IRISH REVOLUTIONARIES AND FENIANS

The author of *The St. James' Magazine* article (above) who boasted in 1865 of the lack of political songs on English (or London) streets was perhaps not wrong so much as writing in a hiatus,[78] because during the Fenian trials after 1867, Leslie Shepard's view that nineteenth-century street-ballads were "astonishingly outspoken" seems more accurate.[79] The analyses of the various resistant themes in popular, Irish-themed, song that have taken place in this chapter so far, will hopefully serve as background, or make clear, how songs such as those expressing sympathy for the Young Irelanders transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1849/50, or the Fenians' sentenced to death and transportation in the 1860s, came to be tolerated on English streets. Songs on these topics were surprisingly common and nowhere else is Leslie Shepard's quote about the "astonishingly outspoken" nature of street ballads, more pertinent. Songs about those involved in the Young Ireland movement include those such as "John Mitchell is Coming" printed by Disley and "Mrs Smith O'Brien's Lamentation" printed by Power of London. Songs about Fenians include: "In Lamentation and Last Farewell to the World of Michael Barrett" (*c*.1867 by Disley), "Burke's Reprieve" (*c*.1869 by Such), "Allen's Farewell to his Love", "Allen's Grave" (after *c*.1860 by Pearson), "The Green Flag Flying", "Burke's Farewell" (Such), "Burke's Farewell" (Pearson) and "Suit of Green" (Such).

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[77] "The Emigrant's Farewell" as printed by Ryle and Co. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/08644.gif
[78] R. T., "Street Songs and Their Singers," 1865, 190-201.
[79] Leslie Shepard, *John Pitts: Ballad Printer*, 47.

“In Lamentation and Last Farewell to the World of Michael Barrett”

On the one hand, songs such as “In Lamentation and Last Farewell to the World of Michael Barrett” can be viewed in light of the tail-end of the tradition of “last dying speeches” that proved so lucrative to so many street-sellers in the first half of the century – and that were routinely sympathetic to the condemned person’s plight. These execution ballad-sheets were two-column sheets on which no other songs were printed; the popularity of their subject matter meant that no other song was needed on the sheet and that they could be sold as souvenirs at the executions themselves. However, other songs such as “Burke’s Farwell” (about Thomas Burke who after being sentenced to being hung, drawn and quartered, had his sentence commuted to lifelong imprisonment before he was freed in 1869) appear on ballad-sheets as ordinary songs – as on the printing by H. Such on which it appears next to a sad song of loneliness and isolation titled “Shamrock Shore.”[80] Evidence of Fenian songs being actually performed on English streets can be found in an article printed in the *London Evening Standard* in 1868 about the arrest of a singer for singing seditious songs in Leather Lane. It reports that the singer was singing to a crowd of “200 to 300 persons” – a strikingly large crowd – and that “the songs he sang were different to those which he sold, and when he saw a constable in uniform he would keep to the words of the printed song, which, although seditious, contained nothing of Fenianism.”[81] Evidently however, printed Fenian songs of some kind were in any case freely available.

The song “In Lamentation and Last Farewell to the World of Michael Barrett” differs to other execution ballads in that it makes explicit the fact that the hearer of the song will never know “what admission” Barrett made on the gallows if any, and will “not know his last words” because “they” will not let him “mention” his advice. This contrasts with ballads such as “Execution of William Mobbs” that follow the conventions of execution ballads more closely in the implication that the lyrics depict the dying man’s last thoughts and feelings – which always consist of the prisoner’s reconciliation with their fate and a warning to hearers against crime, which only “ends

[80] “Burke’s Farewell” as printed by H. Such. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01384.gif

[81] *London Evening Standard*, 5 February 1868, 7. *The British Newspaper Archive*.

in misery."[82] In this song about Michael Barrett's death, he declares that his "life to the world" he would "freely be telling", but that "you", the hearer, "will never know what beats" in "this heart." He is doomed to leave this world "for the explosion at Clerkenwell", but his loyalty to his friends is emphasised in the line "a dying man never his friends will deceive" and a question remains over his guilt in the line "whether guilty or innocent, time will reveal."

It is this sense of noble defiance, combined with the song's heavy infusion of Romantic-period and Romantic-nationalist imagery that gives this song a distinctly Irish tone of resistance:

> Alone in solitude, here I pass the swift hours.
> Oh Erin's dear shamrock, the sweetest of flowers,
> No more shall I see thy own dear native bowers,
> I am going for ever, farewell, for we part.

So this adaptation of the vast last-dying-speech genre reveals another way in which Ireland was conspicuously associated with a type of defiant political resistance against the status quo – and a resistance that in its relative visibility and pervasiveness seems to have been largely accepted in the street-ballad culture of nineteenth-century England. It is difficult to imagine that songs about those events that occurred in twentieth-century England that were similar to the Clerkenwell explosion (1867), generating the same type of sympathetic reception, and reaching similar levels of dissemination, that these Fenian songs experienced.

CONCLUSION

Arguably, it is the visionary strength of the images of Ireland that were generated in the Romantic period – images that were still evident in most of these songs about contemporary political events – that underscored the way in which these songs were received. And the continued use of some of these themes and images – the phrase "Erin go Bragh", the personified nation, Irish melodies, the stage-Irishman – in these

[82] "Execution of William Mobbs" as printed by Disley. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/05538.gif

songs of English radical critique and resistance, provide some of the clearest indications of how Ireland was received as a symbol of resistance in England. The reception of Ireland in these positive terms is in part evidenced in the way that themes of Irish resistance were emulated in songs about England. In other songs, Ireland replaced, or became code for, the type of English oppositional-patriotism that did not find such clear expression elsewhere in street song. It is this clarity of vision and sentiment that made devices such as the use of Irish tunes so effective in conveying a certain type of oppositional stance in street-balladry that might be described as "old-fashioned" (i.e. patriotic) and "Liberal" (in the more radical sense).[83]

As seen in the example of the Old Bailey case, the pervasiveness of Irish themes on the street and in popular song more generally, meant that they were integrated into popular culture in ways that were not always completely conscious. Yet it seems that taken as a whole, Ireland became a metaphor of individual as well as political resistance in popular street-song – a resistance that expressed itself in the various ways of physical violence, visionary national-Romanticism, comic song, sentiment, and nostalgia – but always a type of resistance.

All of these associations between Irishness and reform within England go some way to explaining the appeal of Irish-themed songs for those English singers who were found (by the folksong collectors of the late-nineteenth century) to have them in their repertoire. Perhaps a sense of affiliation between sets of people who felt similar types of oppression in their individual lives, and meted out by the same government, should not be a surprise, but it is worthy of note during a time in the twenty-first century when political discourse is becoming ever more divided along tribal (including national) lines. Although a sense of affiliation does not necessarily connote support for national self-governance, the visions of nation that Irish-themed songs contained were evidently widely appealing and arguably continue to play a role in the rising nationalisms of today and in the seeming inextricability in popular culture between the desire for radical political change and the concept of nationhood.

[83] "Street Ballads [Art. VII]," 1861, 411.

CONCLUSION

In the street songs disseminated on nineteenth-century English streets, Ireland increasingly became a symbol of idealized place that was mourned as lost at the same time that it represented a site of potential regeneration and hope. Its multiple associations stood together for a structure of feeling that sought and answered the nineteenth-century call in multiple cultural registers for (unbroken) community, access to land (and the sense of economic security that provided) and a sense of individual or joint agency (that was being lost as more people were brought into capitalist systems of work and welfare). At its broadest, Ireland became a symbol of opposition to the metanarratives of the nineteenth century – to industrialization, capitalization and modernization. As somewhere within the bounds of what was then defined as British, Ireland represented the hope that there yet existed in the age of "dark satanic mills" a corner untouched by modern progress where home and community in nature was still found. As such, Ireland as cultural trope existed on a similar axis to pastoral verse in its reflection of the tension between backward-looking nostalgia on the one hand and its potential for contemporary critique on the other; it tapped into English-patriotic tradition that looked back to the time before the Norman Yoke, as well as into the culturally universal conceptions of the Golden Age.

This thesis has argued that the pervasiveness of these images of Ireland suggests a certain level of emotional identification with the songs' themes in English popular culture. The visions of an ancient past that were found in many Irish-themed street-songs have been dismissed as escapist or politically irrelevant in their closer relationship to imagination and sentiment than to realism; yet, the historical contexts in which these songs emerged, shows that even themes expressed solely in terms of sentiment can be linked to political trends and events. Arguably, the rise (within the cohort of songs with Irish themes) of more overtly political and resistant themes towards the mid-century (as seen in Chapter Five) formed a natural continuation of the emotional landscape that began with the songs of displacement analysed in Chapter Two – and served not to counteract so-called romantic or Romantic views of Ireland but to reinforce them. All of these associations (emotional and political) fed into the concept so often described as "Romantic-nationalism" and as Katie

Trumpener points out, this was a structure of feeling that resonated beyond Britain and formed the basis of the (very political) nationalist movements throughout Europe in the early to mid-nineteenth century.[84] Crucially, the transcendent power of music and especially the haunting, "melancholic" tunes associated with Irish music would reinforce the ethereal, Romantic images of Ireland. And the fact that this "imagery" (image as poetry, melody, sentiment) was created and perfected by both Irish and British authors, musicians, and performers of all kinds, reinforces the idea that Ireland became metaphor for something beyond its existence as geographical location.[85]

In the vibrant and creative culture of the nineteenth-century street, the presence of Irish nationalist-resistant tropes served not only to reinforce the link between Irishness and resistance, but it also, arguably, contributed to the sense of these as innately British traits – and to the idea that they formed part of a (proud) British culture of dissent. In 1868, the inherent link between the belief in the importance of individual freedom held by philosopher John Stuart Mill, and the idea of national autonomy, is embodied by an anecdote given by him about a public meeting held in London. At this event, the crowd expressed an emphatic "No" which "burst from every part of that great assemblage" and which would "not soon be forgotten by those who heart them" in response to the question "do you think that England has a right to rule over Ireland if she cannot make the Irish people content with her rule?" Not only does this show support for the idea of an independent Ireland in radically-minded circles in England, it also illustrates the type of intuitive certainty behind the idea of freedom, autonomy, and individual agency that so many Irish-themed street-songs represented.[86] When it occurred, the explicit vocalization against the idea of Irish oppression (in examples seen in radical ballads or for example in the Chartist poet William James Linton's work), as well as the implicit support inherent in the performance of Irish-themed songs, reveals as much about a sense of oppression within England as it does about oppression in Ireland; as seen in chapters three and five especially, Irish-nationalist songs and English songs of political resistance shared the same vocabularies of tyranny, slavery and freedom.

[84] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 30.
[85] W. B. Yeats, "Popular Ballad Poetry of Ireland," 1889, 38.
[86] John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*, 1868, 26-27.

Yet, place is a stronger feature in songs about Ireland (whoever they were authored by) than in songs about England, and it is nationhood that forms the implied solution to socio-political problems in these songs. The mythic nation of heroes and of idyllic green, answers to the sense of powerlessness and dispossession felt by many in the face of the increasingly industrial and regulated nineteenth century. Potentially, identification with nation provided a reassuring sense of belonging that included being legitimate beneficiary of uncomplicated inheritance of land and (imagined) community; and conceivably, similar social conditions lie behind what has emerged as "populism" and "nationalism" in the twenty-first century. The current tensions that Britain's vote to leave the European Union is causing between Britain and Ireland are just one example of the ongoing relevance of these themes in Britain and beyond. Hopefully "freedom and Repeal" in Britain and Ireland will not come only at the expense of England's "ruin" as the song "Reform and Repeal, or The English Radical's Plea for Ireland" suggests, but whether it does (in the twenty-first century) or not, it will hopefully at least force a re-think of what nation means – on these islands and elsewhere.[87]

This project might also contribute to an understanding of the types of social conditions that lead to negative over-identification with nationhood. In the twenty-first century, divisive conceptions used on both sides of the political spectrum such as the idea of "the people" versus an "elite", or the "somewheres" versus the "anywheres", belie the underlying need for attachment to place (in the form of nature as well as of community) and the concomitant desire for the freedom to move, that are experienced across all social and national divides. To decry the attachment to eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century visions of nationhood as fantastical or delusional would be to ignore the important clues to positive change that they contain. Only if they are recognized as the powerful motivator of political change that they (still) are in times of relative economic hardship, can their dangerous elements (the politics of exclusion and fascism) be challenged and the emotional needs that they represent – such as for personal autonomy, for a sense of connection in community (wherever the individual started life) and for a sense of pride in occupation or place of habitation – be properly explored and addressed.

[87] "Reform and Repeal! Or, the English Radical's Plea for Ireland" as printed by Harkness. BBO. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/05948.gif

The fact that nationalistic movements are now often dismissed as “populism” is paralleled in the historic scholarly dismissal of popular culture as a valuable topic of enquiry. As a study of lyric in context, and of lyric as product of what can be viewed as the first form of mass print-media entertainment, this project has sought to emphasize the historical as well as the contemporary relevance of such work. Yet, the value of research into these “scattered leaves” lies partly in their cultural reach beyond the so-called popular, and beyond their existence as text, visual artefact, performance and melody. The scope of these texts as songs reaches far beyond the sheets themselves and into the realms of the drawing room, the stage and into oral tradition, which means that their analysis can be used as a tool for new avenues of research into multiple aspects of nineteenth-century life. Arguably, no other nineteenth-century media holds the social and socio-political scope of street balladry – street ballad customers constituted the poorest in society as well as the middle classes, but the texts themselves reached across the whole spectrum, even if someone of the aristocracy encountered with the song via a different print media. So although street-balladry had a culture of its own – its own printers, sellers, singers, and its own authors who through their song-texts provide perspectives into a world seldom glimpsed via other print media – it also reflected the wider cultural and literary trends of the day whether those trends be stylistic (for example, in the form of combining sentiment and narrative) or thematic (for example, in their nationalism or in their sentimentality). As one writer noted in 1856, street-ballad customers enjoyed a wide range of works that included many familiar authors such as, “lyrical selections from the works of Shakespeare, Herrick, Suckling, Rochester, Burns, Byron, Moore, Dibdin, Russell, Eliza Cook,” as well as works originating in the music halls, on the street, or passing into print from orally-disseminated tradition.[88] So nineteenth-century street balladry was a vibrant meeting point of every cultural register, all the more fertile an area of research because of the tensions and contradictions it embodied.

This thesis has demonstrated that textual, inter-textual and contextual analysis of Irish themes in street balladry has the potential to contribute to fields such as nineteenth-

[88] “The Press of the Seven Dials,” 1856, 402.

century print culture, Romantic-period studies, Victorian studies, folklore, and reception studies, as well as to disciplines related to the topic of place and politics such as national identity, political radicalism and the formation of nineteenth-century class identities. There is much more work that can be done in the area of Irish national representation in nineteenth-century street balladry specifically. There is a wealth of street-ballads in libraries in Ireland printed by nineteenth-century printers (especially) in Cork, Dublin and Belfast. Dr John Moulden has undertaken invaluable work on nineteenth-century street balladry in Ireland, but there is much potential for further work. A useful extension of this project would be to undertake closer analysis of the way that song-texts and printed ballad-sheets crossed each way over the Irish Sea during this period.

In Britain, there are also numerous non-digitized collections (as well as other digital collections) in county libraries that hold huge potential for further research of all kinds. Part of this material constitutes sheets by provincial English printers whose work appears less in the Bodleian and Madden collections, and whose productions hold potential for alternative insights also into the topic of this thesis specifically. Scotland had a thriving nineteenth-century street-ballad culture, deriving especially from The Poet's Box in Glasgow, some of which is digitized in the National Library of Scotland as well as in Glasgow University Library. Wales also had a thriving street-ballad culture that was, unlike in Ireland and Scotland, predominantly in the local language; Cardiff University Library holds a substantial collection of digitized nineteenth-century Welsh-language street ballads. The eighteenth-century collections also deserve closer scrutiny. The sheer size of the three main ballad collections held in the Bodleian, Cambridge University (Madden collection), and British (Crampton collection) libraries is daunting, but also provides almost endless opportunities for further research, one version of which would be to undertake more systematic, quantitative analysis.

APPENDIX: Song Transcripts

Editing notes on the following transcriptions:

The song-texts themselves are taken down as they were printed on the ballad-sheet that was chosen for transcription. Where relevant, punctuation and capitalisation appear as in the printing that the transcription is taken from. Street-song printings often contain misprints and these have been faithfully copied. Only in cases where the misprint seems especially incongruous has "*sic*" has been inserted.

In the song information sections that appear before each set of lyrics, all the text in quotation marks appears as it did on the original printing. If a category does not appear on the original sheet, for example if there is no woodcut printing, then this category is omitted.

- Title: The spelling of the text as it appears in the original printing, is presented in the following transcriptions within double quotations marks; all the text within quotation marks appears on the original printing. Punctuation and capitalisation give a sense of how the original is printed but cannot mirror it exactly (because, for example, sometimes capitalisations were printed in smaller fonts that would be difficult to replicate here). All spelling misprints appear as originally printed on the sheet or publication from which the text is transcribed.

- Publication title: If the song is transcribed from a published song collection rather than a street ballad, then the title of the publication and the page number are given.

- Tune: This refers to the melody or air. Where a tune title is mentioned on the sheet, the tune title appears in quotations marks. If no tune is included (as in most cases), the category is not added to the song information.

- Subtitle: Where a subtitle appears, it is here within quotations marks.

- Imprint: This refers to any printer information included on the song-sheet. It usually consists of the name and address of the printer. An attempt is made to echo the formatting of the punctuation and capitalisation as it appears in the original. All text on the original sheet appears within quotation marks. Misprints are transcribed as printed in the original.

- Woodcut: This refers to the woodcut or engraving specifically printed above the song transcribed (unless stated otherwise) as opposed to above any other songs on the street.

- Other songs: In cases where there are other songs on the sheet, the song titles are given.

- Format: This refers to the way in which the printed text appears on the paper – either in two-columns, single columns (slip-sheets) or landscape mode in which there are three or more columns (a broadside ballad).

