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Napoleon and British Song, 1797–1822

Oskar Cox Jensen
King's College London, UK

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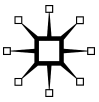

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Abbreviations and Conventions

BM	British Museum
Bod.	Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads <ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>
FARNE	Folk Archive Resource North East <www.folknortheast.com>
Madden	Madden Ballads, Cambridge University Library
Newcastle	Newcastle upon Tyne
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com>
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* <www.oed.com>
POB	The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913 <www.oldbaileyonline.org>

All quotations retain their original spelling, grammar, and emphasis. [*sic*] is used only within quotations of otherwise standard, accurate English. Uncommon dialect lyrics are either glossed within square brackets on the same line or translated into standard English below the original.

Songs are named, and a writer given where known, in the text or endnote. Titles of Welsh-language songs are given in English translation. Further bibliographical information is truncated to an appendix number. Consultation of the Appendix will provide my preferred source for any given song, in addition to supplementary details where known: tune, date, form of contemporary publication, and Roud number.

Unless stated otherwise, place of publication is presumed to be London.

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Note on the Songs

This is a book full of songs. In order that they be treated as such, I have recorded as many as possible, given that so few of their tunes are known. There are of course many more out there, either too famous or too obscure to set down. These songs, listed in the order in which they are first encountered in the text, are available to stream and download at <soundcloud .com/napoleonandbritishsong/tracks>. I have refrained from supplying a complete track list here, in the hope of uploading further songs upon the discovery of additional tunes. The interpretations are as simple as possible, to give a sense of tune and tempo only, rather than attempt to recreate any subjective sense of performance conditions or indeed any particular accent. Please bear in mind that both texts and tunes may have varied from one performance to another.

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Introduction

It is no coincidence that they named the Wars after him. Few have ever loomed as large as Napoleon; in the imaginations of the inhabitants of the British Isles, only Hitler (perhaps) and that aggregated individual known as 'the Pope' have figured with comparable prominence. No historical figure has taken up so many pages of English-language publications – memoirs, monographs, novels, poems, songs. This introduction is itself written amidst the throes of anniversary, two hundred years on from the Hundred Days. Yet the eloquence of the caricatures once again hanging in the British Museum, in which the big-hatted, small-bodied creation of Gillray and the demonic imagery of Rowlandson figure so affectively, threatens to enshrine one collective memory of Napoleon whilst obliterating all others.[1] Indeed, the laudable historical turn to material and visual culture has in the case of Napoleon led to a general focus on officially endorsed propaganda, at the expense of less accessible subaltern memories often preserved, if at all, in a more orally located culture.[2] The historical reality is that across the British Isles, both during and especially after the Napoleonic Wars, the eponymous Bonaparte was better loved and respected by the general populace than Wellington, Pitt, or the Prince Regent. Nowhere was this sentiment more strongly expressed, nor more remorselessly challenged, than in the realm of popular song.

'Popular' song – a heterodox amalgam of Elizabethan balladry and the latest light-operatic hits, of elite patriotic effusions and obscene gutter cant, of provincial beggars' improvisations and Romantic poetry – was the most widespread and influential form of literary and musical expression of the day. At the turn of the century, this ubiquitous medium found a ubiquitous subject. Never were so many melodies, verses and choruses expended in praise, condemnation, pity, and ridicule as in the case of Napoleon: and never to so little scholarly attention, save from collectors of what is sometimes called 'folksong'. All too often, major authorities in this field persist in making brief asides to 'many less famous works', whilst privileging a narrow corpus of Romantic verse or journalism as representative of the British

experience, usually wildly underestimating the number of songs or the scope of their impact in the process.[3] Conversely, the sheer mass of material available has tended to diminish its interest as a set of discrete cultural objects. In a recent work, Kate Horgan notes of Michael Scrivener that he 'makes the valuable point that songs were so 'material' and 'commonplace' as to be excluded from the aesthetic domain', an exclusion perpetuated by too many modern academics.[4] Thus, in making proper and exhaustive enquiry into the representation of one man in song, my simplest aim is to bring to light a neglected corpus of historically important material, and to treat the songs within it with a just degree of aesthetically inflected consideration.

This 'bringing to light' of a host of songs, some four hundred of which are tabulated in this book's Appendix, should furnish historians, ballad and literary scholars alike with a fascinating and surprisingly eclectic body of texts. My principal methodological aim in this book is to pioneer a new model of reading them. I have sought to approach these culturally sensitive vernacular texts in a way that takes into account their musical nature, their performative affect and their generic characteristics. A key concept I have formulated here is 'fitness': a means of helping to reconstruct some sense of songs' reception by audiences by evaluating how well they functioned, without resorting to subjective value judgements or worrying about the red herring of 'authenticity'. This book, after all, differs from most studies of song (or indeed poetry), in that I have tried to consider *all* songs with relevant subject matter, rather than songs conceived of (either by the author or via some historical process of canonisation) as being 'good' or exemplary. Indeed, many subjective opinions, my own included, would deem the majority of songs in question to be not very good, and even downright bad. I cannot simply dismiss that consideration, on the grounds of scholarly detachment, or attribute it to the songs' 'low' status. That would be bad history. As Robert Walser has put it, the 'understanding of cultural pleasures is an unavoidable precondition to understanding social relations, identities, structures, and forces, so we might as well confront the issue head-on: we are, despite the proverb, in the business of accounting for taste'.[5] In this book, I have sought both to account for why many of these songs might have been heard by contemporaries as 'bad', and to theorise such judgements with more objective, technical evaluation, the better to address the all important matter of these songs' reception.

'All important', because I am interested here not in an abstracted literary record but in a historical process. My principal aim historically is to use these songs to understand popular mentalities during the Napoleonic Wars, and the relation of the mass of the people with both Napoleon and the British state. I do not mean by this that I expect song texts to illustrate popular mentalities. Rather, songs were employed actively to construct and contest identity and opinion, by writers, publishers, singers, and buyers, and it is that process – to which the song texts (written, printed, performed, and

heard) were central – that is of interest. Put another way, song afforded a cultural space in which politics all of kinds was done. My aim is to ascertain what was achieved when politicking was combined with musicking.[6]

My historical goal, then, is to make sense of a wealth of ephemeral material produced in Britain about Napoleon, so as to ascertain what the British people thought of him – and, as a necessary corollary, what they thought of the war effort conducted by the British state. (This precludes a wider engagement with Napoleonic song across the Atlantic or on the Continent: for the latter, I would recommend the ongoing work of, among others, Katherine Hambridge and Éva Guillorel.)[7] I seek thereby to contribute to major areas of specifically historical debate, addressed below; to determine how far popular culture was a means of self-expression and self-definition on the part of a nascent working class, and how far a means of exerting sociopolitical control on the part of a loyalist and moralising elite; to judge whether this period was really, as has been repeatedly and eloquently claimed, a cornerstone in the creation of a united British identity.[8] To do so productively, I must achieve a historiographical goal as well, by furthering our ability to engage with problematic media, such as songs, when asking political questions.

Irrespective of discipline, academics have come to appreciate the fundamental entanglement of politics with what was once thought of as 'mere' cultural history. In a major musicological survey, Jane Fulcher has recently written of the impact of first Foucault, and then Bourdieu, whose work 'allowed us to identify political power in systems of representation . . . We have hence grown increasingly aware that culture is neither extraneous to politics nor devoid of authentic political content but may rather be a fundamental symbolic expression or articulation of the political.'[9] Political historians have undergone the same journey in reverse, John Barrell writing that:

> Historians of this period . . . have characteristically tended to describe its political history without much reference to the ramifications of political conflict beyond the area that can be thought of as 'directly' political, in the wider culture or in daily life. Historians of literature and art, on the other hand, have increasingly focused their attention on the politics of culture in the period, but . . . have frequently been content to rely on each other's ready-made and very broad-brush accounts [of politics] . . . A multidisciplinary approach . . . is the only approach which can attempt to suggest the extent to which the whole life of a nation was believed to have been penetrated by political suspicions and restructured by political conflict.[10]

As Barrell indicates, the period of the French Revolution and its aftermath is especially resonant in this regard, as numerous forms of material, written, and visual culture were put to use in the service of what is now called

propaganda. In the past 30 years, a good deal of excellent scholarship has conducted just such multidisciplinary enquiries.[11] Historians have taken great strides in assimilating the particularities of painting, caricature, gesture, and festival into their thought. Yet the problems posed by song have not been overcome: we have not come to terms with the medium as a type of musicking – both as a strictly musical form and as sung, heard, and bought. Roy Porter's analogous 1986 dictum in the *London Review of Books*, that we must 'analyse . . . prints not just as "evidence" but as "art", with its own conventions', has not yet been satisfactorily applied to song.[12]

In fact, the most important work in this field has come, not from historical studies such as Roy Palmer's *The Sound of History*, but from specialised areas of musicology, psychology and folklore; at least one leading historian of the nineteenth century is openly 'proselytising for a folkloric turn'.[13] Robert Darnton's *Poetry and the Police* has also broken new methodological ground by including links to recordings of the songs discussed, an excellent innovation only hampered by anachronistic arrangement and production.[14] This focus on enacted song culture has produced several excellent social historical studies in areas as disparate as Renaissance Florence and, more pertinently, nineteenth-century Ireland, yet none has contributed significantly to dialogue between cultural and political history.[15] Numerous articles have restated the significance of performance to a song's meaning: of the need to unite music, social space, and politics. Worthy sentiments: yet they are rarely backed up by sustained research.[16] In fact, what is to my mind the most perceptive study of how the idiosyncrasies and conventions of performance can alter or subvert political meaning, written by Helen Burke, takes as its subject the stage, rather than song.[17] Michael Davis exhibits a similar sensitivity to the mediatory importance of performance, in a succinct verdict upon the compositions of Thomas Spence: 'Songs like this were deliberately didactic. Their lyrics intended to be politically instructive, but often they must have been virtually impossible to sing.'[18] This sort of appreciation is all too rare, however. The most significant historian's contribution by far is that of the early modernist Christopher Marsh, whose work I read (and listened to) only after the writing of this book – yet it is of real significance to scholars of any historical period interested in the social or political role of music.[19] My scope is more limited than Marsh's swathe of both history and musical practice, but I hope to effect a similar entente between historians and music making.

One barrier to that entente is of course that of musical language, so often alienating to those without specialist training. The technical vocabulary of music cannot in itself bridge the gap between the description of technique and the affective impact of a piece of music. Yet without it, discourse often descends into vague, subjective impressions (happy, sad, memorable, dull) that fail to advance beyond one's own experience. The very possibility of ascribing emotional meaning to music is suspect among current

musicologists. Nor should we regress to the close reading of scores in the expectation of learning something universally applicable about the 'work'. My solution is instead to focus on songs, not as musical works, but as works subject to musicking: to consider them as written, as sung in performance, as heard, and as sung in recreation (the ultimate aim of popular song before the era of recording). Mark Booth's little-known *The Experience of Songs* is a good example of what may be achieved when we consider song texts as things that are sung.[20] Booth conducts no musical analysis, concentrating on the 'song verse', yet demonstrates that 'even if we only postulate music with these words, we can hear them better': a hypothesis that is especially helpful when it comes to the songs in this book, many of which specify no particular tune.[21] Again, I came to Booth's work at the very end of this project, but it has helped crystallise much of my own thinking, in demonstrating how we may circumvent the linguistic challenges posed by music itself.

This should not be construed as an attempt to remove music from song. This book includes a large body of recordings of the songs discussed which, whilst not adhering to any strict doctrine of 'historical practice', nonetheless attempts to provide the reader (and listener) with a point of access to these songs as musical performances. At all costs, I wish to avoid treating songs as in any way 'illustrative', one flaw of a work that still looms large in this area of history, E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*. In Thompson's great thesis, singers are alluded to variously (and inconsistently) as government mouthpieces; as one among many disreputable features of fairs; and as facilitators of Luddite, satirical, and radical discourse, bringing the printed word to the illiterate. In these instances, they are passive.[22] Songs are treated as indicative rather than active objects: for example, as celebrations of Trafalgar and the British tar.[23] Thompson's influence in my work has less to do with his use of songs, than with the discourse he has generated about the use of cultural forms by workers to resist authority: of culture as subaltern social signifier, and culture as subjected to authoritarian attempts at control and repression. As Thompson summarises: 'The process of social discipline was not uncontested.'[24]

I would demur, however, from applying too strict a class-based reading to popular song and the Napoleonic Wars. Attempts to subvert the song culture of the masses from above were largely failures, whilst that culture continued to revitalise itself from below. These processes might be read within a narrative of working-class self-creation and the rejection of values imposed from above. Yet other factors are also at play that nuance this reading: the fruitful creative dialogue between the composition of popular song and polite verse; the low social origins of some loyalist writers; the magpie tendencies of popular taste, as keen to assimilate the music of the middling stage as that of the street. Above all, I would eschew a partisan radical reading: the fierce autonomy of popular song culture was capable of resisting all political

discourse, not just the politics of authority, and we should not necessarily associate sympathy to Napoleon with a radicalised political programme.

One key divergence from Thompson's story here is that *The Making of the English Working Class* is necessarily a narrative of change, as are most historical analyses of the war years, whereas, following David Hopkin, I wish to emphasise the importance of historical continuity: as historians, we are too readily drawn to the gleam of development, at the expense of the dull stuff of stasis.[25] The Napoleonic Wars stimulated a tumult of developments in British society. But these developments did not obliterate existing modes of existence, which often proved surprisingly resilient. As this book sets out to demonstrate, popular song culture was an excellent example of this, as a living discourse inimical to wholesale reform. Songs and singers were not typically given to preaching, to radicalising, or to constructing the nation state. Rather, they told individual and affective narratives that, if they were to succeed, had to resonate with the existing conditions of daily life: a phenomenon that Alan Lomax called 'maximal accord'.[26] Thompson's often overlooked *Customs in Common* is more pertinent in this regard, in the attention it pays to the fractured and contradictory incoherence of popular culture as a whole, and the resistance of this heterogeneous culture to attempts at systematisation. Of supreme importance to the impact of the Napoleonic Wars on British society is his verdict on the preceding one hundred years: it is a 'characteristic paradox of the century [that] we have a *rebellious* traditional culture'.[27] We should not expect such a subaltern, intransigent society as the eighteenth century that Thompson depicts to be easily suborned by either post-revolutionary radicals, or the loyalist nation builders of Linda Colley's *Britons*.

Unlike Thompson, who made liberal use of ballad lyrics, Colley's only reference to Napoleonic-era song is a glance at 'The Pitman's Revenge Against Buonaparte', which she reduces to an expression of pleasure in violence.[28] She writes: 'The cult of heroic endeavour and aggressive maleness that was so pronounced in patrician art and literature at this time, was just as prominent in popular ballads and songs.'[29] There is an insightful and accurate implication here – that elite and popular culture were connected – that she fails to tease out. To do so would be to refute one aspect of Peter Burke's *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, by suggesting that cultural practice was not so rigidly separated along class lines by 1800 as he posits, a theme I develop in this book. Nor does Colley discuss song as a propagating medium of national unity, despite the centrality to her work of this unifying narrative. Revisionism of this argument has come so far that it is easy to forget that on first publication, she was attacked in *The Times* for her radical undermining of the immutable truth of Britishness in charting its artificial, historically contingent creation.[30] Colley dissects this process quite brilliantly. I simply wish to question her conclusion: that this process successfully inculcated a unified, loyal, British identity. I appreciate that, in revising an earlier

generation of largely socialist historiography, Colley, Gerald Newman et al. undertook essential, insightful work called for by Thompson himself.[31] Yet the pendulum has swung too far: rather than complicating a too radical discourse, Colley has superimposed another that is too loyalist.

