

The Everyday Uses of Nineteenth Century Broadside Ballads and the Writings of John Clare

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Part 1: Introduction

Broadside ballads were simple paper sheets, printed on one side only, usually containing popular songs of the day, but could also relate dramatic news flashes such as fires and accidents, sensational crimes, executions or even entirely spurious stories concocted to rouse interest and attract a few pennies.(1) Decorated with crude woodcuts and often plagued by careless typesetting they were cheap products sold for a penny or even halfpenny a sheet. They are typified as literature for the lower class and, although they are treated generally as an urban product sold on city streets,(2) they also circulated extensively in the countryside, as will be shown below.

Although there are a number of sources about a few of the better known English printers(3) as well as the sellers of broadsides, there has been a curious and profound lack of attention given to what roles they filled in the everyday lives of the buyers. Such issues as how broadsides reached their intended market, what motivated a customer to buy, and how they were subsequently used, have rarely been considered.

In pursuing this issue, a chance encounter(4) with the work of

John Clare, the English rural poet (1793-1864), revealed a life and art that was permeated by the influences of broadside ballads. The sounds of the ballads rang in his home from infancy, they appeared in his adult life, found places in his own poetry, and his published work was itself appropriated and adapted by the popular press to be sold on the streets in broadsides.(5)

The first aim of this paper will be to present, in Part 2, materials from Clare's life and work that show encounters of persons, real and poetic, with broadsides in rural settings, and the uses that were made of them. In that presentation, some important themes will be noted in the following manner: (see RECITATION). These are intended to direct readers to the Appendix, and the second aim of this paper, which is to present discussions of these themes, in alphabetical order of their titled subjects. These discussions will draw on other sources that will further illustrate the uses of broadside ballads and will, hopefully, place into broader contexts that will enhance and clarify the importance of the examples selected from Clare's life and works.

Part 2: Broadside ballads in John Clare's life, poetry and autobiographical writing

Clare was a farm worker from the village of Helpston in Northampton who had only the most rudimentary education, but also a consuming interest in poetry and a burning desire to write his own. By dint of self-education and endless composing and scribbling on any available scraps of paper he became an accomplished and, then, an acclaimed poet of rural themes.(6)

In addition to intense reading of any volumes of poetry that came his way, it is also certain that the folk music and the popular songs of the day were important influences on Clare's work. As one modern editor reflected in considering the few songs that Clare wrote, "If only we knew the music that sounded in Clare's head as he wrote his songs a new dimension would be given them. As it is, we should never forget that they are written by a purchaser of street-ballads, a fiddler at public houses, a lover of gypsies and gypsy music, and a frequenter of concerts and the vaudeville. Clare's song-writing was born in music; in the scrape of the fiddle and in the voices of his mother and father singing in that small cottage in Helpston."⁽⁷⁾

Whereas his mother was totally illiterate, his father could read some in the Bible and was fond of the cheaply produced chapbooks. Further, "he was likewise fond of Ballads, & I have heard him make a boast of it over his horn of ale, with his merry companions ... that he could sing or recite above a hundred; he had a tolerable good voice, & was often called upon to sing at those carnivals of bacchanalian merry makings"⁽⁸⁾ (see RECITATION).

It was hearing his father, "humming over a song, a wretched composition of those halfpenny ball[a]ds," that led Clare to attempt to imitate them in his own writing.⁽⁹⁾ A halfpenny was the price of a single broadside sheet (or half sheet, the "slip ballad", if the seller drove a harder bargain) in contrast to the more expensive songbooks. As one seller related in 1861, the broadside ballad was still preferred to songbooks in the countryside, "They hold too much ...

the country people consider them too big, sir, and that it can't be all correct that's in them. So they like the sheet better, that they've been used it.”(10) So, whereas broadside ballads are usually considered in the context of an urban street trade, it can be seen that they made their way into even the most remote parts of the countryside (see RURAL TRADE). Although Clare found that a true poet such as Wordsworth was “hawked about in penny-ballads”, he lamented that rural customers imagined, “the paltry ballad-mongers, whose productions supply hawkers with songs for country wakes and holidays”, to be the equals of rightfully recognized writers.(11)

Illustrations of this trade can be found in Clare's poetry. For example in “The Village Doctress”(12) a thrifty cottage holder encounters the temptations of an itinerant seller.

Oft when a hawker calld agen her door
Tho shed complain shed but few pence to spend
Shed look his godly tales & ballads oer
& neer failed buying his religious ware
But bawdy songs she never suffered there

It was certainly this “godly” end of the trade which was the source for some of the Christmas decorations that Clare recalls seeing in the village as a child, with the local church, “stuck with evergreens (emblems of Eternity) & the cottage windows & the picture ballads on the wall all stuck with ivy holly Box & yew”(13) (see CHRISTMAS SHEETS).

Broadside ballads had a place in the rural fairs as well (see

FAIRS). In “The Village Minstrel”,⁽¹⁴⁾ Clare describes the annual Statute Fair (a holiday feast and occasion for re-hiring casual agricultural workers) as a part of the cycle of life in the country. Among the young men and women of the district flocking to this event are Clare’s characters, Hodge and his sweetheart. The fairgoers are attracted to the stalls and sellers of cakes, nuts, gingerbread and ribbons that the women urge the men to buy for them as had been promised. The men, certainly with thoughts of recompense on the way home, open their purses. Daunted by the prices, Hodge, a farm worker, is attracted to a much cheaper offer — a ballad.

& there the ballad singers rave & rant
& hodge whose pockets wornt stand treats more high
Hears which his simpering lass may please to want
& brushing thro’ the crowd most manfully
Outs wi his pence the pleasing song to buy
& crams it in her hand wi many a smile
The trifling present makes the maid comply
To promise him her company the while
& strutting by her side at night he hands her oer the stile

Whether purchased at a fair or from a hawker at the doorstep, one of the common uses of broadside ballads was as decorations for the interiors of homes (see DECORATION). In “Dobson and Judie or The Cottage”, Clare describes a happy farming couple and their home.⁽¹⁵⁾ After examining the roof, the windows and the sun they let in, he turns to the interior.