- URL: Most transcriptions can be found online, either on *Broadside Ballads Online*, from *An Album of Street Literature*, or on databases such as *Internet Archive*.

- Other: This provides any other relevant information for example, the author’s name if known, or if extra information is needed such as the transcription coming from a print form other than street ballad.

- Printing Dates: The date range within which this specific ballad sheet was printed is given here. The dates depend upon when the printer is known to have operated, and when they were known to have operated from a specific address. Potential sources for date ranges are as follows: Broadside Ballads Online (BBO); British Book Trade Index (BBTI), the ballad sheet itself, other sources. The dates given apply to this sheet only and do not reflect the full range of possible dates that the song was printed by other street-ballad printers.

The following transcriptions appear in the order in which they are analysed in each chapter.

Songs analysed in Chapter One

Songs of the stage

Title: Corporal Casey (the "title" on the page is "Sung by Mr. Johnstone")
Publication title: "The SURRENDER of CALAIS, *as performed with the utmost applause*, at the THEATRE ROYAL HAYMARKET, written by *George Colman Esq*' the Music by Dr. ARNOLD. *Organist & Composer to His Majesty*. London: *Printed & Sold by Preston & Son, at their Wholesale Warehsoue, No. 97 Strand*", 1791, p. 34.
URL: https://archive.org/details/surrenderofcalai11arno

When I was at home, I was merry and frisky;
My dad kept a pig, and my mother sold whisky:
My uncle was rich, but would never be asy,
Till I was enlisted by Corporal Casey.
Oh! rub a dub, row de dow, Corporal Casey!
My dear little Sheelah I thought would run crazy,
When I trudged away with tough Corporal Casey.

I march'd from Kilkenny, and as I was thinking
On Sheelah, my heart in my bosom was sinking;
But soon I was forced to look fresh as a daisy,
For fear of a drubbing from Corporal Casey.
Och! rub a dub, row de dow, Corporal Casey!
The devil go with him, I ne'er could be lazy,
He stuck in my skirts so, ould Corporal Casey.

We went into battle; I took the blows fairly,
That fell on my pate, but they bother'd me rarely:
And who should the first be that dropp'd? why, an plase ye,
It was my good friend, honest Corporal Casey.
Och! rub a dub, row de dow, Corporal Casey!
Thinks I, you are quiet, and I shall be asy;
So eight years I fought, without Corporal Casey.

Title: "SPRIG OF SHILLELAH AND SHAMROCK SO GREEN."
Tune: "(Tune – "Black Joke.")"
Subtitle: "*Sung with unbounded Applause by Mr. JOHNSTONE, of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane*."
Imprint: "*Publish'd Oct*r*. 20.1807.by* LAURIE & WHITTLE. *53. Fleet Street, London*"
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/23037.gif
Dates: 1807. Ballad sheet.

Och! love is the soul of a neat Irishman,
He loves all that's lovely, loves all that he can,
With a sprig of shillelah and shamrock so green,
His heart is good-humour'd, 'tis honest and sound,
No malice or hatred is there to be found;
He courts and he marries, he drinks and he fights,
For love, all for love, for in that he delights,
With a sprig of shillelah and shamrock so green.

Who has e'er had the luck to see Donny-brook fair,

An Irishman all in his glory is there,
With his sprig of shillelah and shamrock so green.
His clothes spic and span new, without e'er a speck,
A neat Barcelona tied round his sweet neck;
He goes to a tent, and he spends half a crown,
He meets with a friend, and for love knocks him down,
With his sprig of shillelah and shamrock so green.

At ev'ning returning as homeward he goes,
His heart soft with whiskey, his head soft with blows,
From a sprig of shillelagh and shamrock so green:
He meets with his Shelah, who, blushing as smile,
Cries, "get you gone Pat," yet consents all the while:
To the priest soon they go, and nine months after that,
A fine baby cries, "How d'ye do, Father Pat,
With your sprig of shillelah and shamrock so green.

Bless the country, says I, that gave Patrick his birth,
Bless the land of the oak and its neighbouring earth,
Where grows the shillelah and shamrock so green.
May the sons of the Thames, the Tweed, and the Shannon,
Drub the French who dare plant on our confines a cannon!
United and happy at loyalty's shrine,
May the rose and the thistle long flourish and twine
Round a sprig of shillelah and shamrock so green!

<u>Roving blades</u>

Title: "ARTHUR O'BRADLEY'S *WEDDING*."
Imprint: "Printed and Sold by J. Pitts, 14, Great. St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials. PRICE ONE PENNY"
Woodcut: A ballad singer standing on a pillar, singing, with a ballad-sheet in hand. Different classes of people stand around. Behind the singer some wealthier people stand – a man looking through a looking glass with a female on his arm and a man uniform. Some male workers stand in another group, beside a woman with a basket on her head. A figure, possibly a child, stands in front of the ballad singer with a basket on his shoulders. A group of people watch the singer from an upstairs window.
Format: Landscape, four columns.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/00128.gif
Dates: 1802 to 1819. BBO.

Come neighbours and listen awhile,
If ever you wish'd for to smile,
O hear a true story of old.
Attend to what I now unfold.
Tis of a lad whose fame did resound,
Through every village and town,
For fun, for frolic and whim,
None ever was equal to him,
And his name was Arthur O'Bradley
O rare Arthur O Bradely, wonderful Arthur O'Bardley,
Sweet, Arthur O'Bradley O

Now Arthur being stout and bold,

And near upon thirty years old,
Ne needs a wooing would go,
To get him a mate you know,
So gaining young Dolly's consent,
Next day to be married they went,
And to make himself noble appear,
He mounted the old padded mare,
He chose her because she was blood,
And the prime of his old daddy's stud,
She was wind gass'd spavin'd and blind,
And had lost a near leg behind
She was cropt and dock's and sit'd,
And seldom if ever was tir'd,
She had such abundance of bone,
So he call'd her his high bred roan.
A credit to Arthur O'Bradley.

Then he pack'd up his drudgery hose
And put on his holiday clothes
His coat was of scarlet so find,
Full trimm'd with buttons behind,
Two halves it had it is true,
One yellow, the other was blue.
And the cuffs and the capes were of green
And the longest that ever were see.
His hat though greasy and tore,
Cock'd up with a feather before,
And under his chin it was tied,
With a strip from an old cow's hide.
His breeches three times had been turn'd
And two holes thro' the left side were burn'd,
Two boots he had but no kin
One leather, the other was tin,
And for stirrups he had two patten rings,
Tied fast to the girths with two srings,
Yet he wanted a good saddle cloth,
Which long had been eat by the moth,
'Twas a sad misfortune you'll say,
But sill he look'd gallant and gay,
And his name was Arthur O'Bradley

Thus accoutred away he did ride,
While Dolly she walk'd by his side,
Till coming up to the church door,
In the midst of five thousand or more,
Then from the old mare he did alight,
Which put the poor clerk in a fright,
And the parson so trembled and shook,
That presently down dropp'd his book
Which Arthur soon pick'd up again,
And swore if he'd not begin,
He surely would scuttle his nob,
If he kept him so long in the mob.
Then so loudly he began for to sing.
He made the whole church for to ring,

Cryingn, Dolly, my dear, come hither,
And let us be tack'd together,
For it's you I intend to wed,
And indulge with half of my bed,
For the honour of Arthur O'Bradley

Then the vicar his duty discharg'd,
Without either fee or reward,
Declaring no money he'd have,
And poor Arthur had none to give,
So to make him a little amends,
He invited him home with his friends,
To have a sweet kiss of the bride,
To eat a good dinner beside,
The dishes though few they were god,
And the sweetest of animal food,
First a roast guinea pig and a bantam,
A sheep's head stew'd in a lantern
Two calves feet and a bull's trotter,
The fore and the hind loin of an otter,
With craw fish cockles, and crabs,
Lump fish dippets and dabs,
Red herrings and sprats by the dozzens,
To feast all their uncles and cousins,
Who seem'd wll pleas'd with the treat
And heartily they did all eat,
For the honour of Arthur O'Bradley.

Now the guests being well satisfied,
The fragments were laid on one side,
When Arthur to make their hearts merry,
Brought pale perken and perry … ry,
When Timothy Twig stept in
With his pipe and a pipkin of gin,
A lad that was pleasant and jolly,
And scorn'd to meet melancholy,
He could chant and pipe so well,
No youth could him excel.
Not pan, the god of the swain,
Could ever produce such strains,
But Arthur being the first in the throng
He swore he would sing the first song,
And one that was pleasant and jolly,
And that should be Hence Melancholy
Now give me a dance quoth Doll
Come Jeffrey, play us, Mad Moll.
Tis time to be merry and frisky,
But first I must have some more whisky,
For I hate your barely swipes
It does not agree with my tipes,
It makes me so quamish and queery,
Oh! you're right says Arthur my deary
My lilly my lark, my love,
My daffy down dilly my dove,
My every thing my wife,

I never was so please in my life.
Since my name it was Arthur O'Bradley

Then the piper screw'd up his legs,
And the girls began shaking their rags,
First up jump'd old mother Crewe,
Two stockings and never a shoe,
Her nose was crooked and long,
Which she could easily lick with her tongue
And a hump on her back did not lack,
But you should not take notice of that,
Fro though three score years and ten,
She had something was pleasing to men
And her mouth stood all awry,
And she never was heard to lie,
For she had been dumb from her birth,
So by noddings consents to the mirth,
For honour of Arthur O'Bradley.

Then the parson led off at the top.
Some danc'd while others did hop,
While some ran foul of the wall,
And others down backwards did fall,
You'd have laugh'd to see their odd stomps,
False teeth, china eyes, and cork rumps,
While some but one let they had gotten
And that which they had was rotten,
There was lead up and down, figure in,
Four hands across then back again.
So in dancing they spent the whole night
Till bright Phoebus appear'd in their sight
When each had a kiss of the bride,
And hopp'd home to his own fire side,
Well pleas'd with Arthur O'Bradley.

Title: "THE Frolicksome Irishman."
Imprint: "Printed and Sold by J. Pitts, No. 14, Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials."
Woodcut: A bell.
Format: Slip-sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/07424.gif
Dates: 1802 to 1819. BBO.

About nine months ago I was digging the land
With my clogs on my feet, and my spade in my hand
Though I to myself it's a pity to see,
Such a genus as I digging land by the way.
Sing tu di i ah, &c.

I pull'd off my clogs, shook hands with my spade,
And away to the fair like a true roving blade;
I met with a sergeant, he ask'd me to list,
With my great gramachree give me your fist,

He gave me two guineas, because he'd no more,

If I'd go to his quarters he'd give me a score,
No quarters, no quarters, O sergeant, says I,
So I laid hold of my shillelagh & bid him good by.

So early next morning to drill I was sent,
By my soul but my heart it begun to relent,
O sergeant, O sergeant, pray let me alone,
For I have both legs and arms of my own.

Our general review'd us, he gave us great thanks,
He order'd to march us all into the ranks,
With my right and left wheel, with my face to the tree,
Och the Devil may take all the wheeling for me.

At Vinegar Hill I had very good luck.
With my clogs full of stones, in a battle of muck.
The smoke was so thick, and the battle so hot
But I dare not fire for fear of being shot.

Success to old England, let Ireland remain,
Since I have got home to dig murphies again
Success to Old England & god save the King
If the wars were all over I would go again.

Title: "Wild and Wicked YOUTH."
Imprint: "Printed & Sold by J. Pitts, 14. Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials."
Woodcut: Floral Decoration – possibly a shamrock surrounded by stars, surrounded by a garland of foliage.
Format: Slip-sheet
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/07663.gif
Dates: 1802 to 1819. BBO.

I AM a *wild* and wicked youth,
I love young women and that's the truth
I love them & I love them well,
I love them so no tongue can tell.

My parents oft times told me I should rue,
If such wicked ways I did pursue,
I never minded what that did say,
And still kept on my wicked way.

With my pistol and broad sword,
Stand and deliver was the word.
I robbed lord Golding I do declare,
And lady Mansfield in Grosvenor Square.

I shut the shutters and bid them good night
And carried the gold to my heart's delight
The very next night we did away,
To Covent Garden to see the play.

Lord Patrick he did me pursue,
Taken I was by the cursed crew,

I robbed lord Golding I do declare,
And lady Mansfield in Grosvenor Square.

I never robbed any poor man yet,
Nor ever made a tradesman fret,
Now I am cast and going to die,
Many a young woman would for me cry.

Let six young highwaymen carry me,
With their broad swords and sweet liberty
And six young women bear my pall,
With their white gloves and white ribbons all.

Title: "The Jolly Blade"
Imprint: "Printed and sold by J. Pitts 14, Andrew street, 7 dials"
Woodcut: Two groups of figures facing each other – possibly a fight or a robbery.
Format: Slip-sheet
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/14286.gif
Dates: 1802 to 1819. BBO.

IN Dublin city where I was born,
On Steven's Green must die in scorn
'Tis there I learnt the baking trade,
Where I was counted a rolling blade,
I came to London both fine and gay,
There spent my time on balls and plays,
And when my cash it did run low,
Straight to the spice was forc'd to go-
Next took to me a pretty wife,
And lov'd her dear as I lov'd my life,
And to maintain her both fine and gay,
All the world shall richly pay.
I robb'd Lord Onslow I do declare,
And Lady Neptune in Monmouth Square,
I wish them good night and sat in my chair,
And with the spoils went to my dear,
O then to Dublin bore away,
With my flash blowing so fine and gay
Where I napt four hundred pound so bright,
And with that spent many a jovial night,
And soon my name it was well known
Robbing at Hounslow and in that town
Till taken I was that I never knew,
Till taken *I* was inform'd it was done by you.
To me 'twas day and never night,
In thieving I took great delight,
Till old blind Fielding did me pursue
Attended I was by the jovial crew,
The judge's mercy I did extend,
To pardon my crimes that I might mend
I wish that I had obey'd the Lord,
And never done anything but what is good.
My father weeps and makes his moan
My mother cries my darling son,

My blowing cries and tears her hair,
Where shall I go for the Lords knows where.
When I am cast and am going to die,
There many a blowing will for me cry
Your sighs and tears will not me save,
Nor keep me from the untimely grave

Title: "The Wild and Wicked YOUTH"
Imprint: "Printed and Sold by J. Pitts, Wholesale Toy and Marble Warehouse, 6, Great St. Andrew Street, Sevn [*sic*] Dials"
Other songs: "SILLY YOUNG MAID."
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04436.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO.

In Newry town I was bred and born;
In Steven's Green I die with scorn;
I served my time to the saddling trade,
And always was a roving blade.

At seventeen I took a wife,
I loved her dear as I loved by life.
And to maintain her fine and gay,
A robbing went on the highway.

But my money it did grow low,
On the highway I was forced to go,
Where I robbed Lords and Ladies bright
Brought home the gold to my heart's delight.

I robbed Lord Golding I do declare,
Lady Mansfield in Grosvenor Square,
I shut the shutters bid em good night,
And went to my heart's delight.

To Covent Garden I took my way,
With my blooming bride to see the play,
Till Fielding's gang did me pursue,
Taken I was by the bloody crew.

My father cries I am undone,
My mother cried for her darling son,
My wife she tears her golden hair,
What shall I do for him I am in despair.

But when I am dead and gone to my grave,
A decent funeral let me have,
Six highwaymen to carry me,
Give them broad swords and sweet liberty.

Six blooming girls to bear my pall
Give them gloves and ribbons all
When I am dead they will tell the truth
He was a wild and wicked youth.

Songs about St Patrick

Title: "St. Patrick was a Gentleman,"
Imprint: "Pitts. Printer Wholesale Toy & marble Warehouse, 6, Great st. Andrew street 7 Dials."
Woodcut: Decorative motif (birds either side of foliage).
Format: Slip sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/14321.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO.

St, Patrick was a gentleman and he came from decent people:
In Dublin town he built a church and on it put a steeple
His father was a Wollagan, his mother an O'Grady.
His aunt she was a Kinaghan, and his wife a widow Brady
Tooralloo tooralloo, what a glorious man our saint was,
Tooralloo, tooralloo, O whack falderallallido.

Och Antrim hills are mighty high and so's the hills of Howth too;
But we all do know a mountain that is higher than them both too
'Twas on the top of that high mount St, Patrick preached a Sermon
He drove the frogs into the bogs and banished all the vermin,
Tooralloo, &c.

No wonder that we Irish lads then are so blythe and frisky
St, Patrick was the very man that taught us to drink whiskey
Oh to be sure he had the knack and understood distilling
For his mother kept a sheebeen shop near the town of Enniskillen
Tooralloo &c.

Title: "St. Patrick's Day IN THE MORNING."
Imprint: "Printed for W. Armstrong, Banastre-street, Liverpool."
Woodcut: A well-dressed, upright man with a hat, walking stick and hand in pocket.
Other songs: "Way-worn Traveller" and "Begone Dull Care". A woodcut appears above the former – a horse and carriage.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/11047.gif
Dates: 1820 to 1824. BBO.

Ye lads and ye lasses so buxom and clever,
Who come from Hibernia of famous renown"
Put on your best bibs and be coming together,
So nately yourselves all adorning.
The music shall be so sweetly a playing,
Each shall be dancing and skipping around;
Green shamrock shall shine, sir,
To make us all fine, sir,
Salt fish and potatoes,
Shall smoke my dear cratures,
And nothing be wanting that's there to be found.
Full bumpers of whiskey,
To make us all frisky,
On St. Patrick's day in the morning.

St. Patrick with us was of vast estimation,
And liv'd a great while, sir, before he was dead,
He frighten'd the bug-a-boos out of the nation,
So none of your sneering and scorning:
For many a great things he did for his island,
All as clever as clever could be;
He banish'd the bugs, sir,
From blankets and rugs, sir,
Ah! hub aboo, sir,
What more could he do, sir?
Whatever he said, sir, the blind could not see,
With heart like shilelah,
Then let us be gaily,
On St. Patrick's day in the morning.