I would rather not labour over an explicit critique of Colley. That work has largely been done, Catriona Kennedy offering a particularly thoughtful response within this series: challenging the idea that the Wars exacerbated Francophobia; stressing the importance of Ireland to the idea of Britain; questioning the impact of loyalist propaganda; and highlighting the experience of the individual rather than the construction of the collective.[32] Kennedy also makes the valuable point that, whilst the mediation of the conflict was strikingly 'modern', the essential narratives of the conflict were those of traditional dynastic warfare, between princes, not peoples.[33] I would go further still. It should be remembered that encounters between the militaristic state and its subjects were often not experienced as patriotic motivation, but as the violence of the press gang, enclosure, transportation, and Pitt's 'terror'. John Bull could be a Luddite or a smuggler. Considering the Wars with a working knowledge of the fighting itself further disrupts Colley's narrative. I hope that there is no longer a need to dismantle her formulation of the 'Other', but it may be worth reiterating that, contrary to her central claim, this was not a traditional struggle against the Catholic French.[34] The fact that loyalists often represented the Wars as acts of liberation belies that notion: the Allies were freeing the Catholic French from the, by turns, atheist and Muslim Corsican, Napoleon, in order to restore the Bourbon dynasty. As the Wars developed, so did the contradictions. As usual, the Protestant Dutch were key opponents. At sea, several small-scale defeats were inflicted by other Protestant powers, in the form of the United States' frigates and Danish privateers. The British burnt both those nations' capitals, causing moral unease to many patriots. Unprecedentedly, Britain became Spain's defender, seeking to reinstate His Most Catholic Majesty, as well as numerous Catholic rulers from the two Sicilies to the (ex-)Holy Roman Empire – not to mention the small matter of the Pope himself.[35] Britain's staunchest allies were Austria and Portugal, as Catholic as they came. As important as these intricacies themselves is that the mass of the people were increasingly aware of them, as I will repeatedly demonstrate, especially throughout Chapter 3.

There are many other respects in which the wartime Britain that emerges from this book differs from that of Colley's *Britons*, from increasing and often fraternal contact with foreigners, especially the French, to varied, idiosyncratic, and often sceptical responses to the threat of invasion. Not least among these differences is that of geography, from the local to the national, and the sense of belonging to communities more tangible than Britain, in which if there was a hated rival, it was the neighbouring village or town rather than Napoleon. As Katrina Navickas writes, Britishness 'was never a monolithic or homogeneous concept. Nor did it progress from

confusion and localism to embody clear, national principles shared by all. Geographical identities have always been multiple, changing, overlapping, and contested.'[36] Whilst I wish to stress the local, I would also draw attention to larger affiliations other than 'Britain' – the concept, for example, of 'north Britishness', as espoused by lowland Scots and Northumbrians in particular, which I have discussed elsewhere.[37] Most importantly, I am interested in the entirety of, to use J.G.A. Pocock's coinage, the Atlantic archipelago.[38] Matthew Johnson, who reminded us, above, of the initially hostile response to Colley's thesis, did so in a geographical revision that borrows Collini's useful term 'muffling inclusiveness'.[39] This is shorthand for the subsuming of alternative regional and national identities, across the archipelago, within a southeastern English identity. 'Muffling' has long been a failing of scholarship in this area. Thompson at least makes a clear and specific apology for the geographical limitations of his research and is conscientious in keeping England, not Britain, in mind.[40] Whether national borders were the correct place to draw his line is another matter. Colley seeks to exclude Ireland from her imagined community of 'Britain'.[41] Many others have failed to address the issue, writing 'Britain', 'Britons' and 'British', yet drawing almost exclusively on London sources. One writer especially guilty of this tendency is Stuart Semmel, whose *Napoleon and the British* might more accurately be called *Napoleon and London Society*. He explains that:

> Metropolitan London publications . . . overshadow provincial ones in these pages (as they did, of course, in the general printed corpus). Though one key theme of this book is national identity, I do not propose to tease out national or regional variations in conceptions of Napoleon. I am struck by the similarities and continuities, not the differences, between productions of different geographical origins . . . The separate question of Ireland lies beyond the boundaries of this study.[42]

This may or may not hold true for the primarily journalistic material Semmel discusses; it does not apply in any particular, however, to popular culture, especially song.

Semmel's only treatment of song is in relation to the metropolitan broadside campaign of 1803 to 1805.[43] A further three paragraphs discuss post-1815 songs, but merely conclude that they are 'surprisingly positive'.[44] He notes that 'One remarkable verse reiterated the array of heroic British names so often invoked in the broadsides of 1803 – but now added Napoleon to their ranks', without perceiving an essential relation between the songs of the two periods.[45] His claim that the thousands of earlier loyalist productions are 'evidence of what the British people were being told about Napoleon and France – and what loyalists feared the British people might be thinking' is by contrast a typically nuanced appreciation of the complexities of propaganda and mentality, which helps shape my investigation into both the

motives behind songs' production, and into ways of accessing how they were received.[46] His general observation that 'Napoleon served as a lens through which to scrutinize Britain's own identity, government, and history' is especially pertinent to this context.[47] But it is also symptomatic of his interest in an overtly partisan, politicised debate carried out in a bourgeois public sphere, rather than in the streets, fairs and public houses of this book.

The notion of the public sphere itself, first formulated by Jürgen Habermas, has of course been relentlessly interrogated by historians. In a recent study, Christina Parolin stresses the importance of English plebeian discourse – both rational and otherwise – but sensibly refrains from construing this as a separate space. Following Kevin Gilmartin, she eschews the idea of a plurality of discrete 'spheres', in acknowledgement of both the physical and abstract intersections of superficially distinct realms of discourse.[48] I would add that the implicit binary of public and private that any such 'sphere' sets up is as unwieldy as that of public and plebeian. I am, however, fascinated by the refraction of war into any number of spaces, discursive and otherwise – a lively field for the past two decades, thanks in large part to the scholarship of Mary Favret.[49] Particularly in Chapter 3, I seek to contribute to a debate on the 'paper shield' and the mediated domestic experience of war that has already been greatly enriched by the work of the editors of and contributors to this series.[50]

Most recently, Jenny Uglow's *In These Times* has sought to popularise perceptions of the everyday experience of the Wars, though this excellent work struggles at times to throw off the constraints of a traditional high narrative.[51] This may be due to the need to tell a clear story to the wider public. It may also stem from an essential difficulty in attempting to penetrate beneath the surface record. Mark Philp, whose expertise Uglow acknowledges in *In These Times*, puts it thus: 'While the loyalty of the common people has been studied by their participation in local riots, rites, rituals, monarchical pageants, and volunteer movements, . . . there is little work (probably because it is so difficult to do) on the private and sub-cultural worlds which lay behind loyalist performances.'[52] This is true for all forms of experience, overtly loyalist or otherwise, and a problem particularly prevalent when it comes to song. Generally, we are left with the song itself, and an impression of its possible performance, but almost nothing of how it was received and internalised. I suspect that this paucity of reception evidence is the main reason why so few historians have been able to follow the dictum of de Certeau, when he writes:

> The presence and circulation of a representation . . . tells us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyse its manipulation by users who are not its makers. Only then can we gauge the difference or similarity between the production of the image and the secondary production hidden in the process of its utilisation. [53]

It is certainly the reason why, though my greatest interest is in how ordinary people made use of 'representations' (in this instance, songs), I have made the songs, rather than the people, the central object of analysis: by and large, we have the evidence of the one but not the other. Given this disparity, it is essential that we look at songs in terms of their likely usage. I hope thereby to have undertaken work of the difficult kind called for by Philp. Yet even at the surface level of reading the songs, I am greatly indebted to Philp's sensitivity to the multiplicity of interpretations offered by a single text.

Whether one can ever simply 'read' a song is another issue. The primary goal of this book is to contribute to our understanding of the period of the Napoleonic Wars in Britain; it is, if you like, a history book. The nature of my source material naturally necessitates an interdisciplinary approach, however, and I engage (most obviously in Chapter 1) with major issues of ballad and folk scholarship and musicology. In light of this, it may be worth covering some essential terminology and technicalities. I have generally employed 'song', 'popular', and 'polite', rather than 'ballad', 'working class', or 'bourgeois'. 'Song' refers to any production primarily composed of a melody and a lyric. The majority of extant street songs from this period give no tune, often leaving it to be inferred that they should be sung at all. The presence of a chorus (or refrain, or 'burthen') is sometimes a useful clue, but many songs had no chorus. Nor is a lyric's material source necessarily an indicator: broadsides were only usually songs; newspapers and journals favoured poetry but included songs; most poets also wrote songs. Hence the line between song and poem is occasionally and indeed interestingly blurred.

'Ballad' is often considered synonymous with 'song'. The definition in Samuel Johnson's dictionary, 'Ballad (balade, Fr.), A song' has been cited as proof of this.[54] Yet a definition from 1806 was rather more specific: 'BALLAD generally means a kind of song, adapted to the capacity of the lower class of people . . . Some have supposed that the knowledge of the ballads in common use is necessary to a minister of state to learn the temper and disposition of the people.'[55] Most songs in this book are ballads by this definition, but by no means all. 'Ballad' is further complicated by its implication of narrative, an element missing from many songs; by the expectation of a slow tempo and a substantial number of verses; and by its more particular poetic connotations, whereby 'ballad' and 'ancient ballad' were often interchangeable, the stuff of Scott's *Border Minstrelsy* rather than the streets. Thus, like Horgan, I prefer to employ the 'broader' term of 'song' unless a specific variant is to be indicated.[56] However, I employ 'ballad singer' as synonymous with 'street singer', as this was the universal usage at the time. In this book, 'ballad singers' sing 'songs'. Horgan's category of song is designed to foreground 'the relationship between topical songs, classical songs, psalms, and hymns'.[57] I have found that when it comes to Napoleon, 'traditional' songs, topical broadsides, theatrical songs, and songs in periodicals are similarly entangled. Sacred song intrudes occasionally, though efforts were often

taken to police the boundary between the sacred and the political. Whilst devotional culture is clearly a part of my story, and we will encounter clergymen, thanksgivings, and Sunday school attendees, I have not been able to find room for a developed investigation of sacred song: for those interested in the topic, Horgan's second chapter may be of relevance.

A song's composite identity of melody and lyric distinguishes it from 'tune' or 'air', two words used to denote solely the melodic part. Even this is problematic. Many lyrics were penned to the same tune, a far more common occurrence than the setting of existing words to a new melody. When this happened, the lyric would often be prefaced with 'To the tune of *x*'. Well-known tunes thus required titles, and could not exist independently of words. In popular culture, tunes were known by the names of famous songs of which they had formed a part. This could change over time. The tune known as 'The Brags of Washington' in 1812 had become 'A-Hunting We Will Go' by 1840.[58] The United Irishman songbook *Paddy's Resource* provocatively insisted that 'Brethren Unite' was to be sung to 'Tune – "*God save the Rights of Man*" ' rather than 'God save the King'.[59] This tune held competing identities in this period, such as Joseph Mather's 'God Save Great Thomas Paine' and 'Bob Shave the King', wherein 'Bob' was Robespierre.[60] For these radical appropriations to work, the tune's existing loyalist association was essential to the irony. In these cases the tune was a loyal one, but the resulting song was not. Samuel Bamford's attorney seized on this distinction when defending the Peterloo marchers' conduct in their trial of 1819. Aware they would be accused of singing seditious songs, the lawyer sought 'to prove the object of the music, and the use made of it, in playing national and loyal airs'.[61] It is probable that the 'airs' were national and loyal. Yet the lyrics may have been subversive. A tune, in short, was never purely melodic.

Not uncontroversially, I sometimes evaluate the success of fitting a new lyric to the meter of the tune as a key determinant of a song's 'fitness', and thus its potential to be well received. Of course, performances were often *a cappella* and idiosyncratic, singers elongating or abbreviating phrases at will. This could be said to negate the impact of an ill-stressed lyric: the singer would simply adjust the tune to fit. Yet the clumsy settings I discuss go further than an occasional extra syllable. I will only base my argument on cases when a lyric goes beyond plausible salvation, or 'reinterpretation', by a singer: cases when repeatedly unrhythmic or crammed meter constitutes a real barrier to singing.

One of the greatest problems in tackling these songs remains that of dating. Very few broadsides bore a date, and oral testimony is equally obscure. It is difficult to determine even a printed song's first appearance. Where I have attempted any dating, however broad, I have combined internal lyrical evidence with all known external data – collectors' testimonies, writers' or singers' biographical details, printers' dates of residence at premises registered on broadsides – to provide a date range.

'Popular' and 'polite', meanwhile, are shorthand techniques to differentiate what contemporaries perceived as two broadly distinct social groups. 'Popular' maps onto both the anachronistic 'working class' and 'underclass'.[62] 'Polite' implies some share or interest in an educated, property-holding society, and thus largely subsumes both 'elite' and 'middling', when middling interests were aligned with those of their class superiors. Since 1995, when Tim Harris exposed the flaws of overly paradigmatic thinking in 'Problematising Popular Culture', no satisfactory alternative model has been widely adopted.[63] I would argue for the utility of retaining 'popular culture' in this particular context, as a strong sense of 'us and them' obtains in the discourse on the Wars, with many subaltern individuals bidding for inclusion in the 'polite' group.[64] Thus the crudity of these two terms is to some extent a throwing up of hands: an acknowledgement of the impossibility of any rigid division of the populace into two or more horizontal or vertical categories, leaving open the possibility for dialogue between the two; for a multiplicity of cultures within the same class; for cross-class agency; and for the movement of songs both up and down the social scale. I am following Harris in thus focusing on 'the interaction of elite and popular culture'.[65] Pierce Egan's *Life in London* serves to remind us of this: its characters flit between elegant art galleries and dens frequented by beggars, appearing comfortable in all settings, simultaneously rogues and gentlemen.[66] I prefer 'popular' to 'vernacular' as a prefix, as popular songs could have a high literary origin, or later enter polite culture. Such songs' literary idioms were not always 'low'. The term also wards off the associations of 'folk'. Terms such as 'folk' and 'oral tradition', as Dave Harker argues so convincingly, 'are conceptual lumber, and they have to go'.[67] They also carry unhelpful connotations of stasis. Returning to Harris, I find especially pertinent to song in this period his comment that: 'Rather than seeing culture as a thing or a structure, we should see it as a process, constantly adapting itself to new developments and new circumstances.'[68] In particular, it would be as naïve to insist upon a total distinction between print and oral song culture, as between urban and rural. Similarly, no work touching upon William Cobbett could insist upon a rigid binary of loyalist and radical: not only did these two terms embrace a multitude of shifting positions, between which even a single individual could move, but they imply a certain sense of programme or partisanship absent from the mentality of much of the populace. When I use these terms, I do so specifically and contingently. Which leaves only 'Wars' to be defined: a simple referent to Britain's conflict with France, twice interrupted, between 1793 and 1815.

Though the Wars began for Britain in 1793, my story does not. Chapter 1 starts instead with a thorough examination of popular song culture in Britain in this period, a wholly necessary contextualisation if we are to make anything of the songs that follow. We must appreciate 'song' as a form with its own values and conventions, central to which is the understanding that

songs are musical objects whose affective meanings are determined in their performance: that live in the mouth, eye, and ear, not simply on the page. Popular song in this period was a mix of oral and print-based traditions in ongoing dialogue, rejuvenated by new writing from within, and by more elite productions either introduced or appropriated from above: the theatre, the pleasure garden, the literary journal, and the pens of moral and political activists. Ephemeral printers produced large, cheap, single-sided 'broadsides', usually priced at a halfpenny for one or a penny for two songs, or garlands, chapbooks, and songsters of between three and twenty-odd songs, selling for anything up to sixpence but offering greater economy of scale. These printers operated from small towns as well as major cities, and indulged in a healthy degree of piracy. Songs were distributed, performed, and sold (or, if subsidised, given out *gratis*) primarily by disreputable ballad singers. Singers were largely peripatetic, either travelling the country or working a provincial circuit from an urban hub.[69] No ballad singer would sing only topical political songs: their repertoires were rich and varied, and popular audiences were as accustomed as polite audiences to performances that spanned a range of moods and genres.