The rooms more comfortable made

Than courts of pallaces can be
Tho all the ornament display'd
Was furnish'd from necessity

Save Ballads, songs and Cutts, that hide
Both window-shutters, wall, and door,
Which tell of many-a-murder'd bride
And desperate Battles daubed oer

'Keep within compass' courts the eye
To read and learn a morral truth
With 'Golden Maxims' paste'd nigh
And 'Pious counsils' plan'd for youth

There too on poltry paper wrought
Disgrac'd with songs upon the screen
(Of some poor penny hawker bought)
King Charles's 'Golden Rules' are seen

These with hundreds more beside
In every hole and corner shine
Displaying forth in cottage pride
An Exebition simply fine

Oh happy scenes what joys abound
Not only which thy walls possess
For every foot of Dobsons ground
Claims the sweet name of Hapiness

Here we see that the broadsides add color and decoration to the rooms of the cottage. The subjects range from murder ballads to more lofty maxims and Golden Rules. The text shows that they are there for the audience to “read and learn”, but no indication that they are songs to be sung. Further, a shepherd in Clare’s “A Aw-thorn Nook” is not singing as “on his elbow lolls to read / His slip of ballads bought at neighboring fair”(16) (see READING).

Although it proved abortive, Clare’s first attempt at publication might have been intended as a broadside ballad. The circumstances arose when he was serving as a common soldier in the local militia around 1812.(17) The officers were the local gentry, while the enlisted men were farm laborers who were quartered in isolated makeshift barracks from which they could easily steal away in the night to raid nearby orchards. The officers decided to discipline the men by taking them into the field for two additional hours of drill from six until eight in the morning. Being accustomed to such early hours on the farm, the men thought nothing of it at all, but the officers found that “instead of harassing the men, they quickly harassed themselves.” Clare recorded the scene as follows:

.....in one of these early exercises one of the officers ladys whose fears for her husbands safty seemd great even in little things sent the ser-vent-maid after him with his breakfast as she came simpering along making her timid en-quirys the captains of companys declard that they thought Mr XXX had been too much of a

soldier to stand this & others swore upon their honours that he would not stand it at length the enquiring maid found out her noble master who sneeringly disdained to take it the maids only reason for bringing it being that her mistress was afraid that he would take cold by being out of doors in such unusual hours which to be sure was a mortifying disclosure to the pen-feathered soldier 'Go home & teach your mistress to know better girl' was the gallant reply & his brother officers who were on the look-out to watch the event when they saw the maiden depart hastened up to congratulate his valour & shake hands with him as a brother worthy the name of soldier the very clowns could not help seeing this as ridiculous & burst into a hearty laugh as the farce ended this got into a byword....

Clare "itched to do something" with the farcical picture and "wrote a ballad" which he took to a local printer for publication.

A young man behind the counter read it & laughed heartily saying he had heard of the circumstance but it was too personal to print & returned it I felt fearful of being found out so I quickly destroyed it tearing it into little pieces as I went along & then threw them away

Of course, it is impossible to say what form the ballad may have

taken if it had actually been printed, but the limited picture that can be gained above suggests that a broadside would have been much more likely, as opposed to a lengthier pamphlet.

When Clare's first volume of poetry, *Poems Descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery*, was published in 1820, it was an instant success and drew a great deal of attention. For the entertainment industry of that time, copyright was a very minor consideration and it was as if public acclaim established something like public domain. Whatever was popular soon found its way on to the stage or into the printing press in forms not authorized by the creator. When, on arrival in London a few months after his first book was published, Clare saw playbills announcing that one of his songs was to be sung at Covent Garden, he appears only to regret arriving too late to attend the performance. Far from being incensed at the appropriation of his material, he was, "uncommonly pleased at the circumstance".⁽¹⁸⁾

At the same time, whatever was popular reading or singing material was also very soon appropriated and sold on the streets. The combination of a suddenly famous author and a song being sung at a prime music hall by a leading artist created a demand that could not be ignored by the broadside press, and they supplied the need. The original, published title of Clare's poem was, "The Meeting", but in the broadside versions it appears as "Here we meet too soon to part", from its first line.⁽¹⁹⁾ To gain an insight to the process of converting a formal poem into a street song that met the expectations of the buyers, it will be useful to compare the original verses with the broadside versions.

First, the original poem as published in John Taylor's Introduction to *Poems Descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery*:(20)

The Meeting

Here we meet, too soon to part,
Here to leave will raise a smart,
Here I'll press thee to my heart,
 Where none have place above thee:
Here I vow to love thee well,
And could words unseal the spell,
Had but language strength to tell,
 I'd say how much I love thee.

Here, the rose that decks thy door,
Here, the thorn that spreads thy bow'r,
Here, the willow on the moor,
 The birds at rest above thee,
Had they light of life to see,
Sense of soul like thee and me,
Soon might each a witness be
 How doatingly I love thee.

By the night-sky's purple ether,
And by even's sweetest weather,
That oft has blest us both together, --
 The moon that shines above thee,
And shews thy beautiful cheeks so blooming,

And by pale age's winter coming,
The charms, and casualties of woman,
I will forever love thee.

There are two broadside versions of this song in the author's collection. One, by Catnach,(21) (see Figure 1) repeats, with small variations, the first two verses of the original, but eliminates the third and substitutes a different final verse:

There's a church upon the hill,
Here the pure aud (sic) murm'ring rill,
Here oft I've vow'd to love thee still,
 'Till death our love shall sever
Then to the altar let's away,
Make this my love our bridal day,
No longer happiness delay,
 But make me blest for ever.
For then my love no more we'd part,
No more by leaving raise such a smart
And fondly press thee to my heart,
 And still for ever love thee.

The most obvious change in the substituted third verse is the presence of “floaters”, those bits and pieces of trite and often used phrases that litter all popular songs of a period.(22) Phrases such as “a church upon the hill”, “I vow'd to love thee still”, “then to the altar let's away”, and “Make this my love our bridal day”, with variations in vocabulary, but never in sentiment, were simply required by public taste to be part of a ‘proper’ love song and were supplied.

How and when the new third verse was created is uncertain, but it was unlikely to have been by the printer.⁽²³⁾

Catnach's rival, John Pitts, produced a second version in the author's collection⁽²⁴⁾ (see Figure 2). Like the Catnach sheet, this uses only the first two verses of Clare's original, but uses them in a very different way. Pitts' version begins with Clare's original eight-line first verse, but then repeats the first four lines as a chorus. This is followed by Clare's second verse, followed by a final line (which is also at the end of the lower margin of the sheet), "Here we meet, &c", indicating that the four-line chorus is once more called for.