There's Phelim O Fagan and ruddy-fac'd Paddy,
With many tall fellows to make up the wake;
Miss Blarney will dance too, with mammy & daddy,
And play till the evenings returning:
With mirth, fun and music, and caper so free,
While each pretty miss, sir,
We'll smuggle and kiss, sire,
And pull 'em and haul 'em,
And tenderly maul 'em –
Arrah, who in the world are so merry as wee!
All this to begin, sire,
We think it no sin, sir,
On St. Patrick's day in the morning.

Title: "The *Seventeenth of March*"
Imprint: "Printed and sold by Jennings, No. 13, Water-lane, Fleet-street, London."
Tune: "St. Patrick's day in the Morning."
URL: http://poprom.streetprint.org/items/202
Dates: 1790. *Popular Romanticism* (website). 1802 to 1809. BBTI.

"Erin go bragh!" shall be ever our motto,
Encircling so sweetly an Irishman's heart,
And St. Patrick's Day will sure ne'er be forgot, och!
Nor the sight of the Shamrock e'er cease to impart

> Such joys and such feelings we all must delight in,
> And sweet little Ireland shall merrily ring,
> While her sons and her daughters gay raptures are quite in;
> For St. Patrick's day in the morning.

Come lads, and dear lasses, and join in the dance,
This of all days we'll be merry and gay,
To honour St. Patrick we'll caper and prance,
And all of us think, and all of us say,
> Such joys, &c.

No wonder by night if we all should get frisky,
Each Irishman's heart is elate for our Saint,
So success to our country, the Shamrock, and whiskey,

And contented heart, and no cause for complaint.

Such joys, &c.

W.

Other comic songs

Title: "ERIN GO BRA."
Publication title: "The Songs of CHARLES DIBDIN, chronologically arranged, with Notes, Historical, Biographical, and Critical; and The Music of The Best and Most Popular of the Melodies, with New Piano-Forte Accompaniments. London: How & Parsons, Fleet Street…" 1842, p. 231.
URL:
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UG4EAQAAIAAJ&dq=%22british+war+songs%22+dibdin&source=gbs_navlinks_s
Dates: 1803. *British War Songs* by Charles Dibdin.

Since 'Erin go bra' is the song of the sod,
And adds zest to each Irishman's toast,
Let our land in proud duty be consciously trod,
And be patriot virtue our boast:
United and firm, each attempt to oppose
From allegiance our minds that would draw,
Of duty the friend, of sedition the foes,
So shall honour sing 'Erin go bra.'

Than in Ireland where nobler accomplishments meet,
Let them show me the country who can:
'Tis the region of wit, hospitality's seat,
And for courage they'll fight to a man.
But as health breeds excrescences, spots dim the sun,
And the diamond exhibits a flaw,
By indulgence to errors our hearts shall be won,
While old England sings 'Erin go bra.'

Ye deluded, turn back, in a profligate crew
Who seek mis'ry and shame without end;
Shake off disaffection, to duty be true,
And cherish your natural friend.
Be your only contention which fortunate isle
Shall our mutual enemies awe;
True glory shall court you, gay commerce shall smile,
And the world shall sing 'Erin go bra.'

Title: "KATE KEARNEY. O'Corolan.(*the Irish Bard.*)"
Subtitle: "*Sung with unbounded Applause, by Mr. Incledon, in his Wandering Melodist.*"
Imprint: "*Publish'd Novr. 9, 1807, by* LAURIE & WHITTLE, *53, Fleet Street, London*"
Engraving: Large size. Two figures, the first a female figure standing in a cottage doorway working a butter churn, the second, a male figure with both hands to his chest as if suddenly stopped and taken aback. They look each other in the eyes, her expression is smiling, his looking worried. A horseshoe, sometimes a symbol of female genitalia, adorns the wall above the door.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/00858.gif

Dates: 1807. Ballad sheet.

O Did you not hear of Kate Kearney,
She lives on the banks of Kilarney
From the glance of her eye, shun danger and fly,
For fatal the glance of Kate Kearney.
For that eye is so modestly beaming;
You'd ne'er think of mischief she's dreaming:
Yet oh! I can tell, how fatal the spell
That lurks in the eye of Kate Kearney.

Oh! should you e'er meet this Kate Kearney,
who lives on the banks of Kilarney,
Beware of her smile, for many a wile,
Lies hid in the smile of Kate Kearney.
Tho' she looks so bewitchingly simple,
Yet there's mischief in every dimple,
And who dares enhale her sighs spicy gale,
Must die by the breath of Kate Kearney.

Songs analysed in Chapter Two

Exile

Title: "Erin Go Bragh; or, The Exiled Irishman's Address to his Countrymen"
Air: "Sa Vourneen Deelish"
Publication title: "*A Tribute to Liberty: or, A COLLECTION OF SELECT SONGS: Together with a Collection of Toasts and Sentiments. Sacred to the RIGHTS OF MAN…*" 1798, p. 86.
Other: No author named (later attributed to George Nugent Reynolds)

Green were the fields where my forefathers dwelt oh!
Erin ma vourneen slan Iaght go bragh,*
Tho' our farm it was small, yet comforts we felt oh!
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.
At length came the day when our lease did expire,
And fain wou'd I live, where before liv'd my sire;
But ah! well-a-day, I was *forc'd* to retire,
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.

Tho' all taxes I paid, yet no vote could I pass oh!
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.
Aggrandized no great man, and I feel it, alas oh!
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.
Forced from my home, yea, from where I was born,
To range the wide world, poor, helpless, forlorn,
I look back with regret, and my heart strings are torn,
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.
** Ireland my darling for ever adieu.*

With principles pure, patriotic, and firm,
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.

Attach’d to my Country, a friend to REFORM.
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.
I supported OLD IRELAND, was ready to die for’t,
If her *foes* e’er prevail’d I was well know to sigh for’t,
But FAITH I PRESERV’D, and am now forc’d to fly for’t,
Erin ma vourneen slan lagh go bragh.

In the North I see friends, too long was I blind oh!
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.
The cobwebs are broken, and *free* is my *mind* oh!
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.
EAST and WEST here’s my hand, NORTH and SOUTH here’s my heart oh!
Let’s ne’er be *divided* by any base art oh!
But love one another, and never more part oh!
Erin ma vourneen slan laght go bragh.

Hark! I hear sounds, and my heart strong is beating,
BOUY YOUD ma vourneed Erin go bragh*
Freedom advancing, DELUSION retreating.
Bouy youd ma vourneen Erin go bragh.
We have numbers, and *numbers* do *constitute* POWER,
Let’s WILL to be FREE, and we’re free from that hour,
Of Hibernia’s sons, yes, we’ll *then* be the flower.
Bouy youd ma vourneen Erin go bragh.
**Victory to you my darling Ireland for ever*.

Too long have we suffered, and *too long* lamented,
Bouy youd ma vourneen Erin go bragh.
By courage UNDAUNTED it may be *prevented*.
Bouy youd ma vourneen Erin go bragh.
No more by OPPRESSORS let us be affrighted,
But with *heart* and with *hand,* be firmly united;
For by “ERIN GO BRAGH,” its thus we’ll be righted.
Bouy youd ma vourneen Erin go bragh.

Title: Farewell, ye groves (the title given on the page is “Sung by Mrs. Bannister”)
Publication title: “*The Poor Soldier, A Comic Opera*, as Performed with Universal Applause at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden; Selected and Composed by William Shield, Author of the Flitch of Bacon, Rosina, Seige of Gibraltar, Lord Mayors Day, &c&c. Price 6s. London: Printed by J. Bland at his Music Warehouse, No. 45 Holborn. Where may be had all the above Composers Works, and the Greatest variety of new Music, both English and Foreign-Entere’d at Stationers hall.” 1782, p. 18.
URL: https://archive.org/details/poorsoldiercomic00shie/page/18
Other: By John O’Keefe and William Shield, written for their opera *The Poor Soldier* in 1783.

Farewell, ye groves and crystal fountains
the gladsome plains and silent dell
Ye humble vales and lofty mountains
and welcome now a lonely cell.

And ah! farewell fond youth most dear
thy tender plaint the vow sincere
We’ll meet and share the parting tear

and take a long and last farewell.

Title: Savourneen Deelish (song title given on sheet is "Sung by Mr. Johnstone")
Publication title: "The SURRENDER of CALAIS, *as performed with the utmost applause*, at the THEATRE ROYAL HAYMARKET, written by *George Colman Esq*' the Music by Dr. ARNOLD. *Organist & Composer to His Majesty*. London: *Printed & Sold by Preston & Son, at their Wholesale Warehsoue, No. 97 Strand*", 1791, p. 10.
URL: https://archive.org/details/surrenderofcalai11arno/page/10
Other: This tune was later sometimes known as "Erin go Bragh", the song begins: "Oh the moment was sad when my Love and I parted, Savourn na deelish shighan oh."

Oh the moment was sad when my Love and I parted
Savourn na deligh shighan oh
As I kiss'd off her tears I was nigh broken hearted,
Savournna deligh shighan oh
Wan was her cheek which hung on my shoulder,
Damp was her hand no marble was colder,
I felt that I never a-gain should behold her,
Savournna deligh shighna oh.

When the word of command put our Men into motion,
Savournna &c.
I buckled my Knapsack to ross the wide Ocean,
Savournna &c.
Brisk were our Troops all roaring like Thunder,
Pleas'd with the Voyage, impatient for plunder,
My bosom with grief was almost torn asunder.
Savournna &c.

Long I fought for my Country far far from my true Love,
Sarournna &c.
All my Pay and my Booty I hoarded for you Love,
Savournna &c.
Peace was proclaimed, escap'd from the Slaughter,
Landed at home, my sweet Girl I sought her
But sorrow alas! To her cold Grave had brought her.
Savournna &c.
("Savourneen deelish, Eileen Oge!" – "Young Eileen, the faithful sweetheart")

Title: "THE EXILE OF ERIN"
Publication title: *The Morning Chronicle* (London, England), January 28, 1801, p.3.
Preface (above title): "The meeting of the Imperial Parliament, we trust, will be distinguished by acts of mercy. The following most interesting and pathetic song, it is to be hoped, will induce them to extend their benevolence to those unfortunate men, whom delusion and error have doomed to exile; but who sigh for a return to their native homes."
URL: Article available in *The British Library*, or via *Gale* or the *British Newspaper Archive*.
Date: January 28, 1801.

There came to the Beech a poor EXILE of ERIN,
The dew on his thin robe was heavy and chill;
For his Country he sigh'd, when at twilight repairing
To wander alone by the wind-beaten hill:–
But the Day Star attracted his eye's sad devotion;

For it rose on his own native Isle of the Ocean,
Where once in the flow of youthful emotion
He sung the bold Anthem of “Erin, go bragh!”

“Oh, sad is my fate! (said the heart-broken Stranger)–
The wild Deer and Wolf to a cover can flee;
But I have no refuge from famine and danger–
A Home and a Country remain not to me!
Ah, ne’er again in the green sunny Bowers
Where my Forefathers liv’d shall I spend the sweet hours,
Or cover my Harp with the wild-woven flowers–
And strike to the numbers of “Erin, go bragh!”

Erin, my country, though sad and forsaken,
In dreams I revisit thy sea-beaten shore;
But, alas! in a far foreign land I awaken,
And sigh for the friends who can meet me no more.
Oh, cruel fate! wilt thou never replace me
In a mansion of peace, where no perils can chase me.
Ah! ne’er again shall my brothers embrace me!
They died to defend me, or live to deplore.

Where is my cabin door, fast by the wild wood?
Sisters, and Sire, did ye weep for its fall?
Where is the mother that look’d on my childhood?
And where is the bosom-friend, dearer than all?
Ah! my sad soul, long abandon’d by pleasure,
Why did it doat on a fast-fading treasure?
Tears like the rain-drop may fall without measure–
But rapture and beauty it cannot re-call!

But yet, all its fond recollections suppressing,
One dying wish my lone Bosom shall draw:–
Erin, an Exile bequeaths thee his blessing;
Land of my Forefathers, Erin go bragh!
Buried and cold, when my Heart stills her motion,
Green be thy fields, sweetest Isle of the Ocean;
And thy harp-striking Bards sing aloud with devotion–
“Erin, ma vourneen -- Erin, go bragh!”

Title: “EXILE OF ERIN”
Imprint: “J. Catnach, Printer, 2, Monmouth-Court.”
Woodcut: Figure of a man with hat in a sailing dingy.
Other songs: “Crazy Jane”
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01631.gif
Dates: 1813 to 1838. BBO. Potentially 1813 to *c*.1827 at the address of “2” rather than “2 & 3” Monmouth Court. *Life and Times of James Catnach* by Charles Hindley.

There came to the beach a poor Exile of Erin,
The dew on his robe it was heavy and chill,
For his country he sigh’d when at twilight repairing
To wander alone by the wind beaten hill,
But the day star attracted his eyes sad devotion,

For it rose on his own native isle of the ocean,
where once in the flow of youthful emotion,
He sung the bold anthem of Erin go bragh.

Oh! sad is my country, said the heart broken stranger,
The wild deer and wolf to a covert can flee,
But I have no refuge from famine and danger,
A home and a country remain not for me.
O never again in the green sunny bowers,
where my forefathers liv'd shall I spend the sweet hours,
Or cover my harp with the wild woven flowers,
And strike the sweet numbers of Erin go bragh

Oh ! Erin, my country, though sad & forsaken
In dreams I re-visit thy sea-beaten shores,
But, alas ! in a far foreign land I awaken,
And sigh for a friend who can meet me no more
And thou, cruel fate, wilt thou never replace me
In a mansion of peace, where no peril can chase me.
Ah ! never again shall my brothers embrace me
They died to defend her they liv'd to adore

where now is my cabin, so fast by the wild wood
Sisters and sire, did weep for its fall,
where is the mother that look'd on my childhood
And where is my bosom friend, dearer than all
Oh ! my sad soul, abandon'd by pleasure,
why did it doat on a fast fading treasure,
Tears like the rain may fall without measure,
But rapture and beauty it cannot recall.

But yet all this fond recollection suppressing.
One dying wish my fond bosom shall draw
Erin, an Exile bequeaths thee his blessing,
Land of my forefathers, Erin go bragh.
Buried and cold when my heart stills its motion
Green be thy fields sweetest isle of the ocean,
And thy harp-striking bard sing aloud with devotion,
Erin mavourneen sweet Erin go bragh.

Title: "The Cottage Maid"
Subtitle: "A Parody on 'The Exile of Erin'"
Imprint: "Printed for and sold by J. Pitts, No 14, Great St. Andrew-Street, Seven Dials."
Woodcut: Decorative, floral emblem with bird at centre.
Format: Slip-sheet
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/06826.gif
Dates: 1802 to 1819. BBO.

There came to Nancy a poor sighing lover,
The weight on his heart was heavy and sad,
He said, though from her he had long been a rover,
Yet sure she'd pity a poor dying lad.
For with her rival he shar'd his devotion
Of love, which he said he had a great portion,

And swore, in the flow of his youthful emotion,
E'er to forsake his poor Cottage Maid.

How wretched's my fate! cried the penitent youth,
Altho for a time I from her have stray'd,
Believe me, no other I e'er lov'd with truth,
But Nancy my ever dear Cottage Maid.
No more must we meet in the much belov'd bowers,
Where we have passed so many happy hours,
But now fate's bitter rains on me ever showers,
Because I have lost my dear Cottage Maid.

He then pleaded that though he had her forsaken,
His dreams on no object but her ever bore,
When out of such pleasure he would awaken,
He'd sigh for that love he must ever deplore,
Then exclaiming, Nancy, wilt though replace me
In thy love, whence such sorrows never can chase me,
Oh! never again can I hope she'll embrace me.
For she knows me false, and will ne'er see me more.

Together oft have we wander'd on the wild glen,
While constancy each moment would bless,
Such emotions of love as my heart claim'd then,
My hard fate tells me again I ne'er shall confess.
Ah! my sad soul, long abandon'd by pleasure,
Why did I leave that regretted dear treasure,
Tears in abundance may fall without measure,
But the dear Cottage Maid I shall never possess.

But yet all these fond recollections suppressing,
This prayer will I leave, when Nature's debt I've paid,
Nancy, thy Henry bequeaths thee his blessing,
May happiness attend my dear Cottage Maid,
Burned and cold, when my pulse shall cease to beat,
May, Nancy, thy day's with peace may complete,
And thy bosom of cares never be the … [?],
But content ever bless my dear Cottage Maid.

Mary le More

Title: "Poor Mary le More" [#1]
Imprint: "Pitts, Printer, Great [*sic*] St. Andrew St. seven dials."
Woodcut: Decorative emblems at the top of both songs, and a decorative floral border between the two songs on the sheet.
Other songs: "Poor Mary in the Silvery Tide"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/20664.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO. Possibly earlier because there is no number on the street address.

Ye cold hearted strangers merciless doings
Long may the children of Erin deploror
All sad is my soul when I view the black ruins,
Where once stood the cabin of Mary-le-More.

Her father God rest him loved Ireland most dearly,
All its wrongs & sufferings he felt most severely,
With freedom's firm sons he united sincerely,
But gone is the father of poor Mary-le-More

One cold winter's evening as Dermott sat musing,
Hoarse curses alarm'd him and crush went the door
The assailants soon entered & then fell abusing,
The firm but Mild father of Mary-le-More.
To those scoffs he replied, not with blows they assailed him
He felt all indignant his caution then fails him
He returned their vile blows and all Munster bewail him,
For stab'd was the father of Mary-le-More.

Oh my father my father she cry'd wildly throwing,
Her arms round his neck while his life's stream was flowing
She kist his pale cheeks while poor Dermott was going,
He groan'd and left fatherless Mary le More.
Mark the revenge this inhuman banditti
Tho' the rain fell in torrents & the wind blaw sore
Those friends to the castle and foes to all pity
Set fire to the cabin of Mary-le-More.

The childrens wild screams and mother distraction
While the husband the father lay stretch'd in gore
Who can describe and not curse the foul faction
That blasted that rose-bud poor Mary-le-More
The mother & children half naked and shrieking,
Escape'd from the flames where poor Dermott lay reeking.
And while these sad victims shelter was seeking,
Mark what befel poor Mary-le-more.