Audience response is of course simultaneously the most important and least accessible dimension of this song culture, and the chapters that follow have at their heart this task: to assemble a sense of the relative impact of songs. Structured chronologically, chapters 2 to 4 construct an unbroken narrative of the Wars in popular culture. The themes present in the events and songs of each chronological division lend each chapter a distinctive focus. Chapter 2 addresses the geographic and political palimpsest of Britain, revealing both a bitterly contested political confrontation – primarily between loyalist-nationalists in the south and Wales, and English and Irish radical voices – and a set of perspectives that fit neither side of that binary. Loyalist songs predominated by dint of sheer volume, yet their impact was less than that of moderate, contingently patriotic songs, whilst satirical and subaltern compositions thrived in smaller numbers due to their better fitness to the conditions of popular culture. Songs, like Britons, were freer and more heterodox in the time of the invasion scares than has generally been imagined.

Chapter 3, covering a period when songs turned to wider continental matters, is more concerned with news than nation, and with the control, on the domestic front, of time and space in the consumption of this news. As the war dragged on with little hope of success, the deluge of loyalist propaganda receded, and disaffected, subaltern, regional voices came to the fore. In the heady and hectic years of 1814 and 1815, the subject of the first part of Chapter 4, the growing divisions between these two broad groups became most obviously manifest, as first the General Peace, and then the Waterloo campaign, were interpreted very differently in two sets of songs. By the post-war period, however, a sung consensus was established, and it

was not a loyalist one. It became clear that the Napoleonic Wars did not forge a homogenous, quiescent British identity, but left a divided and often disaffected populace, increasingly self-aware and susceptible to further dissent in the wake of post-war repression and economic depression. To this singing nation, Napoleon – victim of the war and the British state – was one of their own: a hero and an everyman. To sing his story was thus in some sense to identify with him.

Chapter 5 serves as a case-study synopsis of this narrative, providing a level of close detail not afforded by the grand sweep that precedes it. It reveals a song culture on Tyneside that was subversive, ironic, resistant to external influence, and preoccupied with local and regional registers of discourse. Rather than inculcating widespread loyalism and patriotism, the activities of volunteer forces and propagandists stimulated scepticism and dissent, articulated in song as the most receptive and natural form for popular and especially countercultural expression. Finally, I should draw attention to the Appendix: detailed information on all songs mentioned throughout the book may be found here, when such data is available. Many of these songs may be heard via the link that accompanies this book. These are necessarily interpretations, one set of performances among an infinity of possibilities, limited to a single voice and should be taken neither as historical reconstructions nor as authoritative 'works' for analysis, but rather as, to co-opt a phrase third hand via Marsh, 'a hearing aid for historians'.[70]

1
'A Hacknied Tune'? Song Culture in Napoleonic Britain

Until his death in 1808, John Freeth owned a tavern in Birmingham.[1] As his obituary notes, Freeth – a celebrated radical and debater – did more than serve drinks. Here was a man:

> Who, when good news is brought to town,
> Immediately to work sits down,
> And business fairly to go through,
> Writes songs, finds tunes, and sings them too.[2]

His biographer informs us that Freeth rarely committed his most extemporary effusions to paper, yet he is known to have published numerous collections of his songs, two of which concern the Napoleonic Wars.[3] It would be folly to attempt to read one of Freeth's songs without considering his agency – as consumer of news, as songwriter, as publisher, as singer – and without a thought to the contexts in which the song existed – the tavern, the songbook's material page, the city of Birmingham at the turn of the nineteenth century. There is nothing ineffable or intangible about song thus conceived: it is a sort of musicking carried out by people in physical and temporal space. In this opening chapter, I wish to situate Napoleonic song culture in terms of those people, the better to understand the songs that follow as part of the practice of everyday life.[4]

As Freeth's example demonstrates, a single individual could perform multiple roles in that practice. Yet in the context of any given song, even Freeth performed those roles consecutively rather than concurrently. Conceptually, those roles may be given as: writer; printer (almost all the songs in this book were printed at some stage in their history); singer; listener. These four roles suggest a journey from creation to consumption, though the reality was rather messier. If a listener liked a song, they would become singer in turn, and every act of singing is necessarily recreative: a song was always to some extent rewritten with each rendition, just as many were rewritten (accidentally or otherwise) with each printing. Even simply to listen

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is to participate in the creation of meaning. There is, therefore, fluidity, even instability, inherent in these four categories. Yet they serve to order our thinking about the practical operation of song culture in British society, during the Napoleonic Wars.

Writers

At the risk of gross simplification, it could be said that writers of Napoleonic song fell into two categories. These were distinguished, not by their relationship to politics or to Napoleon, but by their relationship to songwriting as a medium. One set were single-issue writers: those interested in the subject, rather than the medium, for whom the goal was politically or morally to influence others and thus to participate to some degree in affairs of state. The other set could more truly be called songwriters: their compositions generally ranged across a broader range of subjects, the process being a more accustomed habit of mind, and thus when they turned to topical matters, their writing was informed by both a wider and a deeper appreciation of the medium. In thinking through this intentional and technical difference, it may be helpful to see it as a vernacular permutation of Clement Greenberg's proposition, perhaps too often bandied about: 'that the unique and proper area of competence of each art coincided with all that was unique in the nature of its medium'.[5] The former group, who in many cases lacked this competence, might be called amateurs in the modern sense, the latter amateurs in its original sense, save that some in both groups also wrote for profit. Indeed all songwriting constituted to some degree a bid for status within a community, however sincere the creative act. It is with regard to the first group (the single-issue 'amateurs') that these bids are of greatest interest, as this form of civic-minded songwriting was a phenomenon peculiar to the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

Philp brings this to our attention in his discussion of the contributors to Reeves' Association in the early 1790s: a group of would-be activists seeking to condition the mentality of the masses. He argues convincingly that many of those who contributed songs and other material were seeking a degree of social respectability.[6] Though these writers might hail from lowly backgrounds, they were bidding for participative inclusion in a dutiful, loyalist public sphere, in its original sense of a privileged, restricted, literate community. Letters accompanying submissions to Reeves are full of self-justifying discourse in which the distinction between the 'vulgar' language necessary in addressing a plebeian audience, and that which the authors might ordinarily employ, is painstakingly made clear. By representing themselves as condescending patricians, low-status writers negotiated the careful social codes examined in Bourdieu's *Distinction*, with the ensuing irony that in penning songs designed to keep the poor in their place, they were themselves challenging the established social order.[7] John Morfitt of Birmingham

took up his pen in 1803 because he could 'no longer be silent' in the face of 'this tremendous crisis', his words acknowledging both the need to make apology for his productions, and the break with custom in someone like him voicing a political opinion in print.[8]

This display was in part necessitated by a general prejudice against the writers of popular songs, at least as manifested in the London press. The *European Magazine* declared that: 'There are few writers more frequent or more presumptuous in their intrusions on the public than, we know not what to call them, versifiers, rhymists, metre-ballad mongers, [anything] you will but poets.'[9] The *Scourge* went further. 'It scarcely need be mentioned, that these songs are generally composed by those who have been initiated in all the slang, filthiness, and corruption, which that seat of vice, St. Giles, can produce.'[10] One retired bookseller defined 'the composer of common ballads' as belonging to 'the lowest grade' of Grub Street writers.[11] Thus Reeves' contributing songwriters, in their exculpatory letters, were distinguishing themselves from both the masses and the stereotypical 'chaunter cull' (songwriter).[12] This attitude persisted throughout the Wars. By treating loyalist songwriting as a patriotic duty akin to parish charity, even the humblest could claim a share of Britannia's glory. John Tye, author of another Birmingham song collection, laboured the point in claiming that his *Loyal Songster, Dedicated to the Birmingham Loyal Associated Corps of Infantry* possessed 'no other *recommendation* than *novelty* and *loyalty*'.[13]

This phenomenon is of interest, not only in itself, but in its effect in producing a large proportion of topical song during the Wars: songs born, not from a popular cultural tradition of songwriting, but from an extrinsic political motivation. The most obvious consequence of this was the 'us and them' mentality manifest in the majority of avowedly loyalist songwriting, in which even the most vernacular lyricists could not help but pontificate, reflecting the attitude of Patty More, a bluestocking reformer and sister to the famous Hannah More: 'They [the poor] have so little common sense, and so little sensibility, that we are obliged to beat into their heads continually the good we are doing them; and endeavouring to press upon them, with all our might, the advantages they derive from us.'[14]

The more habitual sort of songwriter perceived less of a chasm between self and audience. Being accustomed to or involved in song more broadly, there was no need to maintain a barrier of distinction. Some were, of course, 'in the business', though fewer than one might think. The best examples of professional songwriters engaging with Napoleon and the Wars are the prolific Dibdin family: Charles the Elder and his two illegitimate sons, Charles and Thomas. Poets such as Thomas Moore, though writing in the first instance for a more elevated audience, or regional figures like Robert Anderson of Carlisle, fall into a similar bracket. Some, like the Scottish weaver and songwriter Walter Watson, were occasionally supported by local subscriptions in recognition of their works.[15] Most, however, derived little or no

income from songwriting, typically getting by as weavers, schoolmasters, clerks, soldiers, or shopkeepers (we must of course also allow for the likelihood of anonymous female songwriters in both groups). In delineating this broad category, I do not mean to suggest that these writers were disinterested when their songs did address topical affairs. The most obvious example is the 'weaver boy' and radical leader Samuel Bamford, who readily admits his motivation in composing his 'Lancashire Hymn'. 'I often said to my companions; "observe our neighbours, the Church-folks, – the Methodists, – and the Ranters, – what charms they add to their religious assemblages by the introduction of vocal music. Why has such an important lesson remained unobserved by us? Why should not we add music, and heart-inspiring song to our meetings?" '[16] In the introduction to his earliest set of songs, Bamford refers to himself as 'one of old Burke's pigs', and hopes of his 'little book' that 'the sentiments of Liberty which it contains may arouse a corresponding feeling in the bosoms of his Countrymen'.[17] He differed from the single-issue loyalists described above only in that his political output was informed and accompanied by an accomplished wider repertoire, symptomatic of his deeper engagement in song culture and, in consequence, his greater competence as a songwriter. William Thom, a weaver from Inverurie, Aberdeenshire, asserts the importance of this engagement to the act of composition: 'It was not enough that we merely chaunted, and listened; but some more ambitious, or idle if you will, they in time would try a self-conceived song.'[18] He lists his own influences – Byron, Moore, Hogg, Burns, and above all Tannahill – and locates the creative process of songwriting within an existing tradition: 'some waxed bold . . . groping amidst the material around and stringing it up, ventured on a home-made lilt.'[19] Songwriters of this stamp frequently left memoirs, in which they stress the importance of long practice, and represent themselves as part of an established tradition.[20]

However one attempts to impose conceptual order, songwriting in this period was above all else heterogeneous: relevant writers range across the social and cultural spectrum, and their motivations were frequently mixed. Semi-professional Welsh singer-songwriters, for instance, could simultaneously profess piety and the wish to be paid, in formulas ranging from this humble verse by George Stephens –

> Three small half-farthings is my tribute
> Before the whole world in public;
> If they are accepted (this is the truth)
> It will be more in my mind than a piece of land.[21]

– to Ioan Dafydd's more assertive stamp of intellectual copyright:

> I must now conclude,
> Lest I should tire anyone by singing,

> By asking those of all ages
> To give a single penny swiftly
> For the little piece of paper,
> And to respect it while reading it ...
> Let no one sell this song without the author's permission.[22]

Even pious loyalists had to eat, just as one presumes that soldiers' eyewitness songs of Waterloo, proud and self-aggrandising as they could be, were not offered *gratis* to the London printers who published them.[23] And just as loyalty could have its financial reward, so professional songwriting could serve a nobler end. Such, at least, was the claim of Charles Dibdin the Elder, in his 1803 autobiography:

> It was not enough ... merely to write love-songs, pastorals, invocations to Bacchus, to sing the pleasures of the chase, or be a sonnet monger ... It was necessary to go beyond what had been already done, and in particular to give my labours a decided character ... and therefore as a prominent feature in my labours, I sung those heroes who are the natural bulwark of their country ... I thought therefore the subject honourable, and commendable.[24]

Dibdin is known to have written patriotic songs under Pitt's duress, and to have complained bitterly at his treatment. Yet whatever his actual motivation, his songs were masterfully crafted, no common feat when it came to topical compositions on Napoleon. Such songs were every bit as mixed as their writers, but in all cases their composition may be broken down into two surprisingly separate elements: music and lyric.

Writing

Dibdin was exceptional in another regard during this period, as he wrote both the music and lyrics of his songs. He sold these to a polite public for a shilling a song, the notation provided in up to four pages of sheet music with the first verse scored, and subsequent verses given below. When sold as popular broadsides, however, no music was given: the cost of so much paper, let alone the specialised engraving called for, was too high for ephemeral printers, and besides, almost none of the mass market was musically literate. Only a minority of all broadsides even specified a tune. As Anthony Bennett points out, even where a tune *was* given, there is no guarantee that the song was sung to that precise melody. A writer or printer could each give a tune, but so too could the ballad singer who sold the song, or the purchaser who subsequently sung it.[25] This was likeliest when the lyric's meter was conventional: some tunes required highly distinctive meter, from 'God save

the King' to 'The House that Jack Built', and thus resisted melodic reappropriation. Moreover, any singer might embellish or simplify, misremember, or transpose to fit their range, creating melodic variants upon the same notional tune – and then sing it differently again upon the next occasion.[26] Such variation was inevitable in a culture where tune and lyric could and did function quite separately.

Very few writers of explicitly popular song (as opposed to songs originally produced for a theatrical or elite audience) appear to have composed their own tunes in this period, or rather, we have practically no evidence of the practice. In Birmingham in 1803, 'Mr. Joseph Harris supplied both words and music to a song called "John Bull".'[27] Middling lyricists sometimes had their works set by composers.[28] The veteran radical John Cartwright describes a loyalist advertisement for a songwriting competition:

> As patriotic songs can produce little effect unless, by the enchanting sweetness and animating strains of music, they captivate the public taste, and touch the springs of national enthusiasm, the publisher of the first edition . . . advertised a prize of twenty guineas . . . for the best musical composition to which the foregoing ballad might be sung.[29]

By far the most common practice, however, was for new words to be written to an existing tune, in a process technically known as parody. This did not necessarily imply a comic or satirical effect: the parodic use of a tune could be serious and respectful, or serious and subversive, as well as bathetic or mocking: it merely necessitated some prior knowledge of the tune and its associations.[30]

These associations derived from the tune's use in a previous song, rather than inhering in its melodic properties. This has encouraged historians to discuss tunes exclusively as carriers of contestable ideology.[31] Important as this dimension is, it is hardly the whole story. A tune also conferred a set of performative expectations: it helped determine genre, mood, and style of delivery. It also imposed significant restraints upon the writer. As Alan Lomax writes:

> The formalities of melody and meter tend to limit the choice of the singer and song maker to a set of stock phrases, devices, and poetic forms . . . These brief bits of discourse, linked tightly together by the inexorable demands of tempo, severely limit the input of text. Further restrictions are imposed by the other redundancy features present, such as melody, rhythm, and phonotactic structure.[32]

These restrictions were amplified by the temporal dimension of a song: existing in time as sung, as opposed to perpetuity upon a page, a lyric had to compress its ideas into couplets and phrases, relying on short-range rhymes

to package and stress its points.[33] If these conditions of writing to music were successfully met, a lyricist had much to gain: a well-matched tune could elevate a lyric, make it memorable, lend it an emotional affect, and above all bridge the gulf between writer and listener by enabling them to participate in a shared experience of identification with the vocalised words of the song.[34] In terms of parody, a witty writer could achieve a comic, tragic, or satirical effect by intentionally creating discord between musical and lyrical affect. All too often, however, the two were poorly matched due to a clumsy, inept, or naïve lyricist failing to master the media specifics of songwriting. This capacity for failure has been underestimated, too many historians taking at face value one letter to John Reeves, from 1792, declaring that 'any thing written . . . to an Old English tune . . . made a more fixed Impression on the Minds of the Younger and Lower Class of People, than any written in Prose'.[35] The quotation's implication is that it was an easy matter to repurpose an old melody for topical, ideological ends. As we shall see, this was demonstrably not the case. Even setting aside the choosing of a tune, many writers struggled to compose lyrics that were fit for purpose.