The importance of a chorus for a successful street song was pointed out to Mayhew by a seller of broadsides who emphatically declared that a ballad on a subject had to have verses of at least eight lines and, "a four-line chorus to every verse; and, if it's the right sort, it'll sell the ballad."⁽²⁵⁾ Clare's work was clearly re-worked to meet this generally accepted standard for street sale.⁽²⁶⁾

The necessity of a chorus is related to the opportunity it afforded for communal singing. In a long description of the antics of costermongers in the gallery of the Vic Music Hall (formally known as the Coburg), Mayhew relates that "the grand hit of the evening is always when a song is sung to which the entire gallery can join in chorus." The playbill of the evening even had printed under the title of the featured song, "...'assisted by the most numerous and effective chorus in the metropolis' --meaning the whole of the gallery."⁽²⁷⁾

Part 3: Conclusion

To put it most succinctly, the life and works of John Clare, as briefly outlined above, speak for themselves and show that they are an exceptionally rich source for understanding the everyday uses of broadside ballads in the nineteenth century. Certainly there is a great deal more to be done in understanding Clare and his world than has been accomplished in this short paper, but what is most certain is that further work will lead to even better understanding, not only of Clare, but also how broadside ballads were touched and used at the commonest rung of society.

Appendix: Themes in the uses of broadside ballads.

CHRISTMAS SHEETS

The subject of the Christmas sheets as a distinctive genre of the broadside ballads is highly interesting and one that deserves a full study of its own. However, it would be well to address a few stray remarks on the subject here. Writing in 1869, Charles Hindley had the opportunity to interview people who had actually known the printer James Catnach and obtain first hand information on his London broadside press.⁽²⁸⁾ The following is his description of contents of Christmas sheets and their importance in the annual cycle of the broadside business.

Christmas broad-sheets formed an important item in the office of the 'Catnach Press.' But although the sale was very large, it only occupied one 'short month' in the year. This enabled them to make Carols a stock job, so that when trade in the Ballad, Sensational 'Gallows,' or any other line

was dull, they used to fill up every spare hour in the working off, or colouring them, so as to be ready to meet the extraordinary demand, which was sure to be made at the fall of the year. Each Christmas broad-sheet is headed by a large wood-cut roughly coloured, and is double the size of the ordinary broad-sheet, and sells for a penny plain and two-pence coloured. It contains four or five carols, and one or two very long narrative ballads of some twenty verses, and three or four short pieces. The illustrations are of the Crucifixion, the Raising of Lazarus, the Birth of Christ, the Ark, the Last Supper, the Resurrection, and other kindred subjects, in which modern Gothic churches, and men in strange costumes are introduced. The sale of Christmas broad-sheets was formerly enormous; and Catnach always looked for a large return on capital, and a 'good clearance' immediately following the spurt for Guy Fawkes' speeches in October, in each year.

Although these seasonal sheets were produced in immense numbers, they are relatively rare survivors today compared to the large number of ordinary broadside ballads. There are, perhaps, two reasons for this. First, their very large size meant that they could not be stored and preserved as easily as the smaller, ordinary broadsides, which could be stored in a small drawer or tucked away in an album or the back of a book. Secondly, they were seasonal decorations and, having been most likely pinned to a wall, would be the worse for wear and were simply discarded with the other trash in the New Year. From Clare's description, we can readily imagine their ending up on a bonfire of the evergreens, holly and yew that

were now dried and needing disposal.

One thing that strikes the modern reader of these Christmas sheets is how few of their carols and songs are recognizable today. Apart from “God Rest Ye Merry Gentlemen” or “As Shepherds Watched Their Flocks by Night”, most of them seem quite removed from what might be considered to be a traditional Christmas repertoire. This was also recognized by an author who was writing a few years in advance of Hindley.⁽²⁹⁾

In all those which we have seen, the only piece familiar to us is that noble old carol, “When shepherds kept their flocks by night.” Where the rest come from, we cannot even conjecture We do not suppose that the contents of these Christmas broad-sheets are supplied by the same persons who write the murder-ballads, or the attacks on crinoline. They may be borrowed from well-known hymn-books for any thing we know.

Inasmuch as they are not recognizable as Christmas songs today, or even when published a hundred and thirty years ago, then a reasonable assumption may be that we are dealing here with material that was to be read rather than sung, which may be what Hindley meant by, “narrative ballads”. In short, a great deal of the material on the Christmas sheets may have been considered the penny press equivalent of the special Christmas numbers of Dickens’ *Household Words* journal or his Christmas novels.

DECORATION

The range of materials that Clare placed on the walls of Dobson and Judie's cottage is mirrored in the memoirs of Robert Roberts, who recalled the scenes of his childhood in Wales in the 1830's and described the interior of the farmhouse in which he lived.⁽³⁰⁾

Two or three broadsides, adorned with woodcuts, hideous no doubt, but in our estimation, creditable specimens of the pictorial art, were pasted on various parts of the white-washed walls. One is a doleful ditty about the great storm of 1839, detailing in unmelodious numbers the damage done to ships and buildings by that great calamity; over the letterpress is a woodcut of Menai Bridge, coloured green, surprinted by a bright yellow ship in full sail. Another is a song of 'meditations' on a clock surrounded by various nondescript figures. A third is a ballad about the Chartist riots at Newport adorned with a wonderful picture of a skirmish in a wood apparently and not in the streets; but this slight departure from fact was of no moment and the Illustration was thought to be a great success.

Another witness to the practice was Thomas Holcraft (1745-1809), later an actor and writer, who was cut off from books when his family became wanderers, selling small items in the countryside. He was able to refresh his reading skills through encounters with broadsides, including one mentioned by Clare, "Even the walls of cottages and little alehouses would do something, for many of them had old English ballads, such as Death and the Lady, and Margaret's Ghost, with lamentable tragedies, or King Charles's golden rules occasionally pasted on them."⁽³¹⁾

In addition to homes and public houses, workplaces, notably the looms of weavers, were also decorated with broadsides. In the late 1830's, Samuel and Ana Maria Hall toured Ireland extensively and, in Dublin, reported being invited to see a typical hand-loom in "the Liberties", an overcrowded and impoverished area of the city.⁽³²⁾

We observed that the frame of the loom was stuck over in many places with ballads; indeed we have seldom entered a weaver's room without perceiving a similar display; and the songs so fixed are generally pretty sure indexes to the opinions of the owners. In Dublin such scraps were chiefly political; in the north they were more general, and a number of old Scottish songs were to be found in the most prominent situations.