From her father's check which her lap had supported
The ruffians to an outhouse this lovely girl bore
All her prayers & entreaties & sorrows they sported
And ruined by force poor Mary-le-More,
And now a poor maniac she roves a wild common
Against the cruel stranger she warns every woman,
And sings of her father and strains more than hymen
While tears often flow from poor Mary-le-more.

Ireland's fair daughters your country's salvation,
While the waves of old Erin does beat round your shore.
Remember the woes of your long shackled nation,
Remember the wrongs of poor Mary-le-More.
And whilst your blue eyes are with pity overflowing,
With strong indignation your bosom is glowing
Reflect on the tree where delight still shall grow on
The soil where now wanders sweet Mary-le-More.

Title: "Ellen O More"
Publication title: *History of the Late War in Ireland, with an Account of the United Irish Association from the First Meeting in Belfast, to the Landing of the French at Kilala*.

Philadelphia: Printed by Francis and Robert Bailey, at Yorick's Head, No. 116, High Street, 1799, by John Daly Burk, pp. 105-109.
Other: This reference and transcript are taken from Franca Dellarosa *Talking Revolution*, 2015, pp. 82-83.

Ah, soldiers of Britain your merciless doings,
Long, long, will the children of Erin deplore;
Oh, sad is my soul when I view the black ruins
Where once stood the cottage of Ellen O Moore.
Her father (God rest him!) loved Ireland most dearly,
All its wrongs, all its sufferings he felt most severely,
And with Freedom's firm son's united sincerely:
But gone is the father of Ellen O Moore.
One cold winter night as poor Dermot lay musing.
Hoarse curses alarmed him, and crash went the door;
The fierce solders entered and straight 'gan abusing,
The brave but mild father of Ellen O Moore.

To their scoffs he replied not: with blows they assailed him,
He felt all indignant, his caution now failed him,
He returned their vile blows and all MUNSTER bewail'd him:
For stabb'd was the father of Ellen O Moore.

Who the childrens wild screams and the mothers distraction,
While the father, the husband lay stretched in his gore:
Could behold? or could hear? And not curse the foul faction,
That blasted this rose-bud sweet Ellen O More.

Title: "Mary le Moor" [#2]
Imprint: "J. Catnach, Printer, 2, & 3, Monmouth-court, 7 Dials."
Woodcut: A female figure stands under a large oak tree. One or two male figures flank her, kneeling on the ground. All three figures face in the same direction toward four musketeers with feathers in their hats, kneeling behind greenery, pointing weapons toward the first group.
Other songs: "Burlington Bay"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01385.gif
Dates: 1813 to 1838. BBO.

As I stray'd o'er the common on Corks' rugged border-
While the dew-drops of morn the sweet primrose array'd,
I saw a poor female whose mental disorder,
Her quick-glancing eye and wild aspect betray'd;
On the sward she reclin'd, by the green fern surrounded,
At her side speckled daisies and wild flowers abounded;
To its inmost recesses her heart had been wounded;
Her sighs were unceasing ---'twas Mary-le-More.

[Her charms by the keen blast of sorrow were faded,]
Yet the soft tinge of beauty still play'd on her cheek;
Her tresses a wreath of primroses braided,
And strings of fresh daises hung loose on her neck.
While with pity I gazed, she exlaim'd, "O my mother,
See the blood on that lash! 'tis the blood of my brother,
They have torn his poor flesh! ---add they now strip another,

‘Tis Connor --- the friend of poor Mary le Moor!”

Though his locks were as white as the foam of the ocean,
Those wretches shall find that my father is brave;
‘My father!’ she cried, with the wildest emotion,
Ah, no! my poor father now sleeps in the grave!
They have toll’d his death bell, they’ve laid the turf o’er
His white locks were bloody, no aid could restore him;
He is gone! he is gone! and the good will deplore him,
When the blue waves of Erin hid Mary le More.

A lark, from the gold blossom’d furze that grew near her.
Now rose, and with energy carroll’d his lay;
Hush! hush! she continued, ‘the trumpets sound clearer,
The horsemen approach! Erin’s daughter’s away!
Ah! soldiers, ‘twas foul, while the cabin was burning,
And o’er a pale father a wretch had been mourning ---
Go hide with the sea-mew, ye maids, and take warning,
Those ruffians have ruin’d poor Mary le More

Away! bring the ointment --- O, God! see the gashes!
Alas! my poor brother! come dry the big tear.
Anon we’ll have vengeance for those dreadful lashes.
Already the screech-owl and raven appear.
By day the green grave, that lies under the willow,
With the wild flow’rs I’ll strew, and by night make my pillow,
Till the ooze and dark sea-weed, beneath the curl’d billow,
Shall furnish a death-bed, for Mary le More!’

Thus raved the poor maniac, in tones more heartrending
Than sanity’s voice ever pour’d on my ear;
When lo! on the waste, & the march towards her bending
A troop of fierce cavalry chanced to appear.
‘O, the fiends! she exclaimed, & with wild horror started ---
Then through the tall form, loudly screaming, she darted
With an overcharged bosom I slowly departed
And sigh’d for the wrongs of poor Mary-le-More.

The lonely wanderer

Title: “THE IRISH STRANGER”
Imprint: “Pitts, Printer, wholesale Toy and Marble warehouse, 6, Gt. St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials.”
Woodcut: Floral emblem.
Other songs: “I sowed the Seeds of Love”
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02550.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO.

O pity the fate of a poor wretched stranger,
That has wander’d thus far from his home
I sigh for protection from want, woe, and danger,
But I know not which way for to roam;
I ne’er shall return to Hibernia’s green bowers,

Where tyranny has trampled our sweetest of flowers,
They gave comfort to me in my loneliest hours,
But they're gone – I shall ne'er see them more.

With wonder I gaz'd on that high lofty mountain
As in grandeur it rose from its lord,
And with sorrow beheld my own garden yielding
The choicest of fruits for its board.
But where is my father's low cottage of clay
Where I have spent many a long happy day,
Alas! has his lordship contriv'd it away;
Yes! 'tis gone! – I shall ne'er see it more.

When the sloe and the berry hung ripe on the bushes,
I have gather'd them off without harm,
And I've gone to the fields where I've shorn the green rushes,
Preparing for winter's cold storm,
I have sat by the fire on a cold winter's night,
Along with my friends telling tales of delight,
These days gave me pleasure, and I could invite,
But they're gone – I shall ne'er see them more.

O Erin, sad Erin, it grieves me to ponder,
The wrongs of thy injured Isle!
Thy sons, many thousands, deploring to wander,
On shores far away, in exile.
But give me the power to cross o'er the main,
America might yield me some shelter from pain,
I'm only lamenting while here I remain
For the joys I shall never see more.

Farewell then to Erin, and those I left weeping
Upon this disconsolate shore,
Farewell to the grave where my father lies sleeping,
That ground I still dearly adore.
Farewell to each pleasure – I once had a home,
Farewell – now a stranger in England I roam,
Then give me my freedom, or give me my tomb,
Yes, in pity – I'll ask for no more.

Home

Title: "SWEET HOME"
Subtitle: "With an additional Verse"
Imprint: "Printed by J. Catnach, 2& 3, Monmouth-court, Cards, &c., Printed Cheap."
Woodcut: A beehive on what looks like a table, bees flying around it.
Other songs: "Answer to Home" with a woodcut of a village scene.
Format: Double-column sheet, dividable into two sheets (because the printer imprint is on both sides.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/00957.gif
Other: Despite the subtitle, this printing does not have an additional verse!
Printing Dates: 1813 to 1838.

Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,

Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home;
A charm from the skies seems to hallow us there,
Which seek through the world is ne'er met with elsewhere.

Home! home! sweet, sweet home!
There's no place like home, there's no place like home.

The poor sailor boy as o'er billows he roams,
Oft sighs for the cot he has left far at home;
And the sweet village bells so pleasant and gay,
And the lass that he loves who is far, far away.

An exile from home, splendour dazzles in vain,
Oh, give me my lovely thatch'd cottage again;
The birds singing gaily that came at my call,
Give me them with the peace of mind dearer than all.

Songs analysed in Chapter Three

Englishness and Britishness

Title: "Hearts of Oak"
Imprint: "Printed at J. Pitts Toy Warehouse. Great st Andrew street seven Dials."
Woodcut: A sailing boat of some kind, possibly a "gaff cutter."
Format: Slip-sheet
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/17749.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO. However, the imprint does not list street number, so this was potentially printed between 1802 and 1819.

COME cheer up my lads 'tis to glory we steer
To add something new to this wonderful year.
To honour we call you not press you like slaves
For who is so free as the sons of the waves.

CHORUS
Hearts of Oak are our ship hearts of oak are our men
We ever are ready steady boys steady
To fight and to conquer again and again

We ne'er see our foes but we wish them to stay
They never see us but they wish us away
If they run why we'll follow and run them on shore
And if they won't fight us what can we do more

They swear they'll invade us those terrible foes
They frighten our women our children and our beaus
But should their flat bottom boats in darkness get o'er
Still Britons they'd find to receive them on shore

Come cheer up my lads with one heart let us sing
Our soldiers our sailors our statesmen and King

We will now make them run and we will soon make them sweat
In spite of the devil and the Brussels Gazette

Title: "Rule Britannia"
Imprint: "Printed by J. CATNACH, 2. Monmouth-Court 7 Dials. – Sold by T. Batchelar, 14, Hackney Road Crescent: Price, St. Clements."
Woodcut: A flying cherub holding a banner (with no writing on it)
Other songs: "The SPIDER And the Fly"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04542.gif
Dates: 1813 to 1838. BBO. Potentially 1813 to *c*.1827 at the address of "2" rather than "2 & 3" Monmouth Court. *Life and Times of James Catnach* by Charles Hindley.

WHEN Britain first at Heav'n's command
Arose from out the azure main,
This was the charter, the charter of the land.
And guardian angel's sung this strain.

CHORUS.
Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves
Britons never will be slaves.

The nations not so blest as we,
Must in their turns to tyrants fall,
While thou shalt flourish great and free,
The dread and envy of them all.
Rule Britannia, &c.

Still more majestic shalt thou rise,
More dreadful from each foreign stroke,
As the loud blasts that tear the skies,
Serve but to root thy native oak.

Thee haughty tyrants ne'er shall tame,
All their attempts to bend thee down,
Will but arouse thy gen'rous flame,
But work their woe, and thy renown.

To thee belongs the rural reign,
They cities shall with commerce shine
All thine shall be the subject main,
And ev'ry shore it circles thine.

The muses, still with freedom so
Shall to thy happy coast repair
Blest isle, with matchless beauty crowned,
And manly hearts to guard the fair.

Thomas Moore

Title: "Harry Bluff"
Imprint: "Printed by T.BIRT. 10, Great St. Andrew-Street wholesale and retail, Seven Dials, London. Country Orders punctually attended to. Every description of Printing on reasonable terms. Children's Books, Battledores, Pictures, &c."
Other songs: "The Caledonian Maid".
Format: Slip-sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/19651.gif
Dates: 1828 to 1829. BBO.

Harry Bluff when a boy left his friends and his home,
His dear native land on the ocean to roam,
Like a sapling he sprung he was fair to the view,
He was true British oak the older he grew.
Tho' his body was weak and his hands they were soft
When the signal was given he was first up aloft,
The veterans all said that he'd one day lead the van,
And tho' rated a boy, he had the soul of a man,
And the heart of a true British sailor.

When by manhood promoted and burning for fame
In peace and in war Harry Bluff was the same,
So true to his love and in battle so brave,
May the myrtle and laurel entwine o'er his grave.
In battle he fell when by Victory crown'd,
The flag shot away fell in tatters around,
The foe thought he'd struck when he cried out avast
And the colours of old England he nail'd to the mast
And he died like a true British sailor.

Title: "Tom Bowling"
Subtitle: "Or, the Sailor's Epitaph"
Imprint: "Publish'd May 30, 1791, by I. Evans No. 42 Long Lane West Smithfield"
Engraving: The engraved illustration inhabits three quarters of the top of the page. A sailor stands in a churchyard facing a grave inscribed "Here lies Tom Bowling". A banner with the song's title, held by two anchors, decorates the top part of the illustration.
Format: An engraved sheet with large illustration inhabiting most of the sheet, and the lyrics engraved in cursive script underneath.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/08937.gif
Other: These engraved ballad-sheets, printed by Evans and others, were common in the 1790s and first decade of the nineteenth century.
Dates: 1791. Ballad sheet.

Here a sheer hulk, lies poor Tom Bowling,
The darling of our crew;
No more he'll hear the tempest howling,
For death has broached him to.

His form was of the manliest beauty,
His heart was kind and soft,
Faithful below he did his duty,
And now he is gone aloft.

Tom never from his word departed,
His virtues were so rare,
His [friends] were many and wise hearted,
His Poll was kind and fair.

And then he'd sing so blithe and jolly,
Ah! many's the time and oft,
But mirth is turn'd to melancholy,
For Tom is gone aloft.

Yet shall poor Tom find pleasant weather
When He who all commands,
Shall give to call life's crew together
The word to pipe all hands.

Thus Death, who kings and tars despatches,
Tom's life has vainly dost.
For tho' his body's under hatches,
His soul is gone aloft.

Title: "The Minstrel-Boy"
Imprint: "Catnach, Printer, 2, Monmouth-court, 7 Dials."
Woodcut: Decorative emblem.
Other songs: "Maid of the Mill" and "The Lass of Tiviot-Side"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03192.gif
Dates: 1813 to 1838. BBO. Potentially 1813 to *c*.1827 at the address of "2" rather than "2 & 3" Monmouth Court. *Life and Times of James Catnach* by Charles Hindley.

The Minstrel-boy to the wars is gone,
In the ranks of death you'll find him,
His father's sword he had girted on,
And his wild harp's slung behind him;
"Land of song," said the warrior-bard,
"Tho' all the world betrays thee,
"One sword at least thy rights shall guard,
"One faithful heart shall please thee."

The Minstrel fell, but the foeman's chain
Could not bring his proud soul under,
The harp he loved ne'er spoke again,
For he tore its chords asunder,
And said, "no chains shall sully thee,
"Thou souls of love and bravery,
"Thy songs were made for the brave and free,
"They shall never sound in slavery."

Title: "The Harp that Once through Tara's Hall"
Imprint: "W. S. FORTEY. Printer, Monmouth Court, Seven Dials. The Oldest and Cheapest House in the World for Ballads (4,000 sorts), Children's Books, Song Books, &c."
Other songs: "The Farmer's Daughter and the Gay Ploughboy"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02046.gif

Other: Also printed by T. Birt before 1841.
Dates: 1858 to 1885. BBO.

The harp that once through Tara's halls
The souls of music shed,
Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls
As if that soul were fled.
So sleeps the pride of former days,
So glory's thrill is o'er
And hearts that once beat high for pride
Now feel that pulse no more.

No more to chiefs and ladies bright,
The harp of Tara swells;
The chord alone that breaks at night,
Its tale of ruin tells.
Thus freedom now so seldom wakes,
The only throb she gives,
Is when some heart indignant breaks,
To show that still she lives

Title: "The Legacy"
Imprint: "Printed at J. Pitts, Wholesale Toy Warehouse 5 [*sic*], Great st, Andrew Street, 7 Dials"
Woodcut: Portrait of smart male figure.
Format: Slip-sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/20600.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO.

When in death I shall calmly recline,
O bear my heart to my mistress dear,
Tell her it lived upon smiles and wine
Of the brightest hue, while it linger'd here,
Bid her not shed one tear of sorrow,
To sully a heart so brilliant and bright
But balmy drops of the red grape borrow,
To bathe the relic from morn to night

When the light of my song is o'er,
O bear my harp to your ancient hall
Hang it up at that friendly door,
Where weary travellers love to call
Then should some bard that roams forsaken,
Revive its soft note in passing along,
O let one thought of its master waken
Your warmest smile for the child of song.

Take this cup, which is now o'erflowing,
To grace your revel when I'm at rest
Never O never its balm bestowing
On lips that beauty hath seldom blest
But should some warm devoted lover,
To her he loves once bathes its brim

O then my spirit around shall hover
And hallow each drop that forms for him.

Title: "The Sons of Fingal"
Imprint: "Printed and Sold by J. Pitts, 6, Great St Andrew Street, Seven Dials sold also by D. Goodwin, 204, White Chapel Road, near the London Hospital."
Other songs: "Sailor Boy" and "The Light Guitar"
Format: Dividable two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04288.gif
Other: Lyrics by Thomas Moore but are not attributed to him on any ballad sheets, see *The Universal* Songster, Vol. III, London, p. 132.
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO.

OH! Erin, my Country, altho' thy harp slumbers.
And lies in oblivion near Tara's old hall,
With scarce one kind hand to enliven its members,
Or strike the lute dirge to the Sons of Fingal.

Then Erin, my Country, I love thy green bowers,
No music to me like the murmuring rill,
The Shamrock to me is the fairest of flowers,
And what is more dear than the daisy clad hills.

Those caves, that were used by the warriors of sages,
Has a sacred still held in each Irishman's heart;
The ivy ground turrets and pride of past ages,
There's grandeur and beauty to Erin go bragh.

Britannia may boast of her lion and armour,
Ah, when she her old wooden walls comes to view,
Caledonia may boast of her pybrook and clamour
And pride in her philibegs, kelts, and her hose.

And where is the nation can rival old Erin,
Or tell me the country such heroes can boast,
In battle they're brave as the tiger or lion,
And swift as the eagle that flies round our coast

The breeze often shakes both the rose and the thistle,
Whilst Erin's green shamrock lie hush'd in the dale;
Secur'dly it stands whilst the stormy winds whistle,
And lies undisturb'd between the moss and the vale.

Then hail fairest Island of Neptune's old ocean,
The land of St. Patrick my parents agra.
Cold, cold must the heart be, and void of emotion.
That loves not the music of Erin go bragh.

Romantic Unionism

Title: "The Sons of Albion"
Imprint: "Evans, Printer, Long-lane, London."
Woodcut: A sailor, possibly holding a sword, with a ship in the background.

Format: Slip-sheet
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/10214.gif
Dates: 1780 to1812. BBO. 1799 (before) to 1820 (death), BBTI.