The Manchester songwriter Alexander Wilson told this story of his young brother Samuel, who in 1808 took his first steps in songwriting by composing a verse on the dispersal of a group of weavers by the Royal Irish Dragoons:

> Almost breathless, [Samuel] exclaimed, 'Father! I've made a song!' . . .
> 'It was in the year one thousand eight hundred and eight,'
> Then he paused. 'Well,' said my father, 'go on,' –
> 'A lot of bold weavers stood in a line straight.'
> 'Very good,' said my father, 'what's next?' He raised his hand above his head as if wielding a sword, –
> 'Then coom th' barrack sogers o in a splutter,
> And knock'd the poor weavers right into the gutter.'
> 'Capital! capital!' said my father, laughing heartily, and the young poet sat down by the fire, reading 'rounds of applause' in my father's risibility.[36]

The anecdote would seem to hinge on the bathetic splutter/gutter rhyme, obscuring a more fundamental point: the first and third of Samuel's four lines do not scan with the implied meter. The effect is jarring, and a singer would struggle to reconcile these lines with a tune.

We will encounter many far less metrical compositions. Yet a grasp of meter was not the only criterion of lyrical fitness. Writers also had to consider how fitting were their allusions, vocabulary, sentiment, or tone to the audience and the likely performative context. No song may be imposed on unwilling listeners – it might be shouted down, laughed at, or simply ignored – and thus even the most topical political message had to be couched in terms appropriate to its audience. In essence, to be well received, a lyric

had to articulate something – a sentiment, an identity – already present in its listeners; it had to bend to their value system and cultural idioms.[37] This is not to insist, as Booth does, that 'a songwriter should not have anything really new to say'.[38] But it should help inform our judgements as to the fitness of Napoleonic productions: only the craftiest of Trojan horses are likely to have passed through the gates of popular culture. As one contemporary Lancastrian, Joseph Ramsbottom, put it:

> And we have little doubt that the singer has greatest influence, and is most loved by the people, who, avoiding all elaborate forms of expression and high flights of sentiment, comes to them in their own simple way, and, with their own homely phrases, weaves his songs, as it were, with a musical thread into portions of their every-day life.[39]

Effective songwriting required both a firm grasp of craft and sensitivity to the mentality of one's audience. Some writers achieved this; some understood it but did not achieve it; and many more failed even to understand. It is essential that we do not make the same mistakes when analysing their songs.

Printers

Once written, a song was usually given a physical manifestation. All songs in this book have been written down at some point; most have been published. In some cases this took place after the most relevant performative stage. Those collected from singers, whether by contemporaries such as John Bell and Walter Scott or by later waves of collectors, may have functioned in purely oral form until then (conversely, many songs collected from 'oral tradition' have a broadside origin).[40] Nor is this purely a 'folk' issue; many songs premiered on the stage were performed to paying audiences both within and without the theatre, before being published as broadsides, as sheet music, or in songbooks. Alternatively, songs, especially subversive ones, may have circulated in manuscript, rather than print form. The decision *not* to publish (and thereby to avoid damnation) was significant; the role of manuscript transmission in eighteenth-century song culture is frequently underappreciated.[41] In Ireland, English language songs were usually printed, whilst Irish-language songs frequently circulated through oral and manuscript transmission.[42] Yet despite all this, the overwhelming majority of our songs were published in print within the dates under discussion. The printer's role was crucial.

The term 'printer' is preferable to 'publisher' as a catch-all. It may be objected that the reverse should be true, as the latter definition encompasses the role of the former.[43] It is best to avoid too nice a distinction; in many cases, a single individual was responsible for the entire process, from typesetting, to legal responsibility, to point-of-sale, while most distribution and off-premises vending was undertaken by singers themselves. Books,

entered at Stationers' Hall, with known authors, bound between hard covers, may have been 'published'; ephemeral broadsheets may merely have been 'printed'. But again, it was often the same person behind both processes. Most importantly, contemporary sources overwhelmingly employ the term 'printer'. The chief exception is James Asperne, who refers to himself as a 'publisher': elsewhere, it is 'printers' who 'publish' things.[44]

Most studies of this era have centred on one or both of two great London printers of ephemera, John Pitts and Jemmy Catnach.[45] Semmel focuses on the propaganda produced around 1803, 'coordinated by a relatively few actors, most notably the bookseller-publishers James Asperne, John Hatchard, and John Ginger'.[46] Asperne in particular publicised the importance of his own loyalist publications, proclaiming in his own magazine that: 'It is well known, that these publications have produced the most beneficial effects; and, convinced of this, we think our fellow-citizen merits public encouragement, and the support of his superiors.'[47] Contrary to this self-interested appeal, the London printers most central to loyalist song culture were in fact John Jennings, Thomas Batchelar, and John Pitts, in addition to lesser figures such as Thomas Evans. The metropolis was not the only centre of song production, however. A dutiful list of the regional English competition would include another Jennings in York; Margaret Angus and sons and John Marshall in Newcastle (not to be confused with the John Marshall of London, whose contracts and stock Pitts inherited); Swindells, Harrop, and Aston in Manchester; Turner in Coventry; Walker in Durham; another Walker in Preston; Cheney in Banbury; Sutton in Nottingham; Lyon in Wigan; Norbury in Brentford; Harward in Tewkesbury; and Gilbert in Newington Causeway.[48] Yet there is nothing so tokenistic as a string of names; we can only appreciate the role of regional print if we delve a little deeper.

In Chapter 5, my case study of Newcastle reveals the remarkable importance and agency of John Marshall. Roy Palmer has focused on Birmingham printers; Ffion Mair Jones and Marion Löffler on printers in Wales.[49] In turning our attention away from London's loyalists, we uncover a far wider array of attitudes among regional printers. J. Jackson, an obscure Lancaster printer, was prepared to publish openly pro-Napoleonic pamphlets.[50] G. Summers of Sunderland published a pro-Napoleonic song in 1814.[51] Joseph Russell of Birmingham served a prison sentence for publishing radical sentiments.[52] James Montgomery, a Sheffield newspaper editor, was fined £20 and served three months' imprisonment at York for printing a radical song by a Belfast cleric, a verse of which runs:

> Europe's fall on the contest's decision depends;
> Most important the issue will be;
> For should France be subdued, Europe's liberty ends;
> If she triumphs, the world will be free![53]

At least five Irish printers were arrested as United Irishmen during the 1798 rising in Dublin alone; some years earlier, the Dublin branch of the United Irishmen included fifteen printers and booksellers.[54] One Dublin printer, Bartholomew Corcoran, was infamous for his seditious and immoral song publications, yet although 'he had people constantly employed to circulate them all over Ireland . . . The civil power never interfered to prevent him' between 1800 and his death in 1812.[55] However zealous the Dublin Castle authorities were in prosecuting radical printers, they failed to suppress their publications, as correspondence with various spies makes clear.[56]

Printers could do more than publish. Some wrote their own songs.[57] Others might choose a suitable tune for a lyric submitted to them.[58] Before Catnach allowed a song to leave the press, he vetted it personally to ensure it was 'fit for the national taste'.[59] Conversely, a professional printer might be left out of the process, as when a newspaper editor like Birmingham's John Collins chose to self-publish his own songs, or a commercial firm operated a private press as ancillary to their real business, as with Humble and Sons, Tyneside lottery agents.[60] A cooperative middle ground was more usual, whereby a printer relied upon ad hoc individual partnerships with significant singer-songwriters. The business relations of Scottish ballad singer David Love with both Steed of Gosport and Evans of London is a case in point.[61] Few ephemeral printers, however, would take financial risks for the sake of friendship or politics. Tales of the fortune amassed by Catnach became legendary because it was exceptional: most printers struggled, and even failed.[62] This precluded even the most jingoistic from self-funding a propaganda campaign. The proclamations of Asperne, above, and Ginger, acknowledge the need for patronage: 'The very great Demand for the *Spirited* and *Loyal Patriotic Papers* lately published by MR. GINGER, Piccadilly, has induced him to print NEW EDITIONS, at a considerable Expense. – NOBLEMEN, GENTLEMEN, and others, who are desirous of serving their Country, would do well to embrace the present Opportunity.'[63]

This advertisement proceeds to list Ginger's productions, grouped by price bracket for single items, and offered by the hundred. Bulk buying and distribution by wealthy backers was an economic solution as much as the product of a slick propaganda machine, and the need for printers to advertise in search of patronage indicates that the process was not without difficulty. Ginger's lowest advertised price for single items was a penny: his patriotism did not prevent him charging wealthy purchasers double the market price of a halfpenny. This loyalist alliance of printers and patrons cannot have been easy, especially when extrapolated across the Isles. Printers were not respectable.[64] They sold loyalist songs alongside bawdy, even obscene material, and relied upon borderline criminals for their dissemination: printers as well as ballad singers were frequently condemned in polite publications for their tendency to corrupt the politics and morals of the people.[65] The 'radical underworld' of pornographers and dissidents did not stand apart

from loyalist ephemeral print culture: it pervaded it.[66] As Anna Clark puts it, 'publishers aimed not to inculcate morals but to sell songs. To do so, their proclamations had to speak to the realities, not just the aspirations, of plebeian life.'[67] Thus Pitts' stock included 'The Death of Parker', an elegy to the leader of the naval mutinies of 1797, and the rather Bonapartist 'Napoleon's Farewell to Paris', while Catnach printed satirical children's songs that used the Wars to poke fun at the Prince Regent: in this number, 'Prinny' is illustrated as a teddy bear:

> Here's Prinny with gun,
> Sword and gorget so smart,
> He's going to France,
> To fight Bonaparte.
>
> And Joan's threat had fill'd
> Poor Prin with alarms,
> He said he'd not fight,
> And so grounded his arms.[68]

Catnach was braver than the assistant at Mr Bell's, encountered by John Clare during his time in the volunteers. Clare wrote a ballad on a minor scandal which, though 'heartily' amusing, was deemed 'too personal' to be worth the risk of printing for fear of reprisals – indeed, Clare subsequently destroyed even the manuscript copy.[69]

Ephemeral printers constantly flirted with criminality, falling foul of laws against libel or sedition. Yet their social and financial instability offered them some protection against the most common threat: a prosecution for piracy. Charles Dibdin the Younger was advised against legal action by his own printer (a man who knew better than most) on the grounds that he would fail to recoup his costs from the impoverished culprits.[70] Even when the relevant Act against piracy was updated to account for broadsides in 1810, it merely prohibited using an author's name without permission: their lyrics could still be printed without fear of reprisals.[71] The margin this left for illegality naturally encouraged the spread of songs across different social contexts, particularly the illicit appropriation of elite publications by popular printers. As Simon Bainbridge writes: 'There were frequently overlaps between texts published in broadsheet form and those printed in newspapers and magazines.'[72] Not only did plebeian readers try to read periodicals, as we shall see, but they could access much of the same content via pirated ephemera. Even the thoroughly vernacular Newcastle song 'Bob Cranky's Leum'nation Neet' was first published in the *Tyne Mercury*. This process was the inverse of what Harker calls the manufacture of 'fakesong', whereby popular material was commoditised for an emerging bourgeois market: just as some songs could be made respectable, so the respectable origins of others did not preclude their consumption by a lowly market.[73]

Songs sold for mass consumption usually took the form of single slips, or paired broadsides, sold individually so as to be affordable to most, out of the disposable portion of their income. The average labourer paid a half-hour's wages for a single-song slip, or an hour's for a two-song broadside. This offered poor value per song compared with costlier compilations, from garlands and chapbooks to bound songbooks. Unsurprisingly, London was the centre of the broadside market, while northern and Irish ephemeral printers produced a far higher proportion of garlands and songbooks. These compilations gave printers control over small-scale repertoires, allowing for the creation of associations across a themed set of songs: as Gammon writes, 'A tune's meaning and affect is dependent upon, and in part created by, the other tunes that form a known set or repertory.'[74] Typically, a broadside might pair a comic song with a tragic, to satisfy the buyer's desire for variety. More interesting were politicised conjunctions that passed comment without risking censorship. Palmer provides one pairing that subtly criticised the war, where 'A New Song, called The Tradesman's Lamentation' was 'Printed, appropriately, on the same sheet as a ballad on a naval battle'.[75] A Belfast garland entitled 'The Wounded Hussar' used Campbell's tragic ballad, and the anti-war sentiments of 'Mary's Dream at Sandy's Tomb', to foreshadow its third song, 'Battle of Trafalgar'.[76] The patriotism of the third song might easily be undercut by the satirical import of the combination, the whole reading as bitter commentary on the true impact of war. Marshall, at Newcastle, frequently themed his shorter chapbooks in this fashion. One five-song collection contained 'The Battle of Waterloo. The death of Nelson. Death of Abercrombie. The wounded hussar. The Battle of Trafalgar'.[77] Few purchasers can have felt especially bellicose after that particular repertoire.

Singers

In the words of Georgina Born, 'There is no musical object or text – whether sounds, score or performance – that stands outside mediation.'[78] For Napoleonic song, the chief mediator was the ballad singer, who exercised a great deal of control over the distribution, performance, and presentation of songs. All members of society sang. Yet most people sang in acts of literal *re*creation. Communal renditions in public houses; domestic recital; weavers singing at their looms; soldiers singing in camp or on the march; protestors singing in demonstration: these were songs' afterlives, subsequent to their initial transmission. By 'singers', then, I denote individuals, not collectives, whose aim was to communicate their song to listeners: transmitters, not receivers. The term 'performer' would emphasise this distinction. However, the contemporary usage in popular music was 'singer'. In most cases, it was 'ballad singer'.

Ballad singers were often characterised by their peripatetic existence. I have examined singers' geographical functions as circulators of songs elsewhere.[79] That discussion emphasises the cross-pollination of distinctive

regional discourses with cross-border material, as long-distance itinerants overlapped with singers working a local circuit based upon an urban hub. My conclusions stress aspects of agency elaborated herein: singers operated outside 'mainstream' society; were frequently regarded as criminal elements; and often held subversive or heavily idiosyncratic opinions that affected their performance and repertoire. In making these judgements, it is tempting to rely on evidence concerning known individuals. Several first-hand accounts exist, such as the *Travels* of John Magee and *Lives* like those of David Love.[80] Some singers were written of in detail, either as biography – of John Freeth, Charles Lesly, Michael Moran, Willie Purvis, Joseph Mather, Walter Watson, the Manchester Wilsons – or in collections such as John Thomas Smith's *Vagabondiana*.[81] The danger of relying on these sources is that we conceptualise the exceptional as normal: these men received special attention because they were in some respect worthy of it, and were to an extent engaged in self-fashioning by writing memoirs or cooperating with biographers to exploit that attention for gain in wealth or recognition.[82] To broaden our source base, we must turn to external perceptions. As we are concerned with singers as mediators, these are pertinent historical considerations. Unfortunately, most of this information comes from 'polite' sources – caricatures, paintings, journal articles, novels, poetry, and even plays – rather than from singers' plebeian peers. These sources are therefore of greatest value in assessing the relationship between polite propagandists and the singers on whom they relied to disseminate their message.