FAIRS

The sale of broadside ballads at local fairs was an important aspect of the rural trade (see below in this Appendix). Alfred Williams, who collected folk songs in the Upper Thames Valley shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, recorded memories of the ballads sellers at the rural fairs near Swindon, and how important they were in the supplying of music to the countryside.⁽³³⁾

The schoolmaster remembers when the ballad-singers went from village to village, singing their rhymes, he had helped to train them when he was a young man. These strolling minstrels frequented all the feasts, fairs and revels along the downside, and gave an exhibition of their skill. They

carried bundles of ballad-sheets with them, and sold them to the rustics at one penny each. The old carter of Woolstone declares that hundreds of these sheets were disposed of at a single fair time. The number of singers varied; there might be four, or no more than two. Very often it was a man and his wife, and they sang alternately, in response to each other. The ballads were some grave, some sentimental, and others comic or satirical. The old carter could only remember two lines of a satirical piece, dealing with the eternal question of authority in the home. After a proposition, relating to home rule, had been set forth by the female singer, the man responded:

I do decline, and you shall find I will the breeches wear,

the answer to which was:

Oh, no, not I! for I will die, but I will have my share.

.... though the subject matter of this fragment is crude enough, there can be no doubt but that there was some good material circulated in this manner. One can readily understand, from this, how it was that the countryside was vocal in the old days, since every cottage contained sheets of the ballads, the airs of which had been taught the people by the singers at the feasts; they could not fail to make a deep impression on the villagers.

In another book, Williams estimates that of the six hundred

songs he had collected in the Thames Valley, only ten or twelve were of local origin with all the rest being imported via broadsides printed elsewhere. “We know that enormous quantities of the sheets were sold up and down the countryside: hundreds, if not thousands, were commonly disposed of a single fair-time.” He also describes some of the sellers, “The most famous ballad-singers of the Thames Valley, in recent times, were a man and woman, who traveled together, and each of whom had but one eye. They sang at all the local fairs, and the man sold the sheets, frequently wetting his thumb with his lip to detach a sheet from the bundle and hand it to a customer in the midst of singing.”⁽³⁴⁾

Journalist and poet, William Allingham, described four ballad sellers’ performances at a fair in an unnamed market town in Ireland in 1852.⁽³⁵⁾ The first is a young woman singing what is certainly an execution ballad, “The Sorrowful Lamentation of Patrick Donohue” which she renders, “*de capo* as long as the ballad appears to draw attention and custom, and then she will change it or move off to another part of the fair.” The next is a man singing of two faithful lovers and an admirer (or, perhaps his shill) in the crowd exclaims of his performance, “In troth, it’s worth a ha’penny to hear him go over it, let alone the paper.” The third ballad described was certainly a political one concerning the Agrarian Reform movement of the period which advocated tenant farmers’ rights and protested against the rack rents and evictions that were imposed by the largely Protestant landowners against the largely Catholic lower classes.⁽³⁶⁾ Allingham, truly a man of his class and its opinions, dismisses the ballad as, “Agrarian politics, this time, and not of the most wholesome sort.” He describes the performers as,

“two female vocalists standing face to face, and yelling down each other’s throats,” and a purchaser as a “lout” who he fears will spread the “ignorance and foolishness” of the verses which he considers “trash.” With the fourth performer, Allingham finds a character more to his personal and political liking — an inoffensive elderly man who plays a fiddle to accompany his humorous songs and who acts the part of a nearly stock, comic Irishman himself. His sheaf of ballads is kept in a large hat during the performance, at the end of which the instrument is tucked under one arm and the man offers the songs in his hands.

Although fairs are considered to be mainly rural affairs, there was the London Frost Fair that also featured broadside ballads. The most notable was in 1683 when the Thames had frozen solid and carnival booths and amusements were set up on it. On this and later occasions, printing presses were actually placed on the ice to run off souvenir broadsides for sale on the spot to celebrate the event with lines such as:⁽³⁷⁾

And sure in former Ages ne’er was found
A Press to print where Men so oft were drowned

By the nineteenth century, a warming climate and the speeding of the river current by the elimination of the old London Bridge had long since ended the carnival on ice, but winter was still celebrated on the banks and with broadsides.⁽³⁸⁾

READING

As an echo of Clare’s poetic shepherd character, there is the real

life memoir of Dr. Alexander Murray (1775-1813) who began his working life at the age of seven or eight minding sheep. He was sent to boarding school for a short while, but fell ill and was returned to the fields. Of this later period, he recalled, "I was still, however, attached to reading, printing of words, and getting by heart ballads, of which I had procured several About this time, and for years after, I spent every sixpence that friends or strangers gave me, on ballads and penny histories. I carried bundles of these in my pockets, and read them when sent to look for cattle..."(39) Likewise, when the child Thomas Holcroft described in the Appendix section "Decoration" above was searching the walls of country alehouses, he was driven by his hunger for words to read rather than songs to sing.

It must not be forgotten that, unlike sheet music, broadsides almost never contained any written music to accompany the lyrics printed on the sheet. To be sure, there are often directions on them indicating the tune a particular song is to be sung to, and that titles beginning "A Parody on" or, "An Answer to" show that the present lyrics are to be sung to the melody of the song being parodied. Further, some songs such as "Oh Dear What Can the Matter Be", which was often used for comic ballads, have distinctive rhythms or phrasing of the lyrics which soon reveal the intended tune. However, those exceptions are relatively rare and the myriad of popular songs that did not find permanent places in the community memory continued their printed existence shorn of their music and lived on as verse alone.

It has already been speculated in the Appendix section "Christmas Sheets" above that the carols that were unknown to a contem-

porary of the period may have been a kind of devotional verse to be read during the holiday season. Other items of reading material would certainly be anything printed in plain prose such as accounts (real or imagined) of disasters, fires and the like. Similarly, parodies on Acts of Parliament or Catechisms that could be read for personal enjoyment or performed as recitations did not begin life as anything like songs.