You sons of Albion take up your arms,
And meet the haughty band;
They threaten us with wars alarms,
To invade our native land.

CHORUS.
Neither rebels, French, or Sanculotte,
Nor the dupes of tyranny boast,
Shall conquer the English the Irish, nor the Scotch,
Nor shall land upon our coast.

There's hopeless Holland wears the yoke
And so does faithless Spain;
But we will give them Hearts of Oak,
And drive them off the main.

The commanders of the universe,
Or else they wish to be
But we will shew them the reverse,
And set Old England free.

Title: "St. Patrick's Day"
Imprint: "Pitts Printer, and toy Warehouse; 6 Great st. andrew street 7 dials."
Woodcut: Floral decorative border.
Format: Slip-sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/14321.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO.

You sons of Hibernia in every station.
That hear my relation all over the nation
Now let us consider that native plantation,
With love and affection so warming.
The Seventeenth of March we all agree
To honour our champion with true loyalty,
Who from all insects our country did free
Patrick's day in the morning.

When to strange nations we go for new pleasure
Not seeking for treasure or hoarding up store.
If money we earn we spend it at leisure,
With hearty intention to work for more.
Then if on we rowl we meet one that's jolly.
With a full flowing bowl we drown melancholy
And charms the souls of both Nancy & Polly;
Each Patrick's day in the morning.

When great George is pleased to command us.
We always agree to the sound of the drum,
As no foreign power is able to stand us
We are sure subdue them wherever we come

Like lions so bold we conquer thro' the ocean
And banish the forces of proud Franc and Spain
So brave we support our native promotion,
Each patrick's day in the morning.

Like true hearts of gold we enter each battle,
Not fearing the dangers of swords or guns,
Our English cannons shall loudly rattle,
By the assistance of Paddy's sons
Then if to close quarters the enemies come.
With spirit undaunted to meet them we'll run
With a whack of shillelagh to crown our all fun
Each Patrick's day in the morning.

When from war we safe return,
Unto our sweethearts and our wives,
Who in our absence long did mourn
Their drooping hearts we will revive.
Then all joys we soon will crown,
Our wine in gallons shall go round,
The royal shamrocks fame to sound,
Each Patrick's day in the morning.

Now to conclude let's fill our bumpers,
And toast a good health unto George our King
And long may he reign in pleasure and comfort
And each true subject his praise shall sing,
May England's fame remain umblemished,
And Irish natives also flourish,
With beer and ale themselves to nourish,
Each Patrick's day in the morning.

Title: [the unionist] "Erin go Bragh"
Imprint: "Pitts, Printer, wholesale Toy and Marble warehouse, 6, Gt. St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials."
Woodcut: A male and female figure in a romantic embrace. A house and a windmill can be seen in the background.
Other songs: "The Thumping Glass of Gin", "Maid of Staffa", "The Mechanic's Boy"
Format: Dividable two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/22883.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO.

OH! I sing of sweet Erin, my country admiring,
For glory and honour her sons are renown'd,
And Love, that passions all hearts to inspiring,
In the sons of Hibernia most brisk will be found

CHORUS.
Sing Erin-go-bragh! that's Ireland for ever –
Help me ladies to sing, for we love you agra!
And with Albion united we'll be conquered, no, never
Then sing England for ever, and Erin-go-bragh.

Do the foe threat invasion? bind tighter the laurel

That's entwined by Erin and Albion, to prove,
That brothers united, forgetting all quarrel,
Shall prove the full force, sirs, of fraternal love.

Fanatics and zealots this question I ask ye –
Can religion be served by what Heaven condemns?
O! shame, that the cloak of religion should mask ye,
Ye who have caused to be murdered wives, children, and friends.

May the banners of freedom know no prostitution,
Nor no anarchy reign under colours revers'd;
May the empire of Britain know no revolution,
But by patriots united, both countries be steer'd.

Be the Rose, and the Thistle, & Shamrock so blended
That England, and Scotland, and Ireland may sing,
That each are co-equal for honour intended –
Then success in each country, & long life to the King.

The aisling

Title: "The New St. Patrick's Day"
Imprint: "Ryle & Co., Printers, 2 and 3, Monmouth Court, Seven Dials.
Woodcut: Portrait of male, comic performer with hat on, holding a shillelagh. His hat and collar are adorned with flowers (or shamrocks)."
Other songs: "St. James's and St. Giles's".
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03588.gif
Dates: 1845 to 1859. BBO.

It was one lovely morning, all in the month of March
Down by a crystal fountain I carelessly did walk:
It's I being very tired and weary, I laid myself down to rest,
For to listen to the notes of the blackbird and thrush.

It's I being tired and weary, I laid myself down,
In silence to repose, and my sorrows to drown,
Up stept a man, approaching without any more delay
When I awoke from slumber it was St. Patrick's Day.

There is this advice I'll give you, and mind it while you live,
To the rose and thistle your secrets don't give,
For the Catholic's of Ireland are generous you know,
And they are always ready to face the daring foe.

There is another advice I'll give you, and mind it while you can,
And never trust your secrets to any other man,
For if that you do, they will surely you betray,
And will laugh at your downfall on St. Patrick's day.

It's have you not heard of this new invented plan,
How they all join together in the voice of a man,
For like the Bethel unions in the year ninety-four,

When the shamrock joined the thistle, boys, it grieves their heart full sore.

O! Erin dear lov'd country, oppressed but not bow'd down,
Thou yet shall rise in splendour, with honour and renown
Thy hardy sons shall aid thee, in spite of all thy foes,
The war-like mountain thistle, or the over-reaching rose

O mourn not blooming shamrock, thy sorrows soon shall end,
Justice hears thy wailing, and succour soon shall send
Like Mars, the god of battle, thou shall put forth thy might,
The nations that surround thee shall own thy cause as right.

A toast unto the shamrock and famed St. Patrick's day
And every true-bred Irishman this welcome tribute pay
Success to the brave patriots who for their country died
Still shall the four-leaved shamrock of nations be the pride.

Title: "St. Patrick's Day"
Imprint: "[J. Bebbing]ton, Printer, [Goulde]n Street, Oldham Road Manchester, and Sold by H, Andrew's 2[7] St, Peter Street, Leeds"
Secondary imprint (vertically down the right-hand side of the sheet: "Pearson, Printer, Chadderton St, Manchester." [printer number: 142]
Woodcut: The coat of arms that appeared on the Chartist membership card – consisting of a man and woman holding a spade and rake respectively with the words "This is Our Charter" displayed in the middle circle surrounding the lion and a banner across the foot of the arms saying "God is Our Guide". In the top left corner a beehive can be seen and in the top right a sheaf of wheat. The cap of liberty, a glove and a tricolour flag crown the lion in the middle.
Other songs: "The Squire's Young Daughter"
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/15000/12398.gif
Date: *c*.1850. BBO. 1855 to 1861 (Bebbington) *Popular Song and Social Identity*, Phil Eva. 1860 to 1894 (Pearson) *Manchester Trade Directories, 1794-1900*. Manchester City Library.

ON the 16th day of March, on an evening so clear
Down by a crystal fountain my course I did steer
I laid myself down by a green hazel bush,
To listen to the notes of the blackbird and thrush

I being fatigued and wearied I laid myself down,
Kind Morpheus in a slumber my sorrows to drown
In a soft repose on the cold ground I lay
And when I awoke it was St. Patrick's day

Silently and sincerely to me did appear,
A tall female form she struck me with fear,
She said my youthful hero be you not dismayed
I am your patron and be you not afraid.
Through the dead shade of maturity I'll guide you The right way,
It's as true as if tomorrow was St. Patrick's day

How can you approve of this my adopted plan,
That joins us together like the mind of one man
Not like the Belfast union in the year of 94.
When the shamrock joins the bonnet it grieves my heart full sore.

There is one advice I'll give you as long as you live
Your secrets to James and to William don't give
As sure as you do they will as sure you betray,
And they will laugh at you with scorn upon St. Patrick's day.

There is no faded ribbons nor strange colours here,
So Royal art masons with their compass and square
May the bright beam of honour shine all round us most gay,
We will drink & wear our shamrock on St. Patrick's day.

Cushlamachree

Title: "Cushlamachree"
Imprint: "Printed & Sold Wholesale & Retail by John O. Bebbington, 22, Goulden Street, Oldham Road, Manchester." [printer no' 57]
Other songs: "Kathleen Mavourneen", "Dear Irish Boy", "Little Nell", "Hope tells a Flattering Tale"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03168.gif
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/24014.gif [full text but missing printer imprint]
Dates: *c*.1850. BBO. 1855 to 1861 *Popular Song and Social Identity*, Phil Eva (and *Manchester Trade Directories*, Manchester City Library).

Dear Erin, how sweetly thy green bosom rises,
An emerald set in the right of the sea,
Each blade of thy meadows my faithful heart prizes,
Thou queen of The West, the world's Cushlamachree.

Thy gates open wide to the poor and the stranger,
There smiles hospitality, hearty and free:
Thy friendship is seen in the moment of danger,
And the wanderer is welcomed with Cushlamachree.

Thy sons they are brave but the battle once over,
In brotherly peace with their foes they agree,
And the roseate cheeks of thy daughters discover,
The soul speaking blush that says Cushlamachree.

Then flourish forever my dear native Erin,
While sadly I wander an exile from thee,
And firm as thy mountains no injury fearing.
May Heaven defend its own Cushlamachree.

Songs analysed in Chapter Four

Sensibility and Romantic-period songs of parting

Title: "The Banks of Shannon"
Subtitle: "A New Song"
Imprint: "Sold at No. 42, Long Lane" (i.e. J. Evans as listed in Bodleian)
Woodcut: A female figure (at the centre of the image) in an avenue of poplar trees.
Format: Slip-sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/09141.gif
Dates: 1780 to 1812. BBO. 1799 (before) to 1820 (death), BBTI.

In summer when the leaves were green,
And blossoms deck'd each tree,
Young Teddy then declar'd his love,
His artless love to me;
On Shannon's flowery banks we sat,
And there he told his tale,
O Patty, softest of thy sex,
O let fond love p[r]evail;
Ah! well-a-day! you see me pine
In sorrow and despair,
Yet heed me not, then let me die,
And end my grief and care;
Ah! no, dear youth, I fondly said,
Such love demands my thanks,
And here I vow eternal truth,
On Shannon's flowery banks,

And then we vow'd eternal truth,
On Shannon's flowery banks,
And there we gather'd sweetest flowers,
And play'd such artless pranks;
But woe is me, the press-gang came,
And forc'd my Ned away,
Just when we nam'd next morning fair
To be our wedding day:
My love, he cry'd, they force me hence,
But still my heart is thine,
All peace be yours, my gentle Pat,
Whilst war and toil is mine,
With riches I'll return to thee,
I sobb'd out words of thanks,
And then we vow'd eternal truth,
On Shannon's flowery banks.

And then we vow'd eternal truth,
On Shannon's flowery banks,
And then I saw him sail away
To join the hostile ranks;
From morn to eve for twelve long months
His absence sad I mourn'd,
The peace was made, the ship came back,
But Teddy ne'er return'd;

His beautious face and manly form,
Has won a nobler fair,
My Teddy's false, and I for love,
Must die in sad despair;
Ye gentle maidens see me laid,
Whilst you stand round in ranks,
And plant a willow o'er my head,
On Shannon's flowery banks.

Title: "Jane of Tralee"
Imprint: "Printed and sold by T. Batchelar, opposite the Refuge for the Destitute, Hackney Road."
Woodcut: Decorative heading.
Other songs: "The Banks of the Suir"
Other songs: Two-column sheet.
Other info: With thanks to Emily Dourish, Deputy Keeper of Rare Books and Early Manuscripts, Cambridge University Library for the image of this ballad sheet.
Dates: 1807 to 1828. BBTI.

The sun, through yon dark clouds descending,
In the west faintly sheds his last ray,
While lonely my steps onward bending,
I pensively sigh on my way.
And still must I roam broken-hearted,
A victim to fortune's decree;
Since from my dear jewel I'm parted,
The lovely sweet Jane of Tralee.

Now, alas! O'er the wide foaming ocean,
She is gone to a far distant shore,
And vain is my bosom's commotion,
For Jane I shall never see more.
Yet, O may kind heaven defend her,
From harm may she ever be free:
Tho' fate for me has not design'd her.
I'll still love sweet Jane of Tralee.

Chill winter's cold blast is now swelling,
And dismally howls o'er the main;
While my woes to the rude winds I'm telling,
In torments no tongue can explain.
Yet roll on fell tempest still harder,
Dread emblem of my misery;
But in mercy O spare and regard me,
My lovely sweet Jane of Tralee.

In truth I mourn for my darling,
None knows my sad anguish and pain,
While hopeless I sigh night and morning,
For her who can never be mine.
Ah, why did I doat with delight on
A treasure ne'er destin'd for me,
And in raptures so oft fix'd my eyes on
That angel, sweet Jane of Tralee?

Had I riches and power, with proud minions,
Obsequious to wait my command;
Or had I king William's dominions,
Or all in this world I'd demand;
Yet joys from such vain splendor flowing,
Or the winds of the mountain would flee,
No kind consolation bestowing,
For the loss of sweet Jane of Tralee.

Farewell, dearest Jane, and for ever
Shall William be constant and true;
Ah, can I forget thee? – no, never;
Tho' absent, I'll love only you.
Till death stills this bosom's emotion,
Unceasing 'twill have but for thee;
And my last sight, with ardent devotion,
Shall bless you, sweet Jane of Tralee.

Sensibility and Irish boys and girls

Title: "My Bonny Irish Boy"
Imprint: "London: Printed at the "Catnach" Press, by W. S. FORTEY, Monmouth Court, Seven Dials."
Woodcut: A male and female figure in eighteenth-century dress standing at a table.
Other songs: "The Rose of Ardee".
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/16400.gif
Dates: 1858 to 1885. BBO.

When first I was courted by a bonny Irish boy,
He called me his jewel, his delight and joy;
'Twas in Dublin city, that place of great fame,
When first my bonny Irish boy a courting to me came.

He told me pleasant stories and promised me to wed,
But in a short time after he broke the vows he made;
So maidens do not blame me for I could not forbear,
For the loving of my Irish boy I do declare.

His cheeks are like roses and his hair a light brown,
The locks upon his shoulders so carelessly hanging down,
His teeth as white as Ivory, his eyes as black as sloes,
He is so mild in his behavior wherever my love goes.

The fields they are so green and the meadows so fresh and gay,
Where me and my bonny Irish boy used to sport and play;
The birds did sweetly sing and the lambs did skip around.
But the voice of my bonny Irish boy was not to be found.

My love has long time courted me but now he has took his flight,
Then packed up my clothes and followed him by night;
And when that I arrived in fair London town,
Was told my love was married to a lady of renown.

The rattling of my chains, and on a bed of straw I lie,
Loudly I cry out for my bonny Irish boy;
But here in close confinement, no hopes of liberty,
Until my bonny Irish boy returns back home to me.

Title: "The Irish Girl"
Imprint: Evans, Printer, Long-Lane, London.
Woodcut: A woman (with fine clothes and hat) leans backwards against a tree. A dog/wolf stands facing her. She holds her arm out as if to indicate "don't come any closer". A house/barn is in the background.
Format: Slip-sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/07463.gif
Dates: 1780 to 1812. BBO.

Abroad as I was walking down by a river side,
I gaz'd around me and an Irish girl I espied,
So red and rosy was her cheeks, and yellow was her hair,
And so costly were the robes that this Irish girl did wear.

The tears ran down her rosy cheeks, and she began to cry –
My Grammachre's gone to America, and quite forsaken me;
One night as I lay on my bed, both sick and bad was I,
I call'd for a napkin around my head to tie.

Was she as bad in love [with me?] perhaps I may mend again,
O this love is a killing thing, did you ever feel the pain,
My love is more fair than the lilly that does grow
She has a voice more clear than any winds do blow.

She's the primrose of this country, like Venus in her air,
Let her go where she will she's my joy & only dear,
My love will not come near me for all the moan I make,
Neither will she pity me if my poor heart should break.

Was I but of noble blood & she of mean degree
She would hear my lamentation and come and pity me;
But be it so, or be it not, I'll take her at my chance,
The first time I saw my love has struck me in a trance.

Her ruby lips and sparkling eyes have so bewitched me,
If I was King of Ireland, queen of it she should be;
I wish I was a valiant man, sat on a pleasant bench,
And every man a bottle of wine, and on his knee a wench,
We'll call for liquor merrily, and pay before we go,
We'd dance thro' the groves let the winde blow high or low.

Title: "The Irish Girl"
Imprint: "J. Catnach, Printer, 2, Monmouth-court, 7 Dials. Sold by W. Marshal, Bristol: T. Batchelar, 14, Hackney Road Crescent: Bennett, & Boyes, Brighton."
Woodcut: A smart female figure with parasol.
Other songs: "The Transport"
Format: Two-column sheet.

URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02672.gif
Dates: 1813 to 1838. BBO. Potentially 1813 to *c*.1827 at the address of “2” rather than “2 & 3” Monmouth Court. *Life and Times of James Catnach* by Charles Hindley.

Abroad as I was walking, down by a river side,
I gazed all round me, an Irish girl I spied,
So red and rosy were her cheeks, & yellow was her hair,
And so costly were the robes that my Irish girl did wear.

Her shoes were of the Spanish black, all spangled round with dew,
She wrung her hands and tore her hair, crying alas! What shall I do,
I am going home, I’m going home, said she,
Why will you go a roving and slight your dear Polly.

The very last time I saw my love he seem’d to be in pain,
With chilling grief & anguish his heart was broke in twain,
There’s many a man that’s worse than he, so why should I complain,
O love it is a killing thing did you not feel the pain.

I wish my love was a red rose and in the garden grew,
To be the gardener, to her I would be true,
There’s not a month throughout the year, but my love I would renew,
Will lilliies I would garnish her, sweet William, Thyme, and rue.

I wish I was a butterfly, I’d fly to my love’s breast,
I wish I was a linnet, I’d sing my love to rest,
I wish I was a nightingale, I’d sing till morning clear,
I’d sit and sing for you Polly, I once did love so dear.