A minority of sources – generally fictionalised, sentimental, metropolitan images, and journalism – represent ballad singers in a positive light. Many appear rooted in stock eighteenth-century picturesque, even pastoral, characters such as the milkmaid or shepherd.[83] These may have been designed to engage with moral debates, in defence of traditional, sentimentalised street culture. But it is likelier that, with their abstracted backdrops and mannered prettiness, their goals were market driven: scenes of everyday life intended to charm and amuse. This market was both polite and largely metropolitan.[84] More pertinent are those accounts that bear on the Wars, such as 'The Beggar Girl', a song published in 1800, in which the eponymous orphan singer's father is a sailor who 'fell in battle': linking distress to military sacrifice in order to solicit charity was a key theme of both begging and ballad singing during the wars.[85] But singers were not only to be pitied: they could also stand as idealised manifestations of the *vox populi*. Two further stories published in London cast ballad singers as mouthpieces of popular opprobrium, articulating righteous censure at hypocritical targets.[86] Performed at Sadler's Wells, 'The Ballad Singer's Duett' [*sic*] devotes seven verses to condemning the hypocrisy of all manner of persons from preachers to publicans, contrasting their sins with the openness of the 'merry merry songsters'.[87] These fictitious accounts mirror anecdotes told of real singers such as Mather, who held to account quacks, employers, and magistrates, reinforcing respect for the singer's moral authority.[88]

In the second of the stories alluded to above, the singer is fittingly named Momus, after the Greek god of satire. There was a different Greek allusion more frequently applied to male ballad singers during the Wars: that of Homer. It was this reference that did most to endorse the authority of male singers, and to recommend them to patriotic songwriters as mediators. In 1821, the *London Magazine* sought to dispel what it saw as an all too prevalent myth about Homer: 'The idea of this old minstrel that floats about the mob of readers, is . . . a blind ballad-singer, with a fist-full of printed songs.'[89] Plays featured 'Mr. Homer, a blind old ballad-singer'.[90] Subsequent biographers of both Charles 'Mussel Mou'd Charlie' Lesly of Aberdeen and Michael 'The Great Zozimus' Moran of Dublin, two famous street singers, made the same Homeric comparison, as did Douglas Jerrold in his 1840 elegy for the Napoleonic ballad singer.[91] Samuel Lover in the *National Magazine*, 1830, used Homer to evoke the entire street ballad culture of Dublin.[92] Even James Rankin, a humble Aberdeenshire itinerant, was flattered by the likeness.[93] Blindness was a (minor) factor in only two of these allusions: the post-war Homeric allegory was rooted in a grander narrative. In 1825, William Hone reflected that 'We know little of the times sung by Homer but from his verses.'[94] 'The times' is the key: the ballad singer was to Homer as the Napoleonic Wars were to the siege of Troy. In classicising the ballad singer, patriots were fleshing out a new national legend.

For a classically educated elite, there was no comparison other than Homer's poem worthy of Britain's own epic. This self-aggrandising phenomenon is discussed in the theologian Richard Whately's 1819 tract, *Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Bonaparte*, a *jeu d'esprit* from a young Oxford scholar, the real aim of which was to defend the Gospels against scepticism.[95] Whately ranks Napoleon above Philip of Macedon, Alexander, and Caesar.[96] He figures the Wars as England's *Iliad* or *Aeneid*, wryly observing that 'Bonaparte's exploits seem magnified in order to enhance the glory of his conquerors'.[97] Pierce Egan's 1821 *Life in London* parodies this Grecian self-fashioning. Its opening illustration by the Cruikshanks features a disreputable ballad singer at the base of a classical motif, the Corinthian columns, plinths, and wreaths subverted by the addition of this and other contemporary lowlifes.[98] One patriotic song interpolated early in Egan's text epitomises the hyperbole of both Homeric and historical classical allusions:

> *Avast!* Achilles, Grecian famed,
> And fiery Hector, Trojan named;
> Avast! Your Philips, Alexanders,
> Your Caesars too, war's Salamanders;
> And eke gave way, Imperial NAP,
> *For thou alike didst doff the cap*
> To Neptune's darling son of war,
> I mean JACK JUNK, the British tar.[99]

Classical comparisons were not restricted to the post-war period. As early as 1798, Francophile poet Helen Maria Williams gave Napoleon a Homeric parallel.[100] D.B.P. Eccleston, a Lancastrian Bonapartist of 1802 who later repented, compared Napoleon physically to Alexander, but placed his statesmanship above the Greeks and praised his idol for having Plutarch's *Lives* ever in his pocket.[101] John Richard Watson's analysis of Romantic wartime literature discusses writers' frequent use of Homer and Virgil to emphasise the transcendent qualities of the ongoing conflict.[102] The Homeric association of the ballad singer, as the supposed mouthpiece of loyalist song, fulfilled an evident heroic need.

More frequently, representations of ballad singers favoured condemnation over classical allusion. Goldsmith's narrator likens his eldest daughter's 'vulgar attitudes' to a ballad singer's in *The Vicar of Wakefield*.[103] To Wordsworth, the singer (perhaps doubling for the poet himself) was on one level abject, 'single and alone', standing where 'files of ballads dangle from dead walls'.[104] After Waterloo, the metropolitan rise in the numbers of beggars and ballad singers, and the resultant legislation, prompted Smith to compile his *Vagabondiana* in indulgent defence of his subject. But others saw the rise as a nuisance. The debate was enacted in Bartlett's 1817 farce, *The Soldier's Return*:

> *Old Mordrant*. A very pretty heroic ditty, upon my word! And now your fine lover is about to be discharged for want of employment for such coxcombs, I suppose you intend commencing ballad-singer, whilst he grinds music at your elbow, and begs of passers-by to 'relieve a poor soldier.'[105]

In addition to endless attacks on their lack of musicality, singers were often accused of criminality. The Lord Mayor of London 'had the fact from indubitable authority, that ballad-singers, and such persons, were leagued with, and in pay of, pick-pockets'.[106] Civic reformer Patrick Colquhoun drew attention to the tenuous legal position of singers in one of several sallies, listing them among the class of 'Persons described in the statute of 17. Geo. II. as rogues and vagabonds, comprising . . . ballad-singers, minstrels with hurdy-gurdies and hand-organs, &c . . . All these different classes of vagabonds visit almost every fair and horse-race in the country, and live generally by fraud and deception.'[107]

These troubling connotations resulted in tensions between singers and authorities, compromising their utility as loyalist mediators and increasing their subversive potential.[108] Yet of still greater concern than their criminality was the threat singers posed to the morality of the masses. As one journalist wrote: 'The effects of the fulsome, obscene, and improper songs that are sung to a surrounding *mob*, composed of people of all ages . . . must assuredly be stamped and riveted on the imagination, and ultimately corrupt the morals of the idle crowd.'[109] Across the nation, singers were feared and condemned as 'licentious', 'destructive', 'subversive', 'seditious', and

'treasonable'.[110] Various disparate measures were undertaken to address this issue. Some private societies, following the example of Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts society, resolved to co-opt singers to a nobler purpose by subsidising their distribution of tracts.[111] In 1794, the corporation of Birmingham decreed that all strolling ballad singers were to be apprehended and removed from the city.[112] The state refrained from action until the after the war, beginning with the 1815 Mendicity Report, part of a wider government drive to tackle mendicancy in the capital, exacerbated by the laying off of servicemen and the nascent economic depression caused by the peace.[113] The committee responsible had its origins in one aspect of a private enquiry begun by philanthropist Matthew Martin in 1796, taken over and funded by the Duke of Portland and his successors, and renewed in 1803 and 1811.[114] The research was undertaken by a wide range of reputable figures with experience of the underclasses, from vicars to beadles.[115] The report found both Chelsea and Greenwich Pensioners guilty of moonlighting, stealing away from their quarters in full uniform to sing and beg, thus supplementing their income.[116] Singers without uniforms might exhibit conspicuous infirmity to obtain charity, again suggesting the injury had been incurred through battle.[117] This was all highly detrimental to loyalist rhetoric. That even Chelsea and Greenwich Pensioners should resort to ballad singing hardly did credit to the state: veterans on the street were living accusations, suggesting the armed forces could not take care of their own.

Female singers employed similar tactics. The same Mendicity Report found that women 'allege their husbands are gone away from them into either the army or the navy'; single Irishwomen in London 'generally give an account of themselves, that they are the widows or wives of men serving His Majesty'.[118] The sentimental currency of the abandoned widow with mouths to feed was powerful, and images of singers such as Rowlandson's *Norwich Market Place* or Cruikshank's *Picture of London* endlessly replicated the trope of the statuesque woman with an abject infant on hip or shoulder.[119] It is no great leap to conclude that the singing of bellicose propaganda by cripples in tattered uniforms, or by apparent 'war widows', in itself constituted a sorry subversion of the songs' rhetoric, whilst tragic tales of loss and privation would be given strong sentimental resonances. This suited the destitute singers; it can hardly have suited loyalist songwriters. It is unclear whether the Mendicity Report led to the removal of many singers, yet its findings amply demonstrate the deleterious effect of their presence on the streets during wartime.

The attempted extension of state control over the spaces of popular culture was a common theme of the period, with an obvious bearing on the operation of ballad singing. As Gammon states, 'not only are the immediate social relations of musical production important, but so is the physical environment. We must ask how it was defined as social space and in what ways did interaction take place in the environment.'[120] The primary question we

must ask of space concerns control: were sites of performance within the physical or moral control of loyalist authorities? Francis Place's recollection, that 'if anyone was found singing any but loyal songs, he or she was carried before a magistrate', has been accepted by many as proof positive.[121] Yet Place's statement, applying merely to London in 1792 to 1793, is contradicted by the commentators cited above, decrying the pernicious effects of singers in streets, fairs, and marketplaces. Some environments were harder to police than others. Open, wild space was a traditional site for popular protest, which as Bamford's trial in 1819 made clear, often featured singing as an integral element.[122] The urban workplace, such as a weavers' factory, was a likely site of countercultural singing, and occupational songs exhibited 'a characteristic stance of being at loggerheads with the prevailing ideology'.[123] This communal workers' mentality was resistant to external interference. Even the theatre was susceptible to discord and riot, the singing of 'God save the King' repeatedly provoking protest and contestation.[124]

It was no simple matter to police even the public streets via the watch, or the vigilante intimidation of loyalist groups that Place remembered. Suspect Irish street singers, hounded by authorities, simply refrained from stringing up their songs at permanent pitches, thereby facilitating a swift getaway.[125] Dubliners wishing to hear the better street singers were directed to lawless streets such as Cutpurse Row, and advised to leave behind their watch and coins, and carry even handkerchiefs inside their hats, lest these be stolen.[126] Nor was subversive singing confined to dark alleys. Mather, the Jacobin Sheffield singer, defied court orders and sung his compositions in the public streets, even in front of the magistrates themselves.[127] Journalists feared that seditious songs would infect genteel private residences via the street, witnessing singers plying their trade through open gratings to kitchen maids and footmen.[128] The same liminality, whereby street dissidence spilt into the private home, is apparent in Rowlandson's *Characteristic Sketches of the Lower Orders*, five plates of which depict this form of trans-spatial conversation.[129] Singers themselves frequently moved beyond the street, to perform in public houses. These places, effectively impossible to police, afforded obvious opportunities for disorder at any time of day or night, and more than one account links ballad singing to violence in pubs.[130] Certain establishments became notorious, such as The Fox, Castle Street, Birmingham, where 'all the scum of creation meet', or Noah's Ark, St Giles', London, the subject of a riotous Cruikshank caricature.[131]

Still less subject to state control were the overlapping environments of the fair and the marketplace. From the 'rough music' of Lady Holland's mob at Bartholomew Fair, to 'the destructive doggerel' complained of at Belfast fairs, singing in this space had clear connotations of counterculture.[132] As late as 1815, sausage stalls at fairs were known as 'Wilkes' Parlours'.[133] Polite audiences increasingly eschewed this disreputable environment, at least in London.[134] In Mary Lisle's rural parish, local elites still patronised the fair, yet

it was scarcely 'controlled': 'the roads and lanes were rendered quite unsafe by the troops of gipses [*sic*], pedlars, showmen, and rogues of every description, by which they were thronged'.[135] Markets were little better. According to George Parker, writing in the 1790s:

> If you have a mind to have a ballad on a treasonable subject, or one which injures the peace of Society, you have but to apply at this House with seven-and-six-pence, and you may hear it sung in the course of three hours from your time of payment in . . . the Corner of Fleet market.[136]

Renewed calls for action after 1817 suggest that Place's example was a limited one, and that more generally, ballad singers remained free to voice heterodox sentiments in their performances, a likelihood that increased in radicalised or less politicised parts of the kingdom.

To the best of our knowledge, singers made the most of that freedom: almost every detailed account of an individual balladeer highlights their criminal, seditious, or otherwise subversive tendencies. John Freeth of Birmingham was a committed radical. David Love was arrested consecutively in Newcastle, Durham, and Hull, either for breaching the peace or on suspicion of burglary.[137] His bestselling poem 'Remarks on the times' decried the 'oppression of the poor', and claimed that 'Sin caus'd the present war abroad'.[138] Michael Moran of Dublin agitated in the Catholic cause, lampooning Orangemen and praising O'Connell.[139] His fellow Irishman, the peripatetic singer and poet Tomàs Ruadh O'Sullivan, was also an advocate of O'Connell, with close connections to Wild Geese – expatriate Irishmen in Napoleon's forces – whose songs often targeted landowners and tithe proctors.[140] Charles Lesly was a known Jacobite, credited with notorious pro-Stuart songs.[141] Those of a younger generation were often Jacobins, such as the 'Jacobin Fish-woman' who sung ballads in Liverpool.[142] The celebrated Mancunian singer Michael Wilson was a self-confessed Jacobin who 'occasionally avowed his political opinions so strongly, that his family were for some time in great fear of his being apprehended'.[143] Sheffield's Joseph Mather was another Jacobin.[144] His output included two radical 1794 compositions on Pitt's repression and the treatment of other Jacobins, and a later piece entitled 'God save great Thomas Paine'.[145] One may guess its tune. John Magee, the itinerant and sometime ballad singer who dictated his 1820 memoir at Paisley, was the most actively dissolute of these singers, having served as a drill sergeant for the United Irishmen.[146] After fleeing across the Irish Sea, he was arrested on numerous occasions, either for theft or the more political crimes of wearing tricolour cockades and selling treasonable material.[147] He enraged some audiences by praising 'the French emperor'.[148] Nevertheless, Magee escaped prolonged incarceration, unlike Tomos Glyn Cothi, an itinerant weaver of south Wales, who took

his dissenting and radical interests too far when he sang a seditious song in public, receiving the pillory twice, and two years in prison, in 1801.[149]

We will never be able to assert that these examples are representative of ballad singing as a whole, yet they constitute an impressive, unopposed justification of the fears of moralistic commentators. Such were the persons responsible for mediating, even recreating, popular song, in public performance. As observed with regard to singers' self-fashioning as crippled veterans or war widows, even the material properties of a performance could subvert a song's message. Mather 'used to "raise the wind" by vending his songs in the streets, seated on a grinder's donkey, or on the back of Ben Sharp's bull . . . He used to be seated (as Robin Hood seated the bishop), with his face to the animal's tail.'[150] The rude humour of Mather's act was both eye-catching and Bacchanalian, drawing upon the communal, subaltern tradition of 'rough music'.[151] So too was the direction in John Scriven's comic song 'We Must All to Drill', that it should '*conclude with The* WOODEN SHOE DANCE'.[152] This revelry was rendered anti-authoritarian by the preceding declaration, in the song's final verse, that 'I'd sooner dance to the fiddle than march to the drum': the singer's unrestrained gaiety contrasts with the clumsy drilling forced upon volunteers. Yet singers could also use physical properties to construct a loyalist persona. The unusual headgear of the black ballad singer and ex-seaman Joseph Johnson – 'a model of the ship *Nelson*; to which, when placed on his cap, he can, by a bow of thanks, or a supplicating inclination to a drawing-room window, give the appearance of sea-motion' – situated him within a patriotic discourse, the ship augmenting the rhetorical force of his patriotic repertoire: ' "The British Seaman's Praise," or Green's more popular song of "The Wooden Walls of Old England" '.[153]

The performative act also offered scope for musical licence. Accomplished singers were known to indulge in extensive gracing, embellishing melodies, accentuating and holding certain notes and 'ghosting' over others, thus altering the tune.[154] The ability to 'keen' convincingly was also held in high regard: to display extreme grief without straying off key.[155] This highly individualistic agency should be added to the historical record: on some level, the singer was always an artist, if not necessarily a very good one. This enabled singers consciously or inadvertently to subvert songwriters' intended meanings through ironic or bathetic delivery. Yet it should be noted (and set against evidence of singers' tendency to subversion) that their performative importance could also represent a great strength of the loyalist campaign. As will be seen, loyalists tended to rely on a very narrow range of tunes: strident, well-known, anthemic airs with memorable chorus. In many ways this was a hindrance to their impact, in restricting their fitness to celebratory, communal performance contexts. Yet the resultant songs, if their meter remained unmangled and their words comprehensible, were at least performable by even the worst ballad singers, who might be both musically

and cognitively wanting in skill and comprehension. It is in this context that Jerrold's over-cited panegyric on the Napoleonic ballad singer is of greatest historical worth:

> It was his harsh, cracked, blatant voice that growled, squeaked, shouted forth the glorious truth, and made big the patriotic hearts of his humble and admiring listeners. If he were not the clear silver trump of Fame, he was at least her tin horn. It was he who bellowed music into news, which, made to jingle, was thus, even to the weakest understanding, rendered portable.[156]

Jerrold is not merely sentimentalising the homely, honest, earthy Englishness of the ballad singer. He is making the valid point that many ballad singers were terrible musicians, and yet they were capable of communicating basic messages. In this respect, the musical inflexibility of loyalist broadsides became a pragmatic strength.