A more common genre, the murder/ trial/ execution ballads, are likely to have been used mainly as reading material as the following account of the sale and use of a broadside that was recorded by Henry Mayhew.⁽⁴⁰⁾

One paper-worker told me, that in some small and obscure villages in Norfolk, which he believed, were visited only by himself in his line, it was not very uncommon for two poor families to *club* for 1*d.* to purchase an execution broadsheet! Not long after Rush was hung, he saw, one evening after dark, through the uncurtained cottage window, eleven persons, young and old, gathered around a scanty fire, which was made to blaze by being fed a few sticks. An old man was reading, to an attentive audience, a broadsheet of Rush's execution, which my informant had sold to him; he read by the fire-light, for the very poor in those villages, I was told, rarely lighted a candle of a spring evening, saying that "a bit o' fire was good enough to talk by." The scene must have been impressive, for it had evidently somewhat impressed the perhaps not very susceptible mind of my informant.

It is impossible to quantify what part of the material printed on broadsides was treated as reading rather than singing material, but it is certainly greater than would appear at first sight. In the view of the writer of "Street Ballads" in 1861, "Ballads still form an important, perhaps the chief part of the reading of a large class of our population."⁽⁴¹⁾ Another, writing in 1913, looked back into the history of the ballad singers of Ireland.⁽⁴²⁾

[In] the broad-sheets that the ballad-singer carried around with him were not merely memoranda, they were -- and they are still -- popular anthologies and were bought, kept and studied as we buy, keep and study books of poetry. One finds on them pieces that it would be *impossible* to sing -- the ballad of Chevy Chase and other pieces as lengthy as the Passion of our Lord, or on the controversies between the Catholic and Protestant churches."

RECITATION

In *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, George Deacon makes the strong and important point that, although it is often assumed that ballads were a sung medium, they were also recited. Not only do we have Clare's father performing in this manner, but also Clare recalls hearing several other ballads so treated.⁽⁴³⁾ At the other end of the social scale, the political diarist, Charles Greville, recorded a recitation of sorts by the distinguished historian Lord Macaulay at Prebendal House, the residence of the Prebendary of Westminster Cathedral in 1840.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Macaulay had been gathering ballad materials for his history of England and, as Greville relates:

[Macaulay] has been employing his busy mind in gathering all the ballads he can pick up, buying strings of them in the streets, and he gave us an amusing account of the character of this species of literature, repeating lines and stanzas without end. The ballad writers, who may be supposed to represent the opinions and feelings of the masses for whose delectation they compose, do not, according to Macaulay, exhibit very high moral sentiments, as they evince a great partiality for criminals, and are strenuous opposers of humanity to animals.

Macaulay had not been collecting ballads as songs *per se*, but as historical or social documents. He then took what may have been sung materials at some time in the past and turned parts of them into a spoken performance for the entertainment of his social circle. In the case of Clare's father, we have no idea, of course whether he learned his recitation pieces as recitation or as songs originally, only that the spoken performance was a part of his repertoire in entertaining his own social circle.

Rural Trade

The rural market for broadsides was very active and resorted to on occasion by many of the London street sellers.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Mayhew recorded an interview with one London-based street seller of broadsides who did a considerable amount of "countrywork" and had traveled some 800 to 1,000 miles through Hartfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Suffolk to sell broadsides on the Mannings, a husband and wife tried and executed in 1849 for murder.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In contrast to this ballad seller who specialized in these broadsides on a single subject, the hawker that appears at the door of Clare's Village Doctress offers a range of useful household items with the printed material, extending from the godly to the bawdy, as additional luxury purchases. The normal practice for such full-time country peddlers was to sell and replenish stocks as they went along, stopping at regional centers along the way. A travelling broadside seller mentions this practice while on journeys all over England.⁽⁴⁷⁾

A survey of printers' imprints from one part of the author's personal collection shows that provincial (i.e. not London based) printers often advertised themselves as serving the travelling trade.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The following is a sample of such imprints:

Printed and Sold by J. W. Procter, Travellers Printer, 4
Engine str. Hull [L32]

W. MOSS, PRINTER, NEWARK, Travellers Supplies [L82]

Printed and Sold by I. Sleath, Stony Stratford. --- Shopkeepers and Traveller(s) Supplied on the most reasonable terms.
[L85]

W. M'CALL, Printer, 4, Cartwright Place, Byrom Street,
Liverpool. --- Shops and Hawkers supplied. [L195]

John Ford, jun, Printer, Bridge - street, Sheffield. — Travel-

lers & the Trade supplied with Childrens' Books, Memorandums, Hymns, Songs, &c. &c. [L202]

May be had of J. BENTLEY, Market Street, Bradford. ---
Travellers' Supplied [L240]

On the other hand, the imprints of the London printers that advertise directly to "Travelers" are exceptionally rare.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The difference in these practices can most likely be laid to the relative size of the local markets for broadsides. The huge population of London was a sufficient market for the metropolitan printers' output without making any special effort to obtain the custom of rural sellers. The provincial printers, of necessity, had to reach further afield than the small towns where they were established.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Footnotes

- (1) The most easily accessible collection of broadside ballads, and certainly one of the grandest with holdings of over 30,000 ballads, is that of the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It is available to the public through its website, *Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads, The allegro Catalogue of Ballads*. The site provides extensive bibliographical material on individual songs, sheets, publishers, writers, performers, and a great deal of other information as well as clear images of the broadsides that can be enlarged for detailed examination. The URL for this site is [http:// www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ ballads/ ballads.htm](http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads/ballads.htm).
- (2) There is a rich mine of interviews carried out by Henry Mayhew

with street sellers of broadside ballads in London in the middle of the nineteenth century. (Mayhew, Henry, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Griffin, Bohn and Company, London, Vol. I, 1861, particularly on pp. 215, 218, 220-230, 233-38, 272-79 and 306). In addition, there is also Michael Joy's article, "Two murders together is never no good to nobody -- Attitudes and methods of the street sellers of broadside ballads in nineteenth century England with some reflections on popular tastes", *Faculty Bulletin, Sophia Junior College* (Jochi Tanki Daigaku Kiyo), Hadano, Japan, 1999, pp. 49-124.