I wish I was in Exeter all seated on the grass,
With a quart of wine all in my hand, and on my knee a lass,
We’d call for liquors merrily, and pay before we go,
I’d roll her in my arms once more let the winds blow high or low.

Title: “The New Irish Girl”
Imprint: “Printed and Sold by J, Pitts, Wholesale Toy and Marble Warehouse, 6, Great St. Andrew street, Seven Dials; and sold by D. Goodwin, 204, White Chapel-road, near the London Hospital. [1819 – 1844].”
Woodcut: Grecian urn containing foliage.
Other songs: “Leicester Chambermaid”
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03558.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO.

As I walked out one morning down by a river side,
And gazing all around me an Irish girl I spied,
So red and rosy were her cheeks and coal black was her hair,
How costly were the robes of gold this Irish girl did wear.

Her shoes were of the Spanish black bespangled with dew,
She wrung her hands and tore her hair, crying alas what shall I do,
I am going home, I am going home, I am going home says she,
Why do you go a roving, for my true love says she.

The very last time I saw my love O he was very bad,

The only request he asked of me it was to tie his head.
There's many a man is worse than him perhaps he might mend again,
O love it is a killing thing did you ever feel the pain

I wish my love was a red rose that in the garden grows,
And I to be the gardener of her I would take care,
There's not a month throughout the year but her I would renew,
With lillies I would garnish her, sweet-william, thyme and rue.

I wish I was a butterfly I would fly to my love's breast,
I wish I was a linnet I would sing my love to rest,
I wish I was a nightingale I would sing till the morning clear,
I would sit and sing for my true love whom once held so dear.

I wish I was in Dublin town, and sitting on the grass,
With a bottle of whiskey in my hand and on my knee a lass,
We'd call for liquers merrily, and pay before we go,
And fold thee in my arms let the winds blow high or low.

Title: "Dear Irish Boy"
Imprint: "London: -- H. Such, Printer and Publisher, 123, Union Street, Boro'—S.E." 191.
Woodcut: A row of decorative border flowers above and below imprint. A border of flowers is printed down the centre of the sheet.
Other songs: "The Cottage Maid", "Banks of the Nile" (the latter is also the sheet title).
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01039.gif
Dates: 1849 to 1862. BBO.

My Connor, his cheeks they are as ruddy as morning,
The brightest of pearl doth but mimic his teeth,
Whilst nature with ringlets his mild brow adorning,
His hair Cupi'd bow-strings, and roses his breath.

> Smiling, beguiling, cheering, endearing together,
> Oft over the mountain we stray by each other,
> Delighted and fondly united in joy,
> I hastened all day to my dear Irish Boy!

No Roebuck more swift can fly over the mountain,
No Veteran more bold in dangers or scars,
He is slightly, is sparingly, and as clear as the fountain,
His eyes twinkled love, he is gone to the war.

The soft tuning lark, her sweet notes change mourning,
The dull moping hours hall employ my night's sleep,
Whilst seeking lone walks in the shade of the evening,
Until my Connor returns I will never cease to weep.

The wars are all over, and he is not returning,
I fear that some envious plot has been laid,
Or some cruel slave has him so captivated,
He is gone to the wars and left his dear Irish Maid.

Sentimentality and "street songs" of the Victorian drawing room

Title: "The Irish Emigrant"
Imprint: "H. SUCH, Printer and Publisher, 123, Union Street, Boro' – S. E."
Woodcut: A simian-like portrait of a gruff-looking man wearing a tatty cravat, overcoat, collar drawn up and a hat, smoking a clay pipe.
Other Songs: "BRITISH MAN OF WAR" (acts also as sheet title across top of the page).
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/17584.gif
Other: Lyrics by Helen Selina Blackwood, Baroness Dufferin and Claneboye (née Sheridan), 1807-1867.
Dates: 1848 to 1862. BBO.

I'm sitting on the stile, Mary,
Where we sat side by side,
On a bright May morning long ago,
When first you were my bride;
The corn was springing fresh and green,
And the lark sang loud and high,
And the red was on your lip, Mary,
And the love light in your eye.

The place is little change, Mary,
The day as bright as then,
The lark's loud song is in my heart,
And the corn is green again;
But I miss the soft clasp of your hand,
And the breath warm on my cheek,
And I still keep list'ning to the words,
You never more may speak.

'Tis but a step down yonder lane,
And the village church stands near,
The church where we were wed, Mary,
I see the spire from here:
But the grave-yard lies between, Mary,
And my step might break your rest,
For I've laid you, darling, down to sleep,
With your baby on your breast.

I'm very lonely now, Mary,
For the poor make no new friends
But oh! They love the better far,
The few our father sends.
And you were all I had, Mary,
My blessing and my pride;
There's nothing left to care for now,
Since my poor Mary died.

I'm bidding you a long farewell,
My Mary kind and true,
But I'll not forget you darling,
In the land I'm going too!
They say there's bread and work for all
The sun shines always there,

But I'll not forget old Ireland,
Were it fifty times as fair.

Title: "The English Emigrant"
Tune: "Irish Emigrant".
Subtitle: Sung with unbounded applause by Mr. E. Morgan at the White Conduit.
Imprint: Printed by T. King Birmingham and sold by Mr. Green at his Music Stall near the Turnpike City-road, and at 27, Featherstone-street, City-road, where an extensive collection of old & new songs may be had.
Woodcut: Decorative floral border surrounding entire text.
Format: One column of text on one full page (not a slip-sheet which is one page divided in two columns and cut).
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/21157.gif
Dates: *c*. 1845. BBO.

I'm standing at the stall Sarey with Pincher by my side,
A dealing out the pickled eels like when you was my bride;
The gas is shining clear and bright in the beer-shop lamp so high,
And the glass was in your hand Sarey, & the gin-shop in your eye.
The place is little changed Sarey, the gin's as strong as then,
Your last loud song is in my ear, and they've rose the bread again;
But I miss the hard blow of your hand, & the paint upon your cheek
And I still keep listening for your tongue I heard week afer week.
I heard, &c.

Tis but a step down sweet duck-lane, and the parish church stands by
The place vere ve was spliced Sarey, ven drunk or wery nigh;
The rough music played up cherily our blessed hearts to cheer,
And I gave them lots of pickled eels, and lots of gin and beer.
The place is quiet now Sarey vithout you they all say
And the tallyman does call Sarey but I never means to pay;
The brokers have took all the sticks, but your likeness does remain,
And I vears it near my heart Sarey with pleasure not for gain.
With pleasure, &c.

I'm going to Emigrate Sarey and leave my drunken friends,
Your chandlers shop score still I owe vich to pay I ne'er intends;
For you was all I had Sarey except a moke to ride.
There's nothing left to care for now since my old voman died.
I'm bidding you a long good bye my old gal kind and true,
But I'll not forget your turn-up nose, in the land I'm going to,
They say there's not one pickled stall, and the sun shines always there
But I'll not forget dear Vestminster, vos it fifty times as dear.
Vos it, &c.

Title: "Kathleen Mavourneen"
Imprint: "Paul, Printer, 18 Great St. Andrew Street. 7 Dials."
Woodcut: Figure of a man in eighteenth-century dress, holding an axe and facing a rising snake. Trees and nature in the background. Image contained within an elliptical border. Decorative borders separating the songs.
Other songs: "Isle of Beauty", "Molly Bawn", "Love Lies Asleep in the Rose".
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02865.gif

Other: Lyrics by "Mrs Crawford" Louisa Matilda Jane Crawford (né Montagu), 1798-1857.
Dates: 18--. BBO. Definitive printing dates in the Bodleian by "C. Paul" of Andrew Street are 1848 and 1856.

Kathleen Mavourneen, the grey dawn is breaking,
The horn of the hunter is heard on the hill,
The lark from her light wing the bright dew is shaking,
Kathleen Mavourneen – what, slumbering still,
Oh, hast thou forgotten how soon we must sever,
Oh, hast thou forgotten this day we must part,
may be for years, and it may be forever,
Oh, why art thou silent – thou voice of my heart?

Kathleen Mavourneen, awake from thy slumber,
The blue mountains glow in the sun's golden, light
Ah, where is the spell that once hung on thy numbers–
arise in thy beauty, thou star of my night,
Mavourneen, Mavourneen, my sad tears are falling,
To think that from Erin and thee I must part,
It may be for years, and it may be for ever,
Then why art thou silent thou voice o' my heart.

Title: "Aileen Mavourneen"
Imprint: "W. M'Call, Printer, Cartwright Place, Byrom Street, Liverpool"
Woodcut: Female figure with posy of flowers.
Other songs: "Banks of the Lea"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/25000/23900.gif
Other: Lyrics by "Mrs S. C. Hall", Anna Maria Hall (né Fielding), 1800-1881.
Dates: 1857 to 1877. BBO. 1846 to 1850 or 1847 to 1848. BBTI.

He tells me he loves me, and can I believe,
The heart he has won, he would wish to deceive,
For ever and always his sweet words to me,
Were, Aileen Mavourneen, Acushlamachree.

Last night when we parted, his gentle good-bye,
A thousand times sad, and each time with a sigh,
And still the same sweet words he whispers to me,
My Aileen Mavourneen, Acushlamachree

The friend of my childhood, the hope of my youth,
Whose heart is all pure, and whose words are all truth,
Oh, still the same fond words she whispers to me,
My Aileen Mavourneen, Acushlamachree

Oh, when will the day come, the dear, happy day,
That a maiden can hear all a lover can say,
And speak out the fond words he whispers to me,
My Aileen Mavourneen, Acushlamachree

Title: "Come Back to Erin"
Imprint: [There is no printer imprint, only the printer number 970, but this sheet is listed on BBO as printed by Harkness, J.]
Woodcut: Portrait of a female in sailor dress.
Other Songs: "Down in a Diving Bell"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01856.gif
Other info: Lyrics are by Charlotte Allington Barnard (Claribel, 1830-1869), written in 1868.
Dates: [Harkness] 1840 to 1866. BBO. [Harkness] 1838 to 1875. Source unknown.

Come back to Erin, Mavourneen, Mavourneen,
Come back, aroon, to the land of thy birth,
Come with shamrocks and spring time Mavourneen,
And it's Killarney shall ring with our mirth.
Sure, when we lent ye to beautiful England,
Little we thought of the long winter days –
Little we thought of the hush of the starshine,
Over the mountains, the bluffs, and the brays.

> CHORUS
> Then come back to Erin, Mavourneen, Mavourneen,
> Come back again to the land of your birth; --
> Come back to Erin, Mavourneen, Mavourneen,
> And it's Killarney shall ring with our mirth.

Over the green sea, Mavourneen, Mavonrneen,
Long shone the white sail that bore thee away,
Riding the white waves that fair summer morning,
Just like a May flower afloat in the bay.
Oh! but my heart sunk when clouds came between us,
Like a grey curtain the rain falling down,
Hid from my sad eyes the path o'er the ocean,
Far, far away where my colleen had flown.

O, may the angels, O, waking or sleeping,
Watch over my bird in the land far away;
And its prayers will consign to their keeping
Care of my jewel by night and by day
When by the fireside I watch thy bright embers,
Then all my heart flies to England and thee,
Craving to know if my darling remembers,
Or if her thoughts may be crossing to me.

<u>Sentimentality, comedy and betrayal</u>

Title: "Teddy O'Neale"
Subtitle: Underneath the title is written "Music at Hopwood and Crew's"
Imprint: There is no imprint, apart from the printer number 987, but it is listed on BBO as being printed by J. Harkness.
Woodcut: Portrait of a male in seventeenth-century dress.
Other songs: "Call her Back and Kiss Her"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04672.gif
Other: Lyrics by poet Eliza Cook.

Dates: [Harkness] 1840 to 1866. BBO. [Harkness] 1838 to 1875. Source unknown.

I've seen the mud cabin he danced his jigs in,
As neat a mud cabin as ever was seen,
Considering he used to keep poultry and pigs in,
I'm sure it was always kept illegant and clean;
But now all around seems sad and most dreary,
All sad, and all silent, -- no piper, no reel,
Not even the sun thorough the window shines clearly,
Since I lost my own darling, sweet Teddy O'Neale.

I dreamt last night, och! bad cess to be dreaming,
I'd die if I thought 'twould come truly to pass,
I dreamt as the tears down my pale cheeks were streaming,
That Teddy was courting another fair lass, --
Oh, did not I wake with the weeping and wailing,
The thought of my dhrame was too much to conceal,
And my mother cries, "Norah, child, what is it you're ailing?"
When all I cold answer was Teddy O'Neale.

Can I ever forget when the big ship was ready,
The time it had come for my love to depart,
I cried like a colleen, and said, Good-bye, Teddy,
With a tear in my eye, and a stone in my heart;
He said, 'twas to better his fortune he went roving,
But what is the gold to the joy I could feel,
If he'd only come back to me, honest and loving,
Though poor is my own darling Teddy O'Neale.

Title: "Terence's Farewell"
Imprint: "Ryle and Co., Printers, 2 and 3, Monmouth Court, Bloomsbury."
Woodcut: A (female and male) couple hold hands, the male's head leans toward the female, as she pulls away. The male figure is dressed in a kilt. They are in the countryside, a small house is visible in the background.
Other songs: "William & Harriet"
Format: Two-column sheet (printer imprint under both songs, so the sheet is separatable into two slip-sheets)
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04689.gif
Other: Lyrics by Helen Selina Blackwood, Baroness Dufferin and Claneboye (Lady Dufferin).
Dates: 1845 to 1859. BBO.

So, my Kathleen, you're going to leave me,
All alone by myself in this place;
But I'm sure you will never deceive me,
Oh no, if there's truth in thy face,
Though England's a beautiful city,
Full of illigant boys, oh what then,
You wouldn't forget your poor Terence,
You'll come back to old Ireland again.

Och, those English deceivers by nature,
Though may be you'd think them sincere,
They'll say you're a sweet charming creature,

But don’t you believe them, my dear,
No, Kathleen, agra! don’t be minding
The flattering speeches they’d make,
Just tell them a poor lad in Ireland
Is breaking his heart for your sake.

It’s a folly to keep you from going,
Though, faith, it’s a mighty hard case;
For Kathleen, you know, there’s no knowing,
When next I shall see your swate face [*sic*].
And when you come back to me, Kathleen,
None the better will I be off then,
You’ll be speaking such beautiful English,
Sure I won’t know my Kathleen again.

Aye, now what’s the use of this hurry?
Don’t fluster me so in this way,
forgot, ‘twixt the grief and the hurry,
Every word I was maneing o say [*sic*].
Now just wait a minute, I bid ye,
Can I talk if you bother me so?
Oh, Kathleen, my blessings go wid ye,
Every inch of the way that you go

Songs analysed in Chapter Five

Erin go bragh & physical resistance

Title: “Duncan Campbell”
Imprint: “Printed and Sold by JAMES LINDSAY, Stationer, &c, 9, King Street, Glasgow. Upwards of 5,000 different sorts always on hand; also, a great variety of Song-Books, &c. Shops and Travellers supplied on the most reasonable terms.
Woodcut: A small (about the size of a substantial book) furry animal with a hat on reading a book.
Format: Slip-sheet.
URL: http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/teach/ballads/campbell.html
Other: Held in Special Collections of Glasgow University Library.
Dates: 1853 & 1854. BBTI.

My name is Duncan Campbell, from the shire of Argyll,
I have travelled this country for many a long mile,
I have travelled through England, through Ireland an’ a’,
And the name I go under is bold Erin go Bragh.

One night in auld Reekie, as I walked down the street,
A saucy policeman I chanced for to meet;
He glowered in my face, and he gave me some jaw,
Saying, when came you over from Erin go Bragh?

I am not a Paddy, though Ireland I have seen,
Nor am I a Paddy though in Ireland I have been;

But, though I were a Paddy, that's naething ava,
There's many a bold hero from Erin go Bragh.

I know you are a Pat by the cut of your hair.
But you all turn Scotchmen as soon as you come here;
You have left your own country for breaking the law,
We are seizing all strangers from Erin go Bragh.

Well, though I were a Paddy, and knew it to be true,
O were I the devil, pray what's that to you?
If it were not for that baton you hold in your paw,
I would show you a game played in Erin go Bragh.

Then a switch of blackthorn I held in my fist,
Across his big body I made it to twist;
And the blood from his napper I quickly did draw,
I paid stock and interest for Erin go Bragh.

The people came around me like a flock of wild geese,
Saying, stop that d ----- d rascal he's killed our police.
And for one friend I had I'm sure he had twa—
It was very tight times with Erin go Bragh.

But I came to a wee boatie that sails on the Forth,
I packed up my all, and steered for the north;
Farewell to Auld Reekie, the police an a'
May the devil be with them says Erin go Bragh.

Come all you brave fellows that here of this song—
I dont care a farthing to where you belong—
For I'm from Argyllshire in the Highlands so braw,
But I ne'er took it ill when called Erin-go-Bragh.

Title: "Erin go Bragh"
Imprint: "BIRT, Printer, 39, Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials, London."
Woodcut: A young male, possibly dance, holds shillelagh in right hand held aloft, and left hand holds out a hat as if busking.
Other songs: "Lucy Long"
Format: Two-column sheet (separatable)
URL: https://archive.org/details/analbumofstreetl00arylrich/page/n269
Dates: 1824 to 1852. BBO (full date range when all members of the Birt family operated the business).

My name is Pat Murphy, I'll never deny,
I've travelled the country for many a long day,
Through England, through Ireland, and Scotland, and a',
And the name that I go by is Erin go Bragh.

As I was walking up White Chapel Street,
A saucy policeman I chanced for to meet,
He look'd and he star'd, and he gave me some jaw,
Says he, when came you over from Erin go Bragh.

It’s I am no Paddy tho’ to Ireland I’ve been,
Fath I am no Paddy tho’ Ireland I’ve seen,
And if a Paddy faith what’s that to you,
There is many a hero from Erin go Bragh.

I know your a Pat by the twist of your hair,
But you always turn Scotchman when you come here,
You have left your own country for breaking the law
I am seizing all stragglers from Erin go Bragh.