Even if singers were sometimes more or less automatons, passive mouthpieces of propaganda, their material circumstances and appearance had the potential either to subvert or to amplify a songwriter's intentions. Many singers, however, possessed a far greater degree of active agency, and performed in spaces outside the direct control of authorities. Singers and performances were highly individualistic: we cannot generalise about a default conception of the singer, and thus this very idiosyncrasy is fundamental to their nature. We should see them as the most significant actors in popular song culture: shapers and mediators, not neutral transmitters.

Listeners

Singers were rarely short of a ready audience. Whether walking a street, attending a fair, or socialising in a public house, ordinary people exhibited a rapacious appetite for songs. In cities such as London, the most commonly reported scenario was the gathering of passers-by around a street singer, as is seen today around buskers in tourist hotspots such as Bath and Oxford: the difference being that locals as well as visitors used to stop for a song. The Old Bailey records furnish us with accounts from the street and the public house. In 1799 Edward White, a private in the First Foot Guards living in Pimlico, admitted that around ten o'clock he 'might delay the time in many foolish fancies, to hear a ballad sung'.[157] In 1802, James Munyard stated that 'on the 21st of June, between the hours of one and three, I was standing in Cranbourn-alley, to hear a man sing'.[158] In 1809, Messrs. Hoskins, Squirrel, and Walker, three artisans, 'were standing hearing a song' in Drury Lane (the street itself) between eight and nine in the evening.[159] In 1810, James Pine, a smith, 'called in a strange public house that I never was in before; I had a pint of porter, and hearing a few songs sung caused me to stop till

between twelve and one o'clock [at night].'[160] And in 1813, William Raper, a servant, was ordered to call for his mistress with a coach at four in the morning.

> I came back before ten o'clock, and just before eleven I went out. I thought if I went to bed I should not get up at the time. I went to the public-house [on] the corner of Bennet-street. I went there to hear William George sing, as I had heard him sing before. [161]

Morning, noon, and night, in different parts of the metropolis – the busiest, noisiest place in Britain – passers-by formed impromptu audiences, and even sought out specific singers. What did these listeners take away with them once the song was sung?

Materially, they often took away the record of the song, in the form of a broadside, garland, or songbook. The decision to purchase indicates a successful initial impact upon the listener. These artefacts could then be shared further, both orally and (among the literate) by copying. Mr Stringfellow, a witness in an Old Bailey prosecution for theft, gives an example from 1819: 'I saw that song-book in his [the prisoner's] possession about a fortnight before the robbery, and told him I should like to copy one song out of it – it was, "Love among the Roses," which is on the top of the leaf.'[162] Ballad scholars stress the alternative habit of plastering songs upon the walls of private homes and public houses.[163] We cannot support these anecdotal practices with data, however. The existence of multiple editions of a song, implying that a first printing sold out, might suggest a successful impact. Yet during the Wars in particular, we cannot assume a free and objective market, as loyalist and, potentially, radical patrons are known to have funded the free distribution of certain songs. Moreover, so incomplete is the record of ephemeral publications that the little evidence we have assumes an exaggerated importance that may be wholly misleading.

Attempting to judge the popular impact of Hannah More's *Village Politics*, Olivia Smith notes that 'although very little praise from her intended audience was recorded, there were also few angry comments'.[164] One wonders quite what Smith was hoping for. We cannot aim to quantify the reception of songs. Isolated fragments of audience opinion exist, but they do not take us far. Nor may a statistical analysis of extant broadsides, or even of their republication. Niall Ó Ciosáin warns that 'studies tend to conflate popular printing with popular culture and to stress production of texts rather than consumption or reception. For [an Irish] peasant readership there is little direct evidence of reception.'[165] Matthew Grenby provides empirical reasons why numbers fail to represent impact: a favourite text might be endlessly reread; 'loathed' volumes such as certain pedagogical works, 'popular with purchasers rather than end-users', might sell in vast quantities but appeal to few ultimate readers.[166] The 'folk' orthodoxy has it that a song's entry

into the oral tradition is a reliable signifier of popularity.[167] Even Gramsci has been deployed in support of this position.[168] On these grounds, Edward Lee dismisses the impact of patriotic song in rural England, as loyalist songs generally failed to enter oral repertoires.[169] Yet I would advise caution even here; we should not necessarily elide longevity with impact: surely a topical song could make a significant short-term impression. Reception, in short, presents problems.

Two bodies of direct evidence can help us here: the private recollections of individuals, and the demonstrative, even violent responses of crowds or communities. The implied division between contemplation and direct action must be leavened with the awareness that a song could cause an individual to act at a later stage – by being moved to enlist after dwelling on a recruitment song, for instance – and that the collective action of a crowd need not articulate the internal response of all its members. In either case, listening involved more than mere spectatorship, if we define the latter in Rancière's terms: that 'to be a spectator is to be separated from both the capacity to know and the power to act'.[170] We might prefer the greater sense of audience agency in the proposition that 'society could be portrayed . . . as "crowds, crowds everywhere" '.[171] Yet we should stress emotional as well as demonstrative responses to song. As Shepard warns, 'It should not be assumed that nineteenth[-]century ballads necessarily provoked specific public action . . . Rather they created a climate of opinion and sentiment.'[172] This 'climate' was of course far from homogeneous. John Nicol, a loyal sailor, found himself in a radical Scottish community in 1805. On hearing news of Trafalgar, he wished to celebrate, yet kept his joy to himself in the face of general antipathy to the news.[173] How common, yet how invisible today, such attitudes must have been.

There is a tendency among writers, especially autobiographers, to contrast their own detachment with the alienating cohesion of the crowd. More is at work, however, than literary self-fashioning. Joe Butwin observes that: 'An audience of readers isolated at the independent fireside operates in less spontaneous, coherent ways than what we would call a "live" audience.'[174] The memoir of a Scottish soldier, here recalling a camp near Badajoz, Spain, in 1811, offers a pleasingly literal example of this:

> One evening, as I lay in the woods thinking upon home . . . I heard, at a small distance, music . . . I soon knew the air. I crept nearer and could distinguish the words. I became riveted to the spot. That moment compensated me for all I had suffered in Spain. I felt that pleasure which softens the heart, and overflows at the eyes. The words that first struck my ear, were,
>
> Why did I leave my Jeanie, my daddy's cot and a',
> To wander from the country, sweet Caledonia.[175]

The song is being sung in company: 'Soon as the voice ceased, I looked through the underwood and saw four or five soldiers seated on the turf, who sung in their turn, Scotland's sweetest songs of remembrance.'[176] Yet even the overheard group are not truly uniting in song, as each performs in turn. The listening soldier, rather than joining them, preserves his own solitude: 'Every opportunity, I returned to the scene of my happiness and had the pleasure, more than once, to enjoy this company unseen.'[177] Though the soldier's lyricism is clearly influenced by genre – his is a romanticised reconstruction consciously or unconsciously adapted to an emerging print market for soldiers' stories – the underlying experience is unlikely to have been fabricated. This haunting anecdote is lent plausibility by Richard Cronin's theory that: 'The sentimental can only ever form themselves into accidental communities', rather than true collectivities, as sentimentalism locates 'ethical value . . . in the play of the individual's emotional responses to the plight of his fellows'.[178] The sentimental mode was a prominent feature of popular song, and sentimental listeners often responded thus: as individuals, unwilling and even embarrassed to be subsumed within a larger collectivity.

Individual listeners could still identify with a wider martial imaginary, if the songs and music they heard were fit for such a context. Thomas Cooper, writing of his childhood at Gainsborough, recollects his reception of both a traditional ballad, and news of the Peninsular, eliding the two responses in a neat yet insightful piece of literary embroidery:

> The first rhymes that I can remember to have read with a sense of delight were those of the old ballad of Chevy Chase. I used to repeat them, when alone, until they used to make me feel as warlike as did the sight of Matthew Goy when he rode into the town with the news of a victory; or the array of the Gainsborough Loyal Volunteers, when they marched through the town, on exercise-days, to the sound of fife and drum.[179]

An older contemporary of Cooper, the farm labourer Joseph Mayett of Quainton, was so much moved by military music that he joined the Buckinghamshire militia, explaining that 'I was much delighted to see them and to hear the Musick this was Congenial with my Carnal nature.'[180] However, receptiveness to one form of propaganda did not necessarily indicate a lack of discrimination in other contexts, as seen in his opinion of More's Cheap Repository Tracts: 'those kind of books were often put into my hands in a dictatorial way in order to Convince me of my errors for instance there was the Sheperd of Salsbury plain . . . and many others which drove me almost into despair for I could see their design'.[181] As the anonymous 'Fitz-Albion' put it in a contemporary pamphlet: 'Did they [the administration] suppose that the people of this Country were like the inmates of a nursery, and were to be roused or silenced as they cried Wolf or Bugaboo?'[182]

Mary Lisle, the precocious eight-year-old daughter of a Gloucestershire rector, *was* the inmate of a nursery in 1803. In her memoir, she paints herself as a firm believer in the likelihood of Napoleon's invasion, as a result of songs she has heard. The adult male members of her family are described as working themselves up into a patriotic fervour over a wine-fuelled dinner, in which they sing boastful songs of how they will defeat the French. Yet when her father and cousin are alone with her, they tease her for her belief, parodying the loyalist rhetoric present in the songs they themselves are likely to have sung: ' "May [Mary] looks rather grave about it," my father said. "Ah," said Cousin Charles, with a wicked laugh, "well enough she may, the French will make nothing of eating up such a morsel as she is. They are all ogres, May, and particularly fond of little girls".'[183] Patently, 'Cousin Charles' believed no such thing. Accounts such as this lead us to question the impact of politicised song upon popular mentalities, even when the actions of a group suggest the songs were well received.

These considerations might have heartened John Clare, who expresses dismay in *The Parish* at what he sees as the gullible reception of loyalist songs. Clare gives us a hack writer, 'Young Brag', who fits his songs for an appropriate group audience:

> & Poems too the polishd patriot chimes
> Stanzas to Cobbets truth & Comic Ryhmes [*sic*]
> To which he fits a hacknied tune that draws
> From patriot dinners echoes of applause . . .
> & then concludes it with the pompous clause
> - Success to patriots & the good old cause
> A hacknied tune which patriots daily sing
> Like variations of 'God save the King'[184]

Not all airings of 'God save the King' met with universal applause. Repeatedly, audiences were divided in their response to songs. As Marcello Sorce Keller writes: 'Precisely because it catalyzes and amplifies emotions more than other artistic endeavors, music easily becomes divisive, discriminating, a potentially belligerent symbol of oversimplified, one-piece identities which, the less they allow nuances, the more they are prone to conflict.'[185] During the Wars, this divisive potential resulted in numerous incidences of disorder when audiences reacted to 'God save the King'. In 1792, Wexford theatregoers hissed a performance into silence.[186] In 1794, university students hooted at it in the Edinburgh theatre.[187] This continued for several nights, with the students calling for 'revolutionary tunes' in response, until the young Walter Scott led an armed band of loyalist toughs into the pit, and a pitched battle broke out during the song, resulting in the expulsion of both groups.[188] In 1797, two separate Dublin audiences launched full-scale riots at its airing.[189] In 1800 another riot greeted the song in a Nottingham

theatre, after it 'had been loudly called for by a section of the audience and as noisily opposed by another'.[190] In 1812 in Sheffield, Lieutenant Thomas Ward wrote that: 'There have been violent noises to interrupt the performance at the Theatre, for the South Devon officers insist on having "God save the King" sung, and the mobility in the gallery insist on its not being sung.'[191] We may suppose many more instances, especially at key moments of popular discontent. Thompson rightly links opposition to this song in particular to a growing confidence on the part of the disaffected element, concluding that 'as the Wars dragged on, the audience often proved itself to be less easily cowed by "Church and King" bullies than later generations'.[192]

These forms of popular action, besides expressing political division, represented a deeper worry for traditional loyalists: such displays were indicative of political engagement and increasing self-consciousness on the part of the people. Those who learnt to burn Paine in effigy one day might burn Pitt upon the next, and the same applied to the mass rendition of songs.[193] In such a climate, especially where loyalist propaganda relied on songs suited to mass rendition, their emphasis upon unity and patriotic zeal, it was imperative that performances could be controlled. Even in the fairly stable space of the theatre, policed as it often was by soldiers, audiences could boo, hiss, and riot. It was not enough simply to flood the plebeian sphere with song: listeners had to like them. Over the following chapters, we will examine the songs themselves, and try to gain a sense of which passed the test.