- (3) The standard works on James Catnach and John Pitts, the two best known London publishers/ printers of broadside ballads in the first half of the nineteenth century, are: Hindley, Charles, *The Catnach Press. A Collection of the Books and Woodcuts of James Catnach late of Seven Dials, Printer*, Reeves and Turner, London, 1869; Hindley, Charles, *The History of the Catnach Press, at Berwick-upon-Tweed, Alnwick and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in Northumberland, and Seven Dials London*, Charles Hindley [The Younger], Booksellers' Row, St. Clement Danes, Strand, W. C., London, 1887; Shepard, Leslie, *John Pitts, Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London 1765-1844*, Private Libraries Association, London, 1969.

Further, the following works by Leslie Shepard are very useful general studies: *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning*, Herbert Jenkins, London, 1962, and, *The History of Street Literature*, David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1973.

Finally, a recent work by Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, The British Museum, London, 1999, is an exceptionally well written and profusely illustrated work on the broader topic of popular printed material of the period.

- (4) The seminal text in this process was George Deacon's *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, Sinclair Browne, London, 1983.
- (5) It must be stated at the outset that the author of this present article in no way claims to be an expert on the subject of John Clare. Rather, this paper is the result of a brief and, necessarily, shallow survey of materials concerning him and the uses of broadside ballads.
- (6) In addition to the published works cited in this article, the website, *The John Clare Page*, ([http:// human.ntu.ac.uk/ clare/ clare.html](http://human.ntu.ac.uk/clare/clare.html)), provides a great deal of basic and interesting information.
- (7) Robinson, Eric, David Powell and Margaret Grainger (eds.), *The Early Poems of John Clare, 1804-1822*, Vols. I and II, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989. Vol. I, p. xix.
- (8) Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, p. 20.
- (9) Robinson, *The Early Poems of John Clare*, Vol. I, p. xvii, citing E. Robinson (ed.), *John Clare's Autobiographical Writings*, Oxford, 1983, pp. 12 and 82-3.

- (10) (Huges, Thomas), "Street Ballads", *National Review*, Vol. 13, October 1861, p. 400.
- (11) Tibble, J. W. and Anne (eds.), *The Prose of John Clare*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1951, pp. 256-58.
- (12) Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, p. 32.
- (13) Tibble, *The Prose of John Clare*, p. 128.
- (14) Robinson, *The Early Poems of John Clare*, Vol. II, p. 153.
- (15) Robinson, *The Early Poems of John Clare*, Vol. I, pp. 174-75.
- (16) Cronin, Richard, "In Place and Out of Place in the *Midsummer Cushion*, footnote (8). (Unpaginated article downloaded from *The John Clare Page* website noted above in footnote (6), in July, 2001.) The essay was originally published in Goodridge, John and Simon Kovesi (eds.), *John Clare: New Approaches*, Helpston, John Clare Society, 2000.
- (17) Tibble, *The Prose of John Clare*, pp. 49-50.
- (18) Tibble, *The Prose of John Clare*, p. 80. The music was written by Haydn Corri and sung at Covent Garden by Madame Vestris very shortly after it was published in 1820. Robinson, *The Early Poems of John Clare*, Vol. I, p. 579, notes to pp. 463-4, The Meeting.

- (19) This is also how Clare refers to Corri's song when he comments on its publication in a letter written on June 10, 1820. Tibble, J. W. and Anne (eds.), *The Letters of John Clare*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1951, p. 52.
- (20) Storey, Mark (ed.), *Clare, The Critical Heritage*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and Boston, 1973, pp. 51-2.
- (21) The author's personal collection number [L102a]. Printer: James Catnach. The sheet has no heading and contains two songs; (a) Here We meet too soon to part, (b) The Beverly Maid and the Tinker. The song title appears in the Catnach Catalog of 1832. Shepard, *The History of Street Literature*, p. 218. The Bodleian Collection has the same sheet: Harding B11 (1529), as well as virtually the same song on two other large Catnach song sheets: Johnson Ballads fol. 31 and fol. 32. [Accessed from the Bodleian website noted in footnote (1) above in June, 2001.]
- (22) Lloyd, A. L., *Folk Song in England*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1967, pp. 190-92.
- (23) The broadside publishers stole across a wide spectrum of song-writers and poets, major and minor. A case in point is the poet Eliza Cook (1812-1889), who developed widespread appeal with the working class audience in 1840-50, but is almost entirely forgotten and ignored today. One of her most popular pieces, "The Old Arm-Chair", appeared on a broadside where it was reprinted intact and with only a few changes in wording that could very well have been the result of authorized editing. (The

author's personal collection number [167b]. Printer: W. Fortey. No heading and containing two works; (a) Things I Don't Like to See, (b) The Old Arm-Chair.) The poem most likely escaped the severe editing that was inflicted on Clare's work because Cook's original is so very full of the "floaters" and bits of sentiment that fitted popular tastes. The first verse alone should make the point:

I love it, I love it; and who shall dare
To chide me for loving that old Arm-chair?
I've treasured it long as a sainted prize;
I've bedewed it with tears, and embalmed it with
sighs.
'Tis bound by a thousand links to my heart;
Not a tie will break, not a link will start.
Would ye learn the spell? — a mother sat there;
And a sacred thing is that old Arm-chair.

Leighton, Angela and Margaret Reynolds (eds.), *Victorian Women Poets: An Anthology*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1995, p. 177.

Further, although it is purely a matter of speculation, it may be that the poem was never set to music, but was reprinted simply as a cheap, easily available copy of a very popular poem that could be read for personal enjoyment, or memorized for a recitation at a suitable social event. In this way, it was not subjected to the editing that is often required when a poem is adapted for singing. See the Appendix section "Christmas Sheets" above on material in broadsides that may have been intended for reading

rather than as songs. Also see note (26) below for further discussion of Cook's poems in broadsides.