With a lump of black thorn that I held in my fist,
All round his big body I made it to twist,
The blood from his napper I quickly did draw,
With a lump of shillelagh from Erin go Bragh.

The folks they flocked round me like a lot of young geese,
Saying where’s the wild Irishman that’s killed our police,
Where I had got one friend I’m sure he’d got two,
But I played them a tune they call Erin go Bragh.

There is a little packet sails off to the North,
I’ll pack up my bones and I’ll shortly be off,
Bad luck to all racketty policemen and a’,
To the devil I’ll pitch them, said Erin go Bragh.

Political songs about Ireland

Title: “REPEAL and Erin go Bragh”
Imprint: “John Harkness, Printer, 121, Church Street, Preston” (129)
Woodcut: British Royal Coat of arms – the lion and the unicorn with banner *DIEU ET MON DROIT*.
Other songs: “Molly Bawn”
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/05585.gif
Dates: 1840 to 1866. BBO. 1838 to 1875. Source unknown.

All you that wish for freedom, come listen to my song,
Concerning of old Ireland, I will not detain you long.
Some time she has suffered by starvation and distress,
To relieve her from her troubles let us strive to do our best.

She once had a parliament, that met on College Green,
But bartered and twisted long time it has been,
‘Tis what they call an union, mix’d up with English law,
And now we want it back again for Erin go Bragh.

Both rich and poor will claim it a right for to be,
That old Ireland once more were happy and free,
In town and in country, they are meeting every where,
In Dublin and Cork cities, and the Curragh of Kildare.

O’Erin! my country long time did I mourn,
The loss of thy Parliament, but now it must return,

With equal rights to every one, protection by the law,
'Twill be cruel to deny it to Erin go Bragh.

We must Repeal the Union, each honest man does say,
Before we find employment in any kind of way;
Our friends and relations are wandering afar,
By sweet repeal they'll soon return to Erin go Bragh.

Orange Peel and Nosey, with all the tory crew,
Say they'll not grant the repeal, but make bold Dan to rue,
Then rally round your leaders, protect them (mind the law)
And show that you're united for Erin go Bragh.

So to finish up these verses, let all united be,
And the sons of old Ireland, shall once more happy be,
Bold Scotia joins the cry of sweet Repeal to one and a,
Then will merry England they will sing old Erin go Bragh.

Title: "Daniel O'Connell And Erin's Green Isle"
Imprint: "Paul, Printer, Gt. St. Andrew Street, 7 Dials."
Tune: "Shamrock so Green"
Woodcut: Male side-portrait, not unlike Daniel O'Connell. Some decorative bordering.
Format: Two-column sheet with title across both columns.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/05930.gif
Dates: 18--. BBO. Definitive printing dates in the Bodleian by "C. Paul" of Andrew Street are 1848 and 1856.

I will sing you a ditty will cause you to smile,
Concerning O'Connell and Erin's Green Isle,
Daniel O'Connell and Erins Green Isle.
He says for my dear native Country I'll stand,
As long as I live and my name it is Dan,
I was bred in sweet Kerry and trained to the law,
Freedom and liberty Erin go Braugh,
Here's Daniel O'Connell and Erins green Isle,

Says Dan the green shamrock I always adore,
And the flagrance that blows on shamrock shore,
My trial is on and I care for no rigs,
I'm afraid of no radical, tory, or whig
Give me the little shamrock so green,
The Repeal of the Union, God save the Queen,

To the ladies of Erin their health I propose,
Their hair black as sloes and their cheeks like a rose,
If my enemies should swear white was black, red was blue,
To my Queen and my country I will always prove true,
They may swear if they please through a sevne foot wall,
And swear that a green is no colour at all.

I'm a true Irish boy and well skilled in the laws,
Don't you think I am able to plead my own cause
I want equal rights, equal justice and laws,
And prosperity crown poor old Erin go Braugh,

I want to see all Erin's children at home,
And never again be compelled for to roam,

To Dublin they ramble from every where,
The trial of Daniel O'Connell to hear,
I am a native of Kerry, my name it is Dan,
I am body and bones of a true Irishman,
With my big shilelagh I will fight for repeal,
And the woes old Erin I will strive for to heal,

Ninety-three yards of indictment they have brought against Dan,
Enough for to cover ten acres of Land,
Here's Daniel O'Connell and Erin's green Isle,
The sons of old Erin cries what an uproar,
The tories has caused on the shamrock shore,
They may say what they like I can tell them that Dan,
Will stick to the text like a true Irishman,
Here's Daniel O'Connell and Erin's green isle.

Dan will plead his own cause from morning to night,
And we hope he will bring every thing to light,
Here's Daniel O'Connell and Erin's green Isle,
Here's Daniel O'Connell, his son, and Tom Steele,
The Queen and Prince Albert, and Erins Repeal
When the trial is over old Erin is so gay,
Shall strike up the tune of St. Patrick's Day,
Here's Daniel O'Connell and Erin's green Isle.

Title: "O'Connell & Liberty"
Imprint: "M. BIRT, Printer, 39, Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials."
Woodcut: Large side-portrait of O'Connell on top half of page.
Format: Two-column sheet with title across both columns.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/05945.gif
Dates: 1844 to 1851. BBO.

I am as true son of Erin as ever was seen,
With my sprig of shillelagh and shamrock so green
I've been very neat bothered to death with their jaw,
Repeal and old Ireland, Erin go Bragh.

> CHORUS
> I have bother'd my enemies well with the law,
> And still I'm at liberty Erin go Bragh.

Old Arthur the soldier as may … [illegible]
Where he could not get his musket he shoved in his nose,
The cells of Kilmainham they ready did get,
But you plainly see I'm at liberty yet.

Then S— and Grantham and Staffordshire Bob.
Seemed determined to try me and sent me to quod [quod = prison]
But I moved them about with the points of the law
And I think they got frightened by Erin go Bragh.

If they put me in limbo I would not bewail,
In Dublin, or Limerck, or Kilmainham Gaol,
I will tire them out with the errors of law,
Repeal and old Irleand, Erin go Bragh.

The Russians and Germans addresses so keen,
They sent me all sealed with the shamrock so green,
Neglected was Erin they all well did know,
And American pleaded for Erin go Bragh.

I'm a son of sweet Kerry my name it is Dan
Who will fight till I die for my dear native land,
There is lads in Hibernia can tip them some jaw,
True gallant repealers sing Erin go Bragh

I am like a young man though I'm near sixty nine,
Their Nosey and Bobby, its all very fine,
May kick up a rumpus, laugh, blubber, and jaw,
But they never can frighten old Erin go Bragh.

There is Hatchel and Whiteside, Fitzgibbon and Shiel,
Can twine round the points of the law and repeal,
And I'm Dan O'Connell well skilled in the law,
Who will strive while I can for Erin go Bragh.

My country respects me, they know very well
I care not a farthing for dungeons and cells,
The rights of my country is all that I crave,
And for that I will fight till I'm laid in my grave.

Stand by me you sons of Hibernia so gay,
I am upright and true I will not run away,
Give three cheers for the Irish champion of law,
And nine for repeal and old Erin go Bragh.

Title: "Daniel O'Connell & Liberty"
Imprint: "Paul Printer, 18, Great St. Andrew Street, 7 Dials."
Woodcut: A large woodcut that inhabits the top one-third of the page. A group of men standing around a table on which there are bottles and some food items, perhaps a plate of fruit. The man at the head of the table, glass in one hand, has both hands raised as if imploring the other men to do the same. All the other men (eight in total) who stand on each side of the table also have a glass raised high in the air, apart from one who holds his glass out straight as if imploring another, obscured man to hold his glass up. A decorative border surrounds the whole page.
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: https://digital.nls.uk/english-ballads/archive/74897614#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-1407%2C11%2C5312%2C3478
Dates: 18--. BBO. Definitive printing dates in the Bodleian by "C. Paul" of Andrew Street are 1848 and 1856.

You Hibernians all come listen awhile,
My ditty I'm sure will cause you to smile,
Huzza for O'Connell and Erin go bragh!
The lords have met and they do declare,

That the trial was void, made his enemies stare,
And an order was sent for O'Connell's release,
With Traversers all so Repeal will increase,
So long life to O'Connell and Erin go bragh.

To the Parliament House, 'tis the Commons I mean,
Few friends of old Ireland was there to be seen,
For repeal, O'Connell and Erin go bragh!
But Duncombe, who's always the friend of the poor,
And Henry Grattan, but very few more,
The cause of O'Connell did try to defend,
Prov'd there that old Ireland had scarcely a friend
But long life to O'Connell and erin go bragh.

But there's some among them an Irishman bold,
Whose name ought to be written in letters of gold
He's a spring of shelalah and shamrock so green,
Mr. Samuel O'Brien a man of great fame,
Heaven prosper for ever his family name,
For Repeal he will struggle as long as he's breath,
And ne'er will give o'er till the day of his death,
Here's Repeal and o'Connell and Erin go bragh.

In jail Dan O'Connell and Traversers all,
Been confin'd for what? Oh, why nothing at all,
'Tis repeal galls the foes of old Erin go bragh,
But now they are free and once more at large,
For Repeal of the Union they yearn to discharge.
The dread of a jail would those heroes affright.
But for the rights of old Ireland they'll fearlessly fight,
Shout Repeal and O'Connell & Erin go bragh.

The Waterloo Du[k]e he may boast of his pills,
Steel lozenges too, and his coercion bills,
But we'll stand by O'Connell & Erin go bragh
And Orange P___ Bob he may make a great [f]uss,
But what if he does its nothing to us,
He may say what he likes
Ireland must have her rights, he must grant a Repeal,
So long life to O'Connell and Erin go bragh.

The attorney for Ireland you now who I mean,
Made a hodge podge indictment as the Judges ne'er saw,
So they released those true friends of old Erin go bragh,
And straight from the jail will in triumph be borne,
To their friends and relations who'll welcome them home,
And each s[o]ne of St Patrick will boldly exclaim,
We know'd they'd all their liberty gain
So Repeal and O'Connell and Erin go bragh.

Before now my ditty I bring to an end,
Three cheers then for old Ireland's friends,
The great liberator and Erin go bragh,
May each friend of liberty truly combine,
And the rose, shamrock, and thistle firmly entwine.

Then soon will the doom of oppression be sealed,
Ireland's rights will be granted she'll get a Repeal,
Sing long life to O'Connell and Erin go bragh.

Interconnections between English-radical and Irish themes

Title: "THE STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN, Or, a Touch at the Times"
Imprint: "Pitts, Printer, Toy and Marble Warehouse, 6, Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials."
Woodcut: John Bull drinking beer outside a tavern with Britannia looking on, a sailing ship in the distance.
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04572.gif
Dates: 1819 to 1844. BBO.

As old John Bull was walking,
One morn free from pain,
He heard the rose, the shamrock,
And thistle to complain;
An alteration must take place,
Together they did sing.
In the Corn Laws, and the Poor Law Bill,
And many other things.

CHORUS.
Conversing on the present time together they did range,
All classes through Great Britain now appear so very strange,
That England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales,
must speedily have a change

The Railroads all through England,
Has great depression made,
Machinery of every kind,
Has put a stop to trade;
The innkeepers are weeping
In grief and agony,
And the ostlers swear they'll buy a rope
And go to felo-de-se.

The steam boats to old Beelzebub
The watermen do wish,
For they say they've nearly ruin'd them,
And drowned all the fish.
Of all their new inventions
That we have lately seen,
There was none began or thought upon
When Betty she was Queen.

The Poor Law Bill, now many say,
Are arbitrary laws,
But they are quickly going to alter,
Now the first and second clause,
The ninth, and tenth, and thirty-first,
But the forty-third does say,

Give old men and women beer and tea,
And a half-a-crown a day.

Behold the well-fed farmer,
How he can strut along;
Let the poor man do what'er he will,
He is always in the wrong:
With hard labour and bad wages
He hangs his drooping head,
For they wont allow him half enough
To find his children bread.

The farmer's daughters out can ride,
Well clad and pockets full,
With a horse and saddle like a queen,
And a boa like a bull;
In their hand a flashy parasol,
And on their face a veil,
And a bustle nearly seven times
As a big as a milking pail.

The nobles from the pockets of
John Bull are all well paid,
Sometimes you hardly know the lady
From the servant maid.
For now they get so very proud,
Silk stockings on their legs,
And ev'ry step they take you think
They walk on pigeon's eggs.

The tradesman he can hardly pay
His rent and keep his home;
And the labourer he has eighteen pence
A day for breaking stones,
In former days the farmer rode
A donkey or mule;
There never were such times before,
Since Adam went to school.

Some can live in luxury,
While others weep in woe;
There's a pretty diff'rence 'tween now,
And a century ago.
The world will shortly move by steam,
And that appears quite strange,
So you must all acknowledge
That England wants a change.

Title: "WHAT'S OLD ENGLAND COME TO"
Tune: "Irish Stranger"
Imprint: "Printed by Hill, wholesale and retail, 14, Waterloo Road near the Coburg Theatre. Travellers supplied."
Format: Slipsheet
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/06682.gif

Other: Hill operated between 1836 and 1839 according to BBTI.
Dates: 1836 to 1839. BBTI (dates for J. Hill at 14 Waterloo road).

One cold winters morning as the day was dawning,
A voice came so hollow and shrill,
The cold winds did whistle, and snow fast was falling,
As a stranger came over the hill.
The clothing he was wearing, was tatter'd & torn
He seemed all despairing and wand'ring forlorn
Lamenting for pleasures that never will return,
Oh! old England what have you come to.

He said — oh, I sigh, for those hearts so undeserving,
On their own native land left to stray,
And in the midst of plenty some thousands are starving
Neither house, food or clothing have they;
I am surrounded by poverty, and cannot find a friend,
My cottage it is sold from me, my joys are at an end,
So like a pilgrim my steps I onward bend,
Oh! old England what have you come to!

There once was a time I could find friends plenty,
To feed on my bounteous store.
But friends they are few, now my portion is scanty,
But Providence may open her door.
It nearly breaks my heart, when my cottage I behold,
It is claimed by a villain with plenty of gold,
And I passing by and all shiv'ring with cold.
Oh! old England what have you come to.

The Farmer and Comedian, now daily assemble,
And do try their exertion and skill,
But alas! after all on this land they do tremble,
For all trades are near standing still.
If the great God of War, now should quickly on us call,
I would break my chains so galling, and boldly face a ball,
For to see my babies starving, it grieves me worse than all,
Oh! old England what have you come to.

There's Manchester and Birmingham, alas are fell to ruin,
In fact all the country is at a stand,
Our shipping lays in harbour, alas are nothing doing,
While our Tars are starving on the land;
'Twould break the hearts of monarchs bold, if they could rise again,
To view our desolation, would near distract their brain,
So pity a poor stranger, or death may ease my pain,
Oh! old England what have you come to!

Title: "England & Ireland Sing Erin go Bragh"
Imprint: "Printed and sold by W. & T. Fordyce, Newcastle and Hull To be had also of J. Whinham and Co. 66, Scotch-st., Carlisle." (No. 42).
Other songs: "The Comforts Of Man"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/01958.gif

Dates: *c*.1840. BBO.

As the Shamrock, Rose, and Thistle met upon a certain day,
Come cheer up, Hibernia, the Rose to her did say,
You seem to hang your drooping head, but never mind the law,
Here is England and Ireland, sing Erin go bragh.

The Whigs for old Ireland has seldom done good,
But a brave and valiant patriot O'Connell's firmly stood,
Saying, I'll protect my country — a fig for martial law,
Here England and Ireland sing Erin go bragh.

They speak of Agitators, and try to daunt the man,
But all the heads in Europe can never frighten Dan,
But with a stout shilelah he will shew them the law,
Saying, be civil to old Ireland, sing Erin go bragh.

Here is Roebuck, Attwood, and O'Connell brave and true,
And every gallant member who will his duty do.
Not forgetting the poor Hobbyhorse, who like a hen did craw
When they kick'd him out of Westminster, sing Erin go bragh

They borrow'd Ireland's Union full thirty years and more,
And if they return'd, she no longer would deplore.
She would covet neither parishes, nor any other law,
So let England and Ireland sing Erin go bragh.

The nobility of Ireland has caused her to moan,
For with Hibernia's treasure they go far away from home:
They deserve to be brought forward, and tried by martial law
For they've ruin'd poor Ireland, sing Erin go bragh.

In the height of the war, when Britannia wanted men,
To fight against her enemies, how did she manage then?
She said to Hibernia, you have clever lads, I know,
That will fight for old Ireland — sing Erin go bragh.

And when the wars were over, some wander'd to their homes,
Some to find employment like pilgrims did roam –
Some weeping, some lamenting, thousands starving by the law
That's the thanks they give old Ireland, sing Erin go bragh.

Success to gallant heroes who strive with courage true,
God bless the Calthorpe jury, who did their duty do —
Here's health to Dan O'Connell, who daily lays the law
Down — for England, for Ireland — sing Erin go bragh.

Here's a health to noble Attwood, the champion of fame,
Hume, Evans, and O'Connell, adored be each name;
Neither by the Whigs nor Tories will Britons be laid low,
Long live the Calthorpe jury — sing Erin go Bragh.

Here's success to gallant Roebuck, the member for Bath,
He is neither Whig nor Tory, but the Commons he did chaff;
He's a man of understanding, experience in the law —

A foe to all oppression — sing Erin go bragh.

Through England and Ireland, and Scotland may be seen,
The toast is, Long life to the glorious seventeen,
Who brav'd the storm so manfully, and like Britons fear'd no law,
The gallant Calthorpe jury sing Erin go Bragh.

May the Unions of England and Ireland agree.
May each member of the Union pass his days in harmony.
And when the glorious seventeen in their cold graves lie low,
Their names shall be recorded — sing Erin go Bragh.

Title: "The Irishman's Picture of London"
Tune: "Faith I'll away to the Bridal"
Imprint: "Printed by T. BIRT No. 39, Great St. Andrew Street, Seven Dials."
Format: Two-column sheet
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02676.gif
Dates: 1833 to 1841. BBO.

IT is myself that was born now in Dublin,
All over the world I have been;
But at present I'll tell you not to be troubling,
With the whole of the wonders I've seen.
I've a subject got snug in my noddle,
'Tis a picture of England's joys,
But by Jasus that there is all twaddle,
And nought but palaver and noise.