2
'Threats of the *Carmagnols*': Contesting the Nation, 1797–1805

On 22 March 1797, the 40-year-old Oldham weaver William Rowbottom noted in his diary the plain fact that Admiral Jervis had defeated the Spanish fleet at Cape St Vincent. He continued: 'and the victorious General Bonapart[e] at the head of the invincible Republicans totally defeated the Austrian army and captured the impregnable city of Mantua'. By May, Rowbottom had obtained the information, which he also felt worth recording, that: 'The victorious General Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Corsica in 1767.' Though he mistakes the year, he has the name and place.[1]

The year 1797 in Britain was one of naval triumph and naval mutinies; of the first major threat of invasion by the French (and the last invasion of the larger isle, at Fishguard); of the growth of the volunteer corps (with tragic consequences in Sheffield); and of the coming to fame of the young Republican general, Napoleon Bonaparte, a figure of note even on the outskirts of Oldham. He does not however appear to have warranted many songs, an inattention more widely applicable to the invasion threat. Only in Ireland is there the first intimation of his importance, as the rebellious writer of 'Ó, a bhean an tí', an underground Gaelic composition, seized on the young hero's rise to explain away the failure of the French general Hoche in his attempt to land a force at Bantry Bay: this disappointment was figured as a mere precursor of Napoleon's more successful invasion to come.[2] Given that in 1798, despite the earlier entreaties of the exiled Wolfe Tone, Napoleon sailed for Egypt rather than Ireland, one might expect those in Ireland hoping for independence to be all the more disappointed at this latest blow. Yet many songs of the 1798 Irish rebellion adopt him as their deliverer.[3] A representative verse comes from the song known variously as 'Na Franncaigh Bhanc', 'Na Francaigh Bána', and 'Teacht na bhFranncach go Cill Eala'. Guy Beiner translates it as:

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But I have great hope in the King of Glory
And in Bonaparte who never did wrong
That our friends will come and rewrite our story
And take revenge on the English throng.[4]

The varying title reflects the song's collection in several regions, a plausible indicator of its diffusion. The anonymous writer deals in hypotheticals rather than being able to assert truths, yet their optimism is undimmed. A similar sentiment obtains in an untitled *aisling*, or dream poem, by the Cork poet Ó Súilleabháin (Sullivan), which ends:

A toast give round and merrily drink,
And then we will repeat it,
That in triumph brave young Bonaparte
We'll soon see here in Erin.[5]

Once the campaign began in earnest, supported by a small French expedition under Humbert, topical rebel songs took on a more definite tone. Yet in defiance of reality, writers maintained their focus on the absent hero. One song insisted that 'Bonaparte is in Castlebar', and another that:

The French are in Killala
Helping them in Ballina.
Raise your hearts and your courage
And steal away with Bonaparte.[6]

Most ingenuously, a song about a rebel defeat at New Ross in Wexford, 'Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin', sweetened the pill by concurrently describing Napoleon's recent victories in Italy.[7]

There is little we can assert about these songs' tunes or possible performance, in large part due to their underground status. It is no coincidence that the originals are in Gaelic and would have circulated orally, rather than in print. By contrast, Napoleon appears not to feature in the English-language songs printed by the United Irishmen in collections such as *Paddy's Resource* and the periodical *Northern Star*. These latter songs stemmed largely from Dublin, written by an Anglophone elite, and were influenced by French republican rhetoric. As late as 1804, the authorities in Dublin Castle received a report from Newry describing a scene in a public house where revellers sung the United Irish composition, 'Liberty and Equality, or Dermot's Delight', which had the refrain:

To the tune of equality, boys, let us dance
Round liberty's tree in the morning.[8]

As this report suggests, United Irish songs may have made some impression among parts of the populace, generally in urban, literate areas.[9] Yet their progressive, revolutionary agenda was not shared by the songs heralding the coming of Napoleon. Despite the best efforts of the United Irishmen, most of their countrymen were religiously and politically conservative, a mentality espoused rather than attacked in the majority of their songs.[10] Their use of Napoleon reflects this, for far from being idealised as an enlightened, atheist liberator, he was incorporated by popular writers into a far older tradition. As Breandán Ó Buachalla writes, 'Bonaparte, like the Stuarts before him, would function in Ireland not as French strategy dictated, but as Irish circumstances demanded.'[11] In popular sentiment, he was simply the latest incarnation of the saviour across the water. In this conservative, legend-making cultural context, Napoleon's literal absence is as much a recommendation as a problem: his lack of agency in the Irish narrative aids his assimilation into an ongoing body of song. 'The "popular mind" was not a *tabula rasa* into which revolutionary and radical concepts were injected in the last decade of the eighteenth century,' writes Ó Buachalla, and this 'popular mind' was typified by the generic and thematic traditions of Irish song.[12]

The Battle of the Nile

If the price of Napoleon's entry into Irish-language song was his subordination to a Jacobite tradition, then the price for his entry into English-language song was as a foil to the hero of the hour, Horatio Nelson. News of the latter's victory at Aboukir Bay (the Battle of the Nile) was rapturously received in the capital, as the *Satirist* later remembered:

> Never shall I forget that night when news of Nelson's *victory of the Nile* reached us. I was at Drury-lane, and the theatre was crowded. These *four* songs ['God save the King', 'Britons Strike Home', 'Conquer to Save', and 'Rule, Britannia'] were alone called for and sung. I exulted as much at thus witnessing the sublimity of the national feelings, thus wound up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, as my high-souled countrymen themselves could possibly exult at this recent and astonishing accession to their before unparalleled renown.[13]

One variation of the slightly later song 'Battle of the Nile' itself dwells, in a future tense construction of an event that had already happened, on how the news was to be met:

> But now the Battle's o'er, and Toulon's fleet's no more,
> Great News we shall send unto George our King,
> All the Kingdoms in Europe shall join us in chorus,

> The bells they shall ring, and bonefires [*sic*] they shall blaze,
> Rule Britannia shall be sung, through country and town,
> While sailors, hand in hand, round the can do sing[14]

The mood was self-consciously celebratory. Patriotic songwriters immediately recognised the Nile as a major event in the narrative of the Wars: the first large-scale encounter since the Glorious First of June in 1794 in which the French had been bested. To belittle the enemy would be to diminish Nelson and Britain's achievement. Thus no songs of the battle mention the French commander Admiral Brueys, due to his relative obscurity. Rather, Nelson is always described as overcoming his obvious 'rival', Napoleon. John Tye, a Birmingham songwriter whose pamphlet of 1799 contains no fewer than three separate songs on the Nile, contrasts Napoleon's martial prowess with his inability to match the British at sea in 'Song 8. *Called, Admiral Nelson's pursuit of the French Fleet in the Mediterranean, Sept. 1798*', set to the lively hunting tune, 'My dog and my gun':

> Their great Buonaparte so suc[c]essful on land,
> On ocean's wide field now refuses to stand;
> He who lately so shone, who to fear once was blind,
> Now a Briton won't meet though with one hand behind[15]

The same rhetoric is at play in the anonymous 'The New Century, a New Song':

> What tho' Bonaparte keeps vict'ry in view,
> (For Britons to merit will e'er give its due)
> Still to heroes like our's ev'ry Frenchman must bow,
> As St. Vincent and Duncan, brave Nelson and Howe.[16]

Napoleon's prowess must be acknowledged, the better to burnish Nelson's glory.

Such even-handed, even exaggerated sentiments were well suited to their form of expression: a celebratory song was no place to attempt a character assassination along the lines of the later 'Black Legend' of Napoleon. Rather, songwriters were able to fit a simple idea – a great victory over a worthy foe – to a simple context. In the broadside 'A Dumpling for Buonaparte', the anonymous composer 'A Norwich Volunteer' chooses as his tune, 'Hearts of Oak'.[17] All the elements of this song align. Whoever the author really was, the pseudonym constructs an appropriate martial and local milieu for the celebration of Nelson, a famous son of Norfolk. The tune is not merely well known and naval, but is one of those four famous patriotic odes dwelt on in the *Satirist* with regard to the victory. It is easy to imagine actual Norwich

volunteers purchasing copies to sing together on the parade ground or in the mess. In keeping with the prevalent mood, Napoleon (introduced in verse six) is initially praised, the better to enjoy Nelson's triumph:

> But now let us sing of the great Buonaparte,
> Of that Wonderful Hero; I'll something impart;
> They say that bold Nelson has stopt him awhile,
> And has dish'd his grand fleet on the mouth of the Nile.
> Huzza! for brave Nelson, &c.

It does not even matter whether or not there is ironic intent in the terms 'great' and 'Wonderful Hero': both readings result in the same satisfactory sentiment. Unusually for a parody of 'Hearts of Oak', the lines mostly scan, aiding the impression that this might have been sung and enjoyed as a topical response to the battle. It was in this fashion that Napoleon rose to prominence in Anglophone song: on Admiral Nelson's coattails.

From 1798 onwards, Napoleon was a fixture of topical song. However, any narrative constructed therefrom would suffer from gaps. There are no songs dating from the protracted Egyptian campaign aside from those on the Nile: Dibdin's 'The Song of Acre', for example, does not appear until 1803.[18] A lack of timely and reliable information must in this case be responsible, as much is made in 1803 to 1805 of events from this period. One journalistic song from the *Dublin Evening Post* in 1799, 'Sketch of the Present Times', demonstrates the songwriter's difficulty:

> Buonaparte's in Egypt – but that's all we know –
> For whether he's *dead* or *alive*, I declare it,
> No account yet received does with certainty shew –
> So patiently wait till *truth* comes, and you'll hear it.[19]

Yet even after his return to France, there are few popular songs until the Peace of Amiens. This may indicate uncertainty over how to interpret the coup of Eighteenth Brumaire. The complexity of the issue hardly lent itself to exposition in song, a form notable for its high degree of redundancy.[20] Even in the long prose introduction to the anonymous elite production, *Bonaparte's Reverie: A Poetical Romance*, the poet struggles to reconcile the competing interpretations of Napoleon, combining savage invective with 'that candour ever due to an enemy, as a man of the greatest courage, ability, and resources'.[21] The conciliatory position eventually taken – a tacit acknowledgement that many readers might remain favourable to Napoleon – is that 'Bonaparte's character is here drawn after the conqueror of Italy had degraded himself into the free-booter of Egypt.'[22]

This equivocation may also be observed in popular culture. In February 1800 a book of Valentines, priced at sixpence, sold in six locations across London and pitched at a working market – its subjects are footmen, volunteers, shoemakers, dairy maids – included a Valentine '*From John Bull's*

Daughter to Bonaparte'.[23] The book's title uses this poem as its chief selling point, indicating the degree of popular interest in all things Napoleon. This humorous composition begins:

> I some time ago, thought you a quiet man,
> And with what you had got, was contented;
> But father tells me, you disturb all you can
> Though you find that our coast's well defended.

John Bull's daughter proceeds to lecture Napoleon on the virtues of modesty and humility, advising him to leave off vainglorious pursuits and threats of invasion. The concluding lines hold out a promise:

> So when reason takes place, and in you I find grace,
> Act with prudence, like a nation divine;
> Each land might be blest, and with a smiling face,
> Perhaps I'd choose you for my Valentine.

The Valentine formula, here holding out the prospect of reconciliation with France, is an ingenious way of presenting a nuanced political idea in a short verse form, the comic element enriching the essential argument. It demonstrates a more perceptive engagement with popular culture than the only extant popular song written directly in response to Napoleon's coup, Hannah More's 'A King or a Consul?'[24]

'A King or a Consul?'

Earlier in the decade, a series of 'contrast' caricatures had been in vogue: paired images juxtaposing British liberty and prosperity with French excess and poverty.[25] This oppositional rhetoric exploited the potential of its visual medium, the moral plainly drawn between wrong (left) and right. The simplicity of the argument must have appealed to Hannah More, the reformer and activist responsible for the Cheap Repository Tracts from 1795 to 1798: pious, loyal literature designed for consumption and absorption by the poor, a movement that prefigured and to a large extent enabled the propaganda campaign of 1803 (see below).[26] 'A King or a Consul?' was the first of two songs by More, published anonymously, about Napoleon.[27] Its fourteen verses construct a series of such contrasts: the foreign usurper, '*Buoni*', versus the native father, King George; atheism versus Christianity; poison/kindness; murder/love; injustice/law; promiscuity-bigamy/unity-monogamy; and so on. Its opening and closing verses situate it in topical response to Napoleon's coup, although More also wishes to stress that the French are now ruled by 'three Tyrants', despite 'the Corsican' being the principal recipient of her invective. Considered in isolation, the local features of some of these

contrasts are compelling, and the absence of any argument to the contrary allows scope for wild assertions ('The French wed so many, they oft care for none', or in an early iteration of the Black Legend, that Napoleon poisoned his wounded at Jaffa). Considered generically, however, the song proves remarkably problematic. As our first real test of fitness, it is worth exploring these problems at some length.

More specifies the tune as 'Derry Down'. As variations on the phrase form a refrain common to many eighteenth-century songs, this is not especially helpful for a putative audience. Evidently the tune best known as 'A Cobler [*sic*] There Was' was intended: More stipulated this title for at least two other songs, in 1795 and 1817.[28] This seventeenth-century tune, known by that name since Richard Leveridge's composition of 'A Cobler There Was' in 1720, had been reused with a 'derry down' chorus in Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, seventy years before More's parody, before appearing in numerous other ballad operas, which may explain both her familiarity with the song and her fondness for reusing the tune, as having strongly traditional associations to a polite audience.[29] Familiarity does not appear to have brought felicity, however: in 1795 More gave her verses six lines rather than the four accommodated by the tune, while in 'A King or a Consul?' itself she repeatedly struggles with the meter. The air itself, in the Aeolian (minor) mode but with the fifth sharpened on two occasions in contemporary versions, employs scalar patterns that even then must have sounded 'antique'.[30] More recently, the tune had been used for two broadside songs opposing taxation, one of which was virulently opposed to Pitt's government.[31] To any listeners who recalled this association, the twelfth verse, in which More attempts to justify current taxes, may have been read with especial irony:

> French liberty Englishmen never will suit,
> *They* have planted the tree, but *we* feed on the fruit;
> Then rail not at taxes, altho' they cut deep,
> 'Tis a heavy Insurance to save the brave Ship.

This verse raises two further issues common to literally hundreds of songs produced over the next decade. By engaging their mass audiences in hypothetical debate (here concerning liberty and taxation), writers were conceding both that the people possessed a political vocabulary, and that plebeian opinion might differ on how the state should be governed. Semmel takes this as evidence that radical or Bonapartist arguments were seen to be in common circulation – that the cat, so to speak, was already out of the bag – thus forcing songwriters to argue their case, rather than simply celebrate an unquestioned status quo.[32] More's friend and ally Sarah Trimmer argued in her cheap pamphlet *The Two Farmers* that the people should eschew even the most loyal of political songs, especially in a domestic environment, as it would only lead to confused, potentially dangerous thinking: in 'A King or a Consul?' More is forced to disregard Trimmer's advice.[33] As the following

chapters will demonstrate, reactionary writers were indeed playing with fire by making Napoleon the subject of so many songs.

In the short term, the greater issue was that of fitness. We must ask: who would sing this song, and who would listen? Beyond indicating a tune, the lyrics make no concession to the song's function as an object to be performed, to entertain. Verses five and seven even include explicatory footnotes, an extreme example of misjudging the medium's conventions. Throughout, the narrative voice delivers a polemic rather than telling a story, its language couched in stern imperatives. There is no potential for aesthetic, comic, or imaginative enjoyment on the part of the listener. Moreover, by mistaking the street corner for the pulpit, More undermines her own ambition. The experience of song, as Zuckerkandl states, is one of 'a place of unity, of communion of the subjective self with all else'.[34] Unity is More's goal. Yet by adopting the voice of a detached narrator, she raises a barrier. To borrow from Booth: 'A conflict is betrayed by any intrusion of an author into his song, by which he admits a potentially adversarial distance from his audience.'[35] The adversarial narrator's position cannot be subsumed within the singing community; the listener cannot identify with More's voice.

This distance is most eloquently betrayed by the broadside's pricing: 'One Half-penny, or 3s. 6d. per Hundred'.[36] The customer saving their eight pence by this bulk option would be complicit in More's propaganda effort: an upstanding, philanthropic member of society, prepared to fund the mass dissemination of such 'improving' songs. It was on these charitable, dutiful persons that the broadside and tract campaigns relied to finance their endeavours: the songs could not function unaided as commercially viable productions. As I have argued elsewhere, the advertised 'sale' of this song in Bath, Bristol, and London, and more nebulously 'by all the Booksellers in the UNITED KINGDOM' (a purely rhetorical boast if ever there was one), should not be taken to mean that disinterested or ideologically subversive ballad singers sung and sold this sort of song across the nation.[37] However many were printed, there is no compelling evidence that these unfit productions enjoyed a corresponding mass circulation in popular song culture. In any event, despite the ongoing threat of invasion, no deluge of anti-Napoleonic song followed More's composition. Indeed, the next outpouring of songs was occasioned, not by war, but by peace.