- (24) The author's personal collection number [A127b]. Printer: John Pitts. The sheet has no heading and contains four songs; (a) Why are you Wandering Here I pray, (b) Here We Meet Too Soon to Part, (c) The Evening Star, (d) Our Country is our ship. The same sheet is in the Bodleian Collection: Harding B 11(4182). [Accessed from the Bodleian website noted in footnote (1) above in June, 2001.]
- (25) Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Vol. I, p. 275. In another interview with a young costermonger (street fruit and vegetable seller) about tastes in drama and music, it was pointed out, "A song to take hold of us must have a good chorus." Vol. 1, p. 15.
- (26) Two more of Eliza Cook's poems (see note (23) above) appear on a single broadside sheet. (The author's personal collection numbers [A227a] and [A227f]. No printer. Heading: *The Jullien Songster* and containing seventeen songs. This is a 'long song', i.e. a sheet narrower and much longer than usual and containing far more than the customary 2-6 songs of a standard broadside. This sheet is made up of pasted-together sections that have the appearance of having been pages of a songbook that were cut and then reassembled in the 'long song' format.) The first poem, "Song of the Haymakers", has a four line chorus, but inasmuch as the title styles the work as a song, then it is virtually certain that this is the form in which Cook wrote it. The second, "Our

Rambles by the Dove”, has no chorus and also has verses of twenty lines each which very likely makes it a poor candidate for being set to music. In short, although it is again quite speculative, these may also be pieces that were to be read rather than sung.

- (27) Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Vol. I, p. 19.
- (28) Hindley, *The Catnach Press*, p. 11. Much the same information can also be found in Hindley, *The History of the Catnach Press*, p. 248. Sheila O’Connell’s reproduction of a Christmas sheet in *The Popular Print in England* (figure 6.4, p. 155) shows how accurate the above description is. Another can be found in Shepard, *The History of Street Literature*, p. 185.
- (29) (Huges), “Street Ballads”, pp. 417 and 419.
- (30) Burnett, John, *Destiny Obscure: Autobiographies of Childhood, Education and the Family from the 1820s to the 1920s*, Alan Lane, 1982. (Reprint, Routledge, 1994, p. 183.)
- (31) Shepard, *The History of Street Literature*, pp. 110-111. (No original source given.) The fact that both Clare and Holcraft mention “King Charles’ Golden Rules” is a good indication that this was a very common broadside decoration. This is confirmed by the wood engraver Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) who observed that it was a, “constant one in every house.” Bewick, Thomas, *Memoir of Thomas Bewick*, Frank Graham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1862. (Facsimile edition, Scolar Press, Ilkley, Yorkshire, 1974, p. 246.)

- (32) Hall, Mr. And Mrs. S.C. (Samuel Carter and Ana Maria), *Ireland, its Scenery, Characters, &c.*, 3 Vols., How and Parsons, London, 1841-1843, Vol. II (1842), pp. 239-40. The posting of broadsides at a weaver's shop is represented pictorially some hundred years earlier in Hogarth's, *Industry and Idleness* (1747). In the first print, "The Fellow 'Prentices at Their Looms", the broadsides serve as iconographic commentary on the two main characters. Whereas Tomas Idle has a sheet titled "Moll Flanders" on his loom, the Industrious Apprentice has more edifying materials pinned to a wall, the most prominent of which has to do with Dick Whittington, an earlier poor apprentice who rose to become Lord Mayor of London. (Burke, Joseph and Colin Caldwell, *Hogarth: The Complete Etchings*, Harry N. Abrams, New York, n.d., Plate 203.) Ballad sellers and posted ballads appear in six of the twelve prints of this series and are featured in many other of Hogarth's works.
- (33) Williams, Alfred, *Villages of the White Horse*, Duckworth & Co., London, 1913, pp. 104-105.
- (34) Williams, Alfred, *Folk Songs of the Upper Thames*, Duckware and Co., London, 1923. (Reprint, S.R. Publishers, n.p., n.d., pp. 11-12 and 20.)
- (35) Allingham, William, "Irish Ballad Singers", *Household Words*, Vol. No. 94, 1852, pp. 361-368. The material cited appears on pp. 361-62.
- (36) This was a problem that would convulse Ireland for decades

more. Such political ballads were exceptionally popular in Ireland, with one researcher estimating that they made up some 20-40% of all the ballads printed in that country. (Zimmerman, Georg-Dennis, *Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs*, University of Geneva, Geneva, 1966, p. 22.) Further, the performance style of two singers facing each other and singing alternate verses of a political ballad was also enduring in Ireland and can be seen in a sketch by Jack B. Yeats published in 1912. The surrounding crowd is attentive, smiling and obviously entertained. (Yeats, Jack B., *Life in the West of Ireland*, Maunsell & Co., Dublin and London, 1912, p. 45, "Singing a Political Ballad") This book has no written commentary at all, just the reproductions of the sketches and the author has been unable to trace the origin or inspiration for the drawing.

- (37) "Thamasis's Advice to the Painter, From Her Frigid Zone: or Wonders upon the Waters" London: Printed by G. Croom on the River of the Thames, n.d. Untitled folio, British Library shelf mark 1875. d. 6, f. 5.
- (38) "Frost Fair, held on the Thames, February, 1814." Printed & sold by T. Bachelor, 14, Hackney Road Crescent, London. *Catalogue CXXII, Summer, 1997*, Jarndyce Antiquarian Booksellers, London, item 213. It seems likely that the broadside itself may have been printed at the regular establishment, but a small card laid down with it and noting 'Printed on the River Thames, Feb. 3, 1814' may have been printed on the riverside. A comic illustration of the Frost Fair of 1838 by George Cruikshank shows fairgoers enjoying beer, ninepins, roasted meat and other a-

musements. In one corner a printer and his small job press have attracted customers who are described in a verse commentary as, "... people a having their names printed on cards ...". Cruikshank, George, *The Comic Almanack for 1838: An Ephemeris in Jest and Earnest, Containing "All Things Fitting for such a Work"*, Charles Tilt, London, n.d.

- (39) Shepard, *The History of Street Literature*, p. 112. No original source given.
- (40) Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Vol. I, pp. 280-81.
- (41) (Huges), "Street Ballads", p. 400.
- (42) Colum, Padraic, *Broadsheet Ballads, Being a Collection of Irish Popular Songs*, Maunsel & Co., Dublin and London (1913), pp. xii-xiii. Emphasis in the original.
- (43) Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, p. 29.
- (44) Greville, Charles C. F., *The Greville Memoirs (Second Part): A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria From 1837 to 1852*, Volumes I-III, Longmans, Green and Co., 1885, Vol. II, p. 60.
- (45) Mayhew states that all of them worked the country trade from time to time. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Vol. I, p. 222.
- (46) Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Vol. I, p. 224. At

the end of the venture the seller admitted that, in spite of the long journey, he would probably have done better out of it if he had stayed in London.