> Talk of America, Greenland, or Finland,
> Here's Liberty's flag is unfurl'd;
> Oh! This a picture of England,
> The glory and pride of the World!

The streets are paraded all daily,
With a set of bogtrotters in blue,
That carry a mighty shillelah,
And faith they make use of it too!
They batter your sconce just for pleasure,
In the station-house put you for fun,
They prig all your money and treasure,
And the Beaks fine you when it is done.

The Ministers plunder the Nation;
A set of rapscallions and calves:
They bother the poor with taxation,
And glut while poor Johnny Bull starves.
There's one tax, by my soul I don't blunder,
The window-tax — 'tis that I means,
I am sure you will all think it a wonder,
To make poor people pay for their panes.

The Bishops with gospel they stuff ye,
And for it don't charge very dear,
About Heaven and such like they puff ye,

For just twenty thousand a year!
Fine luxuries they must be carving.
Their holy paunch it must be cramm'd.
But if a poor man he is starving,
They tell him to starve and be d——d.

The Magistrates they are kind and tender,
And Justice they deal out so prime,
The beggar they deem an offender,
And poverty think a great crime
To the wretch who's no roof to get under,
Or victuals his belly to fill;
They cry in a voice loud as thunder,
"I shall send you six weeks to the Mill."

The Overseers work upon sure rates,
A set of base swindling elves.
They distress the housekeeper for poor-rates,
And sack all the money themselves.
The pauper whose wants are bewildering,
When he ventures his sorrows to speak,
To keep himself, his wife, and six children,
They give him two shillings a week.

They tell you in songs so bewitching,
That "Britons will never be slaves!"
What a mighty big lie they are pitching,
And I'll tell them so too, by their leaves.
The Ministers poverty mocks you,
Oppression is all they bestow,
The poor are no better than oxen,
And the rich are their drovers, you know.

Then give me Old Ireland for ever,
Where beauty and elegance smile,
It's boys are the boys that are clever,
Hurrah for the Emerald Isle!
With my pigs and my cow, and mud tenement,
I'll dwell there without any dread;
No more will I quit that sweet element,
But live all my days 'till I'm dead.

Title: "Reform and Repeal! Or, the English Radical's Plea for Ireland"
Imprint: "Harkness, Printer, Preston."
Other songs: "The Sailor's last Adieu"
Format: Two-column sheet
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/05948.gif
Dates: 1840 to 1866. BBO. 1838 to 1875. Source Unknown.

Ye working men of England,
Who by your labour live,
And all lovers of freedom,
To me attention give;
The brave sons of Hibernia,

Who seek their country's weal,
Are join'd in peaceful union,
For to obtain Repeal.

> CHORUS
> So let English, Scotch, and Irishmen,
> One bond of union feel,
> In freedom's cause, for equal laws,
> The O'Connell and Repeal.

That Ireland has been long oppress'd,
Englishmen now well know,
But the same power that struck her down,
Likewise kept England low;
Both wallow'd in blind prejudice
For the interest of knaves,
But now they see their folly,
And no longer will be slaves.

Rouse up ye men of Scotland,
Whose sires by Bruce was led,
When struggling for their liberty,
And Wallace fought and bled;
Come join this sacred union,
Of Peace, Order, and Law,
To obtain Repeal for your own weal,
And sweet Erin go Bragh.

See, see, how Ireland's deadliest foes,
With threatening aspect stand,
The course of justice to oppose,
And desolate the land,
Let them beware – if Erin's struck,
Britain the blow will feel,
And their own ruin pave the way
To freedom and Repeal.

Oh, how this peaceful movement,
Would rejoice the patriot dead,
Could they behold the glorious cause,
For which young Emmet bled;
Guided by justice, Temperance, Law,
We need not lead or steel,
To gain a bloodless victory,
For freedom and Repeal.

So, success to Dan O'Connell,
And Feargus O'Connor too,
Henceforth like Brothers may they strive,
All tyrants to subdue,
May the English, Irish and the Scotch,
Their future union seal,
By a full reform for each and all,
The Charter and Repeal.

Title: “Sons of John Bull”
Subtitle: “A Characteristic parody --- Air, “sons of Fingal”
Imprint: “E. Hodges (from Pitt’s) Printer, wholesale Toy and Marble warehouse, 31, Dudley-street, 7 Dials.”
Format: Slip-sheet
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/06620.gif
Dates: 1846 to 1854. BBO.

Oh England my country, how blest is thy nation.
How happy thy people, there pockets are so full,
Where bread, beef & beer, & thy fine vegetation,
Is sarved out so cheap to the sons of john bull,
Oh, this is the country of sweets without sours.
No music to me like brixton’s tread-mill,
Thy nice necks of lamb, and thy nice cauliflovers,
O what is more sweet our dear bellies to fill
Then hail, happy England, the land of my daddies.
So kind are thy rich – so contented thy Poor,
Vare no one’s not sorry, but every one glad is.
Then jollygood luck to old England, hur-raw.

Thy vurkhouses built for thy poor, lame and silly,
O, who is the covey wot from ‘em would part?
The fine suits of grey, and the nice soup and skilly,
The pride & the boast of an Englishman’s heart.
O is’nt thy vurkhous a palace of pleasure?
Your poor for amusement, pick oakum, break stones.
O vare is the country can equal your treasures?
Can boast an assortment of such rags and bones,
Then hail, happy country, bright gem of the ocean,
such brave sons of freedom the world never saw!
Thy prisons are full, and your tread-mills in motion
Then jolly good luck to Old England, hur-raw!

The scotchman may boast of his oatmeal & viskey,
And bless the Grand Duke of Argyle for each post
The Irishman, too, of his pride in his pigsty,
Their fine mealy donovans wot they loves most.
But vare is the country can rival old England?
O, vare is the country such kidneys can boast?
Vell togg’s and vell fed on the werry best whittles,
we’re as happy as larks, and as fat as a post.
Then hail, happy England, blest island of plenty,
Vare of rhino and grubbery there’s such a store;
All our pockets are full, and our bellies not empty
Then jolly good luck to old England, hur-raw!

Songs of exile and emigration as songs of resistance

Title: "Poor Pat must Emigrate" (also the sheet title)
Imprint: "H. Disley, Priner, 57, High Street, St. Giles, London. – W. C."
Other songs: "The Old Man's Darling"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04007.gif
Dates: 1860 to 1883. BBO.

Farewell to poor Old Erin's isle, I now must leave you for awhile,
Since the rent and taxes are so high, I can no longer stay
I sail'd away from Dublin quay, & landed here but yesterday
My frieze, my brogues, my shirt in holes, is all that I've got in my kit;
I have just called in to let you know, the sights I've seen before I go,
The ups and downs of Ireland, in the year of '98.
If that fruitful land might have it's own, our sons might live and stay at home,
But since fortune has proved otherwise, poor Pat must emigrate.

The devil a word I'd say at all, altho' our wages are but small.
If they'd leave us in our cabins where our fathers drew their breath,
But when thy called upon rent-day, and we had no half-pence for to pay,
They would hunt you out of house and home, to beg and starve to death,
What kind of treatment, boys, is that, to give poor honest Irish Pat,
To turn you in the street for to beg and starve to death?
But I got up with heart and hand, and sold my little plot of land.
That's the reason, boys, I tell you why poor Pat must emigrate.

O such sights as those I've often seen, but I saw worse in Skibbereen,
In the year of 98, my boys, when the famine it was great,
I saw fathers, mothers, boys and girls, with rosy cheeks and silken curls.
All famishing and starving for a mouthful to eat;
They starved and died in Skibbereen, no shrouds nor coffins there was seen,
So patiently reconciled themselves to what they thought their fate;
They were thrown in graves by wholesale,
Which caused many an Irish boy and girl to be glad to emigrate.

O where's the nation and the man, that's reared her sons like Paddy's land,
Or where's the man more noble than him they call poor Pat?
Has he not bled for England's Queen, where'er a foe was to be seen,
And who took the town of Delhi, can you please to tell me that.
And who pursued that Indian chief, Nena Sahib, that cursed thief,
Who smother'd babes and mothers, and left them to their fate.
Then why should we be so oppress'd in our dear land St. Patrick blest.
From the town in which we loved the best, poor Pat must emigrate.

Why should not every Irishman respect the memory of brave Dan?
He struggled hard with heart and hand to free you from your chains;
He advocated Ireland's rights, with all his means and all his might;
And badly he was recompensed for all his toil and pain,
He told us for to be ths hisht [*sic*], and in him to put our trust,
He never would deceive us, or leave us to our fate,
But death no favour to us shows from the beggar man up to the throne,
Since he took our Liberator, poor Pat must emigrate.

With my spirits bright, my purse is light, my boys, I can no longer stay,

The Shamrock sails immediately, bound for America.
They say there's work for one and all, which we can't get in Donegal.
I have told the truth, by the great St. Ruth, believe me what I say,
Good night, my boys, with hand and heart, and you that takes old Ireland's part,
I can no longer stay, my boys, for fear I'd be too late.
But if ever again I reach this land, I hope you'll find a better man,
Musha, God be with you, poor Pat must emigrate.

Title: "God speed the Good Ship; Or, the English Emigrant!"
Imprint: "London. H. P. SUCH, Machine Printer and Publisher, 177, Union-street, Borough, S. E." (199)
Woodcut: Decorative borders.
Other songs: "Shamrock, Rose and Thistle"
Format: Two-column sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/04385.gif
Other: Lyrics by Eliza Cook.
Dates: 1863 to 1885. BBO.

God speed the keel of the trusty ship
That bears you from our shore,
There is little chance that you'll ever glance
On our chalky sea-beach more:
You are right to seek a far off earth,
You are right to boldly strive,
Where labour does not pine in death,
And the honest poor man thrive.

God speed ye all, ye hopeful band,
O'er your boundless path of blue,
But you'll never forget your English land,
Though wealth may gladden the new

You'll sometimes think of the hawthorn leaves,
And the dog-rose peeping through,
And you'll sometimes think of the harvest sheaves
Though the wheat was not for you;
You'll sometimes think of the busy plough,
And the merry beating flail,
And you'll sometimes dream of the dappled cow,
And the clink of the milking pail.

You'll call to mind good neighbour Hind,
And the widow down the lane,
And you'll wonder if the old man's dead,
Or the widow wed again:
You'll sometimes think of the village spire,
And the churchyard green and fair,
And perhaps you'll sigh with drooping eye,
If you've left a loved one there.

Perhaps you leave a white-haired sire,
A sister or a brother,
Perhaps your heart has dared to part
For ever from a mother;

If so, then many a time and oft
Your better thoughts will roam,
And memory's pinion strong and soft,
Will fly to your English home.

Title: "The English Exile"
Imprint: "W. S FORTEY, General Steam Printer and Publisher, 2 & 3, Monmouth Court, Bloomsbury."
Woodcut: Cherubim(?) or children, around a heart-shaped shield(?).
Format: Slip sheet.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/18630.gif
Dates: 1858 to 1885. BBO.

I've oft seen you smiling, dear mother,
Thy loving face beaming with joy,
Oh, why are you weeping, dear mother,
Be cheerful and answer your boy.
Tis hard to be leaving Old England,
But worse there privation to see,
But I'll cheerfully leave it, dear mother,
If I carry thy blessing with me.

Then give me thy blessing dear mother,
Weep not, oh, weep not for me,
Tho' stormy clouds hover o'er England,
There's fortune across the blue sea.

In the cold winter nights, dearest mother,
Our cottage well thatched with snow,
Would you see us for food to be grieving,
Deserted by all that we know.
The squire scarce a pace from our shelter,
Counting his wealth by the score,
Dare you ask but one tick from his dwelling,
He would end you to gaol evermore.

Could I see my dear sister repining,
Sick, cold on a pallet of straw,
Unable to give her the succour,
To keep her from death's craving door.
No, no, I would rather be leaving,
For flattering Canada's shore,
So farewell to al those that are grieving,
And England, good bye, evermore.

Farewell to the shores of Old England,
Farewell to its rulers so brave,
The boast of an Englishman's freedom,
And are first that would make a slave.
Your liberty's proved you a tyrant,
The dockyards has proved you are free,
Take the bread from our wives and our children,
And transport them across the blue sea.

Title: “The Emigrant’s Farewell”
Imprint: “Disley, Printer, Arthur-street, Oxford-street.”
Format: Two-column sheet, title across the top.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/20000/18625.gif
Dates: 1850(?) to 1878. BBTI (at Arthur street). Was already at this address in 1845, as seen in a printing of “Greenwich, Woolwich, Deptford and Victory” about parliamentary elections in 1845. BBO.

The shamrock, rose, and thistle I overheard conversing,
While Britannia mournfully stood by and for awhile,
On the subject of Emigration together they were discoursing,
And the dark clouds of poverty that had set o’er Briton’s isle.
Sure, brothers dear, the shamrock cried, the sufferings I have undergone,
To gain an honest livelihood has caused me to deplore,
That my mind is wrought to such a state, I am resolved to emigrate.
And seek the comforts here denied, upon Australia’s shore.

My now unhappy country once flourished with prosperity,
It’s hardy sons arose at morn to prepare for daily toil,
With hearts as light, and minds as bright as the Shannon or the Liffey,
And at night to their humble cabins was welcomed with a smile;
But the chilling hand of famine has our fertile fields laid prostrate,
Our iron-hearted landlords has turned us out of doors,
And the neglect of our absentees has reduced our homes to such a state,
That I will bid adieu to Old Ireland to seek Australia’s shore.

Then up spoke a poor artizan, who England’s rose did represent,
Whose sunken eyes and visage pale bespoke a heart o’ercharged with care;
When I was for my labour paid, I gaily worked in sweet content,
But now like you and thousands more, I am driven to despair;
Our tyrant task-masters grind us down, till by our trade we cannot live,
Such arbitrary systems no longer I’ll endure,
But seek employment where for a fair day’s work a fair day’s wages we’ll receive,
And strive to live in happiness on fair Australia’s shore.

Is there a man throughout this land could behold the partner of his heart,
Or hear his children cry for bread when no relief is near,
Who for one moment could heave a sigh, or grieve from England to part,
To seek that succour in a foreign land that is denied him here;
Methinks I hear you say not one to stay at home could have a wish,
Or else his boasted strength of love indeed must be most poor,
To cure him of his churlish mind, let him with savage beasts exist,
Nor allow him to contaminate fair Australia’s shore.

England possesses far more wealth to what it did in bygone days,
And yet the poor man in those days of comforts had his share,
But instead of being scattered round, they sweep it in large heaps,
And its keepers with a miser’s eye watch it with a jealous care;
Such selfish acts brings to light that right is overcome by might,
But time will prove their golden fruits are rotten at the core,
So with my brothers hand in hand I’ll quit this pride-tainted Babylon,
And seek a home on that fair land called blest Australia’s shore.

Britannia tearfully replied, my sons, I grieve with you to part,

God speed you on your passage out across the briny main.
In the bright hopes of the future, endeavour to forget the past,
May my blessings rest upon your heads, and lead you on to fame;
The vessel spread her swelling sails, the emigrants on board they flew,
I heard them raise their voices high, amid the billows roar,
They cried farewell to England, to thee one lasting long adieu,
And the gallant barque sped on her way to Australia's shore.

Songs of sympathy for Irish revolutionaries and Fenians

Title: "In Lamentation and Last Farewell to the World of Michael Barrett"
Imprint: "H. Disley, Printer, 57, High Street, St Giles, London."
Woodcut: A large woodcut takes up the top half of the page. A man sits at a table, his head in his hands. Two other male figures stand in the room. One is a priest who holds his hands over the man at the table, perhaps giving last rights. The other man wearing a top hat, perhaps the executioner, stands in the corner of the room.
URL: http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/10000/06126.gif
Dates: 1860 to 1883. BBO.

I'm now on the scaffold, dear Erin I leave you,
For now on this earth I no longer must dwell,
For the explosion at Clerkenwell I'm doomed to leave you,
To all my companions I now bid farewell;
Through a traitor I now must my life here surrender,
May God now forgive me, to him I depart.
That villain Mullany will always remember.
In my death he took a most villainous part.

The world will not know what admission I stated,
On the gallows at Newgate my life took away,
And after I'm gone when this tale is related,
He died for his country the twenty-sixth of May.

Adieu to this world, I must now meet my Maker,
Old Erin, my country, I bid you farewell.
Your thoughts with me now to the bright land am taking,
May we all meet together, in happiness dwell.
Michael Barrett is refused in this world him defending,
You'll not know his last words, to you I now say,
My advice to you all they will not let me mention,
That Clerkenwell deed takes my life here away.

My life to the world I would freely be telling,
Before I from here am compelled to depart,
With thoughts of my young days my bosom is swelling,
You never will know what beats in this heart;
Alone in solitude, here I pass the swift hours.
Oh Erin's dear shamrock, the sweetest of flowers,
No more shall I see thy own dear native bowers,
I am going for ever, farewell, for we part.

For the explosion at Clerkenwell, I'm doomed to leave you,
The tale that I tell they will not me relieve,
You never will know, -- don't let that my friends grieve you

A dying man never his friends will deceive.
For here in this cell, they cannot be permitted,
My statements in this deed you never will know,
Adieu, God forgive all my sins that's omitted,
A warning to all, let my death plainly show.

The *alibi* failed, and I was found guilty,
In this world, my friends, I no longer must dwell,
Innocence or my guilt, I freely would tell ye,
In this world you'll ne'er know what feelings I tell,
To death I'm condemned, for the great crime of murder,
Whether guilty or innocent, time will reveal,
I die now a felon's death, Erin I'd rather
I could die like a man, there, my fate could not feel.

The clock it strikes eight, see the hangman's approaching,
To pinion me quickly, see Calcraft he comes,
Good bye all companions, for death is encroaching,
To that great vale, Eternity, I soon will come;
My heart it beats loud, as the bell it is tolling,
On the scaffold at Newgate I now take my stand,
Farewell, God forgive me, the past here is rolling,
'Tis done, Michael Barrett from this world has gone.

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