- (47) Hindley, *The History of the Catnach Press*, p. ix.
- (48) This is the “Laing” collection, two bound volumes containing 396 broadside sheets that were collected by David Laing, the Signet Librarian. Around 80% of the collection is comprised of provincial printers and the remainder of the better-known London publishers.
- (49) Among the 396 sheets surveyed in the Laing collection, there were only two. One was printed by Hillat & Martin [L152], a partnership about which very little is known. The other [L223] was published by H. Such, a very prolific and long-lived printer. However, a rapid survey of other parts of the author’s collection showed only one more advertisement for the travelers’ trade by Such.
- (50) There were other forms of distribution in the countryside. For example, the *Northampton Mercury*, founded in 1720, also printed chapbooks and broadsides, and employed men to deliver the paper in a 40-mile radius on the day of publication. They carried chapbooks, broadsides and patent medicines, and would accept orders for books published in London. Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, p. 37.



Here We meet too soon to part

J. GARRETT, Printer, 2, Minworth-Court, F. Park.

HERE we must too soon to part,
Here to leave will ruin's heart.
Here I'll press her to my heart.
Whose notes have place above these;
Here I now to love thee will,
Could but words counsel the spell,
Had I but language, strength to tell
I'd say how much I love thee.

Here the rose that decks thy face,
Here the thorn that spreads thy hair's
Here the willow on the shore,

The birds that nest above thee;
Had they light of life to see,
Some might such a witness be
How daintily I love thee.

There's the church upon the hill,
Here the pure and morn'ring rill,
Where oft I've now'd to love thee still,
Till death our love shall seal.

Then to the altar let's away,
Make this my love our bridal day,
No longer sleepless delay,
But make me bliss for ever.

For thus my love no more we'd part,
No more by leaving raise a smart,
A costly press thee to my heart,
And still for ever love thee.



THE Beverley Maid, AND THE TINKER.

J. GARRETT, Printer, 2, Minworth-Court, F. Park.

IN Beverley town a maid did dwell,
A beauty lost, I know her well,
Her age it was near twenty-two,
And for a man she had a view.

This maid being generous, kind, and free,
And willing to travel the country,
She went to live with a gentleman;
A tinker came to soldier a pen.

The gentleman being from home one day,
The tinker with her did him and play,
He stole her behind the door,
And gave her kisses o'er and o'er.

When all was over and at an end,
She tip'd him twenty guineas in hand;
Saying, when will you come this way again,
For I have another old kittle to mend.

In travelling hard and being dry,
He call'd at an ale-house close by;
Saying, landlord, bring me a pot of ale,
For twenty guineas I have earn'd to do.

The landlord says well does my sock
Your rivets you have handily knock'd;
My liquor is good, your money is few
And you shall stay with me no more.

'Till is true, as I have 'em told -
The tinker he spent all his gold
The tinker may do as he please;
'Tis the girl behind the door.

Figure 1



WHY ARE YOU
WANDERING HERE I PRAY.

WHY are you wand'ring here I pray,
An old man asked a maid one day;
Looking for pappies so bright and red,
Father, said she, I'm hither lead—

Fig. de,

She heard him cry,

Pappies 'tis known to all who rose,
Grow in the field and not in the grove,
Not in the grove—not in the grove,
Grow in the field, and not in the grove.
Tell me again the old man said,

Why are you wandering here fair maid,
The Nightingale's song's so sweet and clear
Father, said she, I come to hear—

Fig. de,

She heard him cry,

Nightingales all so people say,
Warbles by night and not by day.
The sage looked grave the maiden shy,
When Lubin lesp'd o'er the stile hard by,
The sage looked graver the maid more glum,
Lubin he twiddled his finger and thumb

Fig. de,

The old man cries,

Pappies like these I own are rare,
And of such Nightingales songs beware,
Such Nightingales songs,
Such Nightingales songs,
And of such Nightingales songs beware

HERE WE MEET TOO SOON TO PART.

HERE we meet too soon to part,
Here to leave will raise a smart,
Here I'll press thee to my heart,

Where none have place above thee.

Here I vow to love you well,

Could but words unseal the spell,

Had but language strength to tell,

I'd say how much I love thee.

Here we meet the soon to part,

Here to leave will raise a smart,

Here, I'll press thee to my heart,

Where none have place above thee.

Here the rose that decks thy door,

Here the thorn that spreads thy tower,

Here the willow on the moor,

The birds at rest above thee.

Had they a light of life to see,

Sense of soul like thee and me,

Soon might each a witness be,

How dearest I love thee.

Here we meet, &c.



THE
EVENING STAR.

OH sweetly shines the summer's sun,
When heaven's face from clouds is free,
And brightly gleams the moon-light, on
Field, rock, grove, and fern at tree;
But to the pensive mind of love,
O sweeter and dearer than these by far,
It is with the maid of your heart to rose,
Beneath the lovely evening star.

To others give the festive hall,
Where wass cups shine in splendid light;
The music of the crowded ball,
With beauties luster beaming bright.
But give to me the lonely dell,
O sweeter and dearer than these by far,
Where pine trees wave and water swell,
Beneath the lovely evening star.

For all the fetters cannot give,
What apoplexia time alas! hath roft;
And Jessy since thou'rt ceased to live,
A vacant world to me is left:
I turn me to my days of love,
The sweetest and dearest on earth by far,
And sit with thee in thought I rove,
Beneath the lovely evening star.

OUR

COUNTRY IS OUR SHIP.

OUR country is our ship d'ye see,

A gallant vessel too;

And of his fortune proud is he,

Who's one of the Albion crew.

Each man whate'er his station,

When duty's call commands,

Should take his stand,

And lend an hand,

As the common cause demands.

Among ourselves in peace tis true,

We quarrel—make a rout,

And having nothing else to do

We fairly sold it out.

But once the enemy in view,

Shake hands we soon are friends,

On the deck,

Till a wreck,

Each the common cause defends.

Printed, Printed, wholesale by and North's successors,
at No. 51, Andrew Street, Seven Dials,

Figure 2