Peace: 1801 to 1803

Although we tend to talk of 'the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars' as lasting from 1793 to 1815, treating the two peaces as little more than breathing space, that was not the majority perception at the time. When in 1801 peace with France became a probability, popular discourse did not treat the prospect as a temporary ceasefire, but as a long-awaited deliverance from the travails of war. This stemmed in part from Napoleon's coup: peace

could be made with a strong, respectable leader, as opposed to an insatiable, volatile republic. Optimism abounded, typified by the Birmingham comedian James Dobbs. John Alfred Langford, that city's great Victorian local historian, calls Dobbs 'a great favourite' and 'very popular' in his earthy stage performances.[38] In 1802, Dobbs published a cheap pamphlet entitled *The Lisper. Songs, &c. addressed to The Friends of Peace*.[39] Plausibly, he sung some of these in stage performances to middling audiences. Eschewing comedy, they focused on the moral and commercial blessings of peace between England and France.[40] Dobbs employs maritime themes in spite of his landlocked locale, suggesting both the ubiquity of naval imagery as a British patriotic construct, and the extent to which manufacturing cities' inhabitants saw their own prosperity as dependent upon maritime trade. Thus the most arresting song in his collection is 'Peace on the Ocean', fittingly set to the (unknown, though possibly sacred, if its title is a biblical reference) tune, 'In the midst of the sea'.[41]

> Now our battles are done, and the French foes no more,
> Pull away, pull away, so hearty;
> For we've haul'd PEACE in tow, to our own native shore,
> And a friend made of great BONAPARTE!

The song concludes with the line: 'May the French be our friends, and our friends foes no more.' The second clause is ambiguous; it is tempting to read it literally, as meaning the two nations are natural friends. An alternative is that Dobbs has missed an apostrophe, and the wish is for the French to enjoy a lasting peace with Britain's continental allies in the erstwhile coalition, primarily Austria and Prussia. The overall sentiment is striking: anti-war arguments and pro-French feeling are combined with patriotic confidence in the Royal Navy.

This should not come as a great surprise. Before 1803, loyalism and denigration of Napoleon were by no means necessarily complementary, just as one could oppose the war in the name of patriotism – for what was more British than the toast 'trade's increase'? This even-handed, complex song culture sits more comfortably with the craze of fashionable Bonapartism that seized polite society during the Peace, a period in which propertied Britons flocked to Paris to catch a glimpse of the great man.[42] James Smith, a young lawyer and member of the notorious Pic Nic society of amateur dramatists, penned the song 'All the World's in Paris' to satirise the phenomenon.[43] One would not expect plebeian society to be any less enamoured of Napoleon. Love of peace and hostility to war, irrespective of one's politics, squared better with the customs of popular song culture than the bellicosity of anti-invasion propaganda. The sentimental songs of the radical, Francophile poet Thomas Campbell – notably 'The Wounded Hussar', 'The Soldier's Dream', and 'Hohenlinden' – proved remarkably successful upon publication in these

years, their reach extending beyond the drawing room: not only were the songs pirated as broadsides, but their melodies began to be cited as tunes for other popular songs dealing with the Wars.[44]

There is an argument that the resumption of hostilities rewrote existing narratives of Britain's relations with Napoleon, and that what went before was either forgotten, or seen as an embarrassing anachronism. This attitude was typified by D.B.P. Eccleston, alias 'Phocion', author of a twenty-page pamphlet sold in Lancaster marketplace during the Peace of Amiens.[45] A more fervent and lyrical Bonapartist would be hard to find; Napoleon's personal habits and physical characteristics receive as much praise as his domestic, military, and diplomatic achievements. Yet on the reverse of the title page of the Bodleian's copy, the author has scribbled the following apology:

> This pamphlet was written and published during the short cessation of hostilities which we enjoyed, and when I thought the two countries were going to consult their mutual interest, by being at peace with each other. – When Nappy became our enemy again, I called them in from the shops, and suppressed their sale.[46]

Eccleston is still more precise on the frontispiece. Beneath a highly flattering portrait of the young Napoleon – slim, handsome, well-dressed – the following verse is printed:

> It was a maxim in ancient Greece,
> To learn the art of War in time of Peace;
> But *He* found out a better maxim far,
> By conquest to make Peace in time of War.
> And, through all Europe, bidding discord cease
> Gave to FRANCE *Liberty*; To the WORLD, *Peace*.[47]

Eccleston's marginalia is restricted to the pithy comment: 'This ill accords with the present situation of Europe. February 1814.' By this reading, proponents of peace were rudely disabused by Napoleon in 1803, just as republicans were disenchanted following his coup. Yet this did not result in a uniformly hostile body of songs, even in the immediate wake of the renewal of war.

1803: The London broadside press

The first topical song published in response to the renewal of hostilities typifies the sociocultural cross-currents of metropolitan cheap print. 'The Corsican Drover' was produced by Thomas Batchelar of 115 Long Alley, Moorfields, who would become a prominent producer of counter-invasion

propaganda; it was subsequently published (almost certainly without permission) by John Pitts of Seven Dials, the capital's leading ephemeral printer.[48] The lyric, by one John Thompson (a name so common as to be effectively anonymous) is a parody of the 1802 song 'All the World's in Paris', mentioned above. Thus Thompson's vernacular composition was a reworking of a decidedly polite original perhaps performed in private theatricals, its writer, audience, and subjects all belonging to London society. The parody shares the original's focus, lampooning the panicked flight of British nationals upon Napoleon's declaration of war. It finds comedy in the farcical inversion of circumstances, exemplified in the changed chorus, from:

> London now is out of town,
> Who in England tarries?
> Who can bear to linger there,
> When all the world's in Paris?

to:

> London now is come to town,
> Few are found who tarries,
> Boney there had made them stare,
> And drove them back from Paris.

This chorus gives 'Boney' agency in the manner of an admired mischief-maker, rather than as a brutal tyrant. It is the English who are mocked for fearing him, not he who is berated for being fearsome.

Far from responding to war by exhorting all Britons to unite in defence against a foreign aggressor, 'The Corsican Drover' – sold, it should be remembered, for a halfpenny, on the streets, by disreputable ballad singers – creates comic capital for the London masses by mocking the folly and cowardice of their social superiors and co-citizens, and does so with reference to a satirical theatrical precedent. This is London talking (and singing) to itself, exploiting internal divisions in identity on the basis of class and fashion. It is a thoroughly 'knowing' piece of topical popular culture, one that proved successful enough to be revived in 1814, and its example is worth bearing in mind when we consider the body of songs that followed.[49] Within a few months, Napoleon's Army of England was camped at Boulogne, and London's ephemeral printers were producing an astonishing mass of material ostensibly aiming to rouse the populace against the threat of invasion. Literally thousands of different songs were written and produced, in print runs that also numbered by the thousand.[50] These were the successors of 'A King or a Consul?', produced and disseminated *en masse* on the same basic model as the Cheap Repository Tracts, reliant upon elite patronage rather than the usual commercial patterns of popular consumption. An extract

from an advertisement of wares by one of these printers, John Ginger, epitomises the phenomenon:

> *Songs at Fifty for* 1s. 6*d. or One Hundred for* 2*s.* 6*d.*
> 40. Mr. Boney's hearty Welcome to Old England.
> 41. Britons Unconquerable.
> 42. Buonaparte answered, or the Briton's War-Song.
> 43. Britons Strike Home, a new Song.
> 44. Eve of Invasion.
> 45. Song for all true Britons.
> 46. John Bull's Invitation to Buonaparte.
> 47. The Minor's Soliloquy.
> 48. Britons' Defiance to France.
> 49. Song for all true Britons, tune Rule Britannia.[51]

So far as any songs of the period have received attention from historians, it has been songs of this kind, or, rather, this body of song, treated as a homogeneous mass. Mark Rawlinson writes that 'The cultivation of fear in Napoleonic Britain . . . represented a significant development in the use of print to try to bring about a war effort that was morally and "emotionally co-ordinated".'[52] Semmel and Shepard locate this coordination primarily with three printers: James Asperne, John Hatchard, and the aforementioned John Ginger.[53] It has been assumed either that songs published in the capital were representative of the nation, or that metropolitan songs were successfully promulgated across the kingdom, monopolising the popular market. Their textual content has been taken as constituting a codified 'Black Legend' of Napoleon, in which he is the familiar Corsican Ogre, perpetrator of atrocities, emasculated as infantile or literally demonised to alternately diminish or account for his feats of arms. This is Napoleon as 'Other', contrasted with either Britannia or John Bull, for the reactionary edification of the British people.[54]

This shallow consensus appears to stem from a methodological misapprehension. Historians of the past, confronted with words on paper, have treated these songs primarily as abstract texts, bearing fixed meaning. Yet due to their low cultural status, the songs have not received the degree of nuanced close reading afforded to poetry or periodical literature, instead taking on a statistical value, their language to be counted as much as interpreted. A more attentive consideration, even of the words of the songs alone, reveals a far less coherent, coordinated popular discourse, instead endlessly open to interpretation and internal contradiction.

Semmel identifies the central dilemma for propagandists: should the people be told to take Napoleon seriously?[55] Invasion had to be figured as a deadly threat to the nation, yet in order to resist that threat, popular

morale had to be raised. These imperatives were mutually contradictory, and the balancing act posed grave problems to the average hack. 'Little Boney A-Cockhorse', printed by Pitts, was one of many songs caught in this paradox.[56] The final verse is a rousing exhortation to 'fight together | When Boney comes over from France'. Yet earlier in the song, Napoleon's invading fleet has been burnt and sunk 'by our brave British frigates', thus rendering the envisaged invasion non-existent. The song's narrative and message collapse in contradiction. Thomas Evans, another London printer, also turned songwriter, producing his own 'The Corsican Monster'.[57] He aims to expose Napoleon as a mere paper tiger, employing the language of the nursery to insist that 'at last he will be found to be only a Bug-a-bow'. Yet in the second verse he laments the 'countries, cities, and fine towns' that the 'savage Bug-a-bow' has 'laid waste', proving that the monster is no figment. In a later verse, Evans turns to bucolic farce, creating an image with the potential to reconcile these elements: the British bull is more than a match for any monster.

> For then our bull we will let loose, and in his mad career,
> He will run at all without excuse, that dare him to come near;
> Over hedge and ditch he'll jump and skip, so furiously he'll go,
> He'll not return till with his horn he's gored the Bug-a-bow.

This would make a fine final verse, yet Evans follows it with equivocation in an attempt to cover all contingencies:

> But when he'll come no one can tell it may be in the night,
> Appearing like a Bug-a-bow, to put us all in a fright,
> But if the case it should be such as perhaps it may be so,
> They will find our bull an over match for their barking Bug-a-bow.

This makes for a far less satisfying resolution, leaving any listener or reader, not with the image of a rampaging bull in a green English field, but in uncertainty and darkness.

If writers struggled to decide how terrifying or absurd to make Napoleon, this was partially due to what had already become a national obsession with a man 'Wrapt in the solitude of his awful originality'.[58] As Simon Bainbridge writes, leading authors 'saw Napoleon as occupying a place in the public "imagination" which reinforced his hold on power'.[59] If, like previous historians, we wish to indulge in counting, then even one single collection of broadsides, *The Warning Drum*, provides ample evidence of imaginative epithets for Napoleon that verge on both the hysterical and the fascinating, with potentially intoxicating consequences. There are numerous variants on 'Chief', 'Chief Consul', and 'Consul-King'; an updating of the famous

'Britons Strike Home!' strikes a biblical note with 'Pharaoh', obliquely drawing on Napoleon's Egyptian campaign; 'Address to the people of Great Britain. By W.J. Denison, Esq.' includes 'the storm', 'this modern ATTILA', and 'Gothic DARKNESS'; whilst there are so many references to 'the foe' or 'the haughty foe' that Nicholas Rowe, composer of 'Britannia's Charge to the Sons of Freedom', makes the distinction that Napoleon is 'a malefactor not a foe', clearly worried that the latter title, much like 'Chief Consul', might legitimise the usurper.[60]

This was a vexed, even dangerous question for propagandists. Was Napoleon synonymous with France, the quintessential haughty Gaul; or France's tyrannical oppressor, the Corsican usurper from whose rule the callow but essentially decent French had to be rescued? By depicting Napoleon as a tyrant – and thus, by implication, as the unconstitutional suppressor of the universal liberties secured by the Revolution – writers ran the risk, often intentionally, of criticising the British administration. From 1803, radicals in particular shifted from citing Napoleon as an exemplar of revolutionary virtue to holding him up as a corrupted mirror, a monstrous reflection of Pitt.[61] The first to remark on this strain of radical patriotism disguised as loyalism was William Cobbett. Then at the height of his loyalist phase, Cobbett found 'the prevailing critique of Napoleon too democratic' and attempted to counter this tendency in his *Annual Register*.[62] Moreover, patriotism could be conditional as well as contested.[63] As William Frend wrote in an essay of 1804, *Patriotism, or the Love of Our Country*: 'the country must love the individual, or the individual will not love the country', and this love should be demonstrated by social justice and the extension of the franchise.[64] Just as the government used the threat of invasion as justification for the curtailment of liberties and an expansion of the state, so radicals used the same threat as justification for a recapitulation of the lost battle of the 1790s over liberty and democracy, this time under the guise of staunch patriotism. One does not have to suspect covert radicalism in every loyalist songwriter, to perceive that the mere existence of this argument fundamentally complicates textual readings of the broadside campaign and any assessment of its rhetorical impact.

Whatever writers' intentions were in vilifying Napoleon, such songs represent a remarkable rupture when set against the admiring tone of those written during the Peace and the Egyptian campaign. Songwriters lacked the explanatory space of the introduction to the 1799 poem *Bonaparte's Reverie*, which we recall as attempting to justify this rhetorical shift from praise to damnation. Napoleon had been introduced to popular discourse as a valiant general, the compelling figure of William Rowbottom's journal, with which we began. It cannot have been unproblematic for audiences to assimilate Napoleon the hellhound, the usurper, the ogre. We must take care not to conceive of 'the masses' as an undifferentiated set of dupes, ready to swallow this version of the Other. Britain's nature as an island on the edge of

Europe is commonly taken as evidence for the isolation of its inhabitants, and in consequence the ease of constructing Otherness, when the reverse is the likelier scenario. The south coast of England from Bristol to London remained in close contact with France, the cessation of formal trade relations merely creating a boom time for smugglers, an activity which united English and French nationals in hostility to representatives of the state: customs and excise men, and the revenue cutters. The east coast of Britain was engaged in trade with the Dutch, the old Hanseatic ports, Scandinavia, and the Baltic. The government was well aware of this: Sir John Moore wrote to the Home Office in 1804 from Kent that 'There is a constant communication with this coast and that of Holland . . . There is hardly a family in Folkestone which has not relatives settled at Flushing [Vlissingen] and there is a constant intercourse.'[65] Wales and Brittany, Scotland and France, Ireland and Spain, all enjoyed close cultural connections. The exoticism of the foreigner would thus have been more closely contained within landlocked counties: locks to which the Wars themselves held the key.[66]

Many anti-invasion broadsides themselves indicate an acceptance that the populace was better informed than they would wish. Rather than simply presenting a pantomime villain, their writers presuppose Bonapartist sympathies in their audience, and engage in political arguments that implicitly acknowledge an operational political vocabulary shared by their listeners.[67] Returning to *The Warning Drum*, we find 'Plain ANSWERS to plain QUESTIONS'; 'Buonaparte answered, or the Briton's War-Song', priced at a hundred for a half-crown; 'Freedom or Slavery'; and 'The Ploughman's Ditty: Being an answer to that foolish question, "what have the poor to lose?" '[68] This last song was Hannah More's only contribution to the broadside campaign of 1803, published by both Ginger and Hatchard: we may presume that it was thus in circulation across southern England via their established network, even though our only extant copies are from London. It is exemplary of these 'answer' songs, at once the most technically proficient and the most symptomatic of their flaws.

More's choice of tune, 'He that has the best wife', reaffirms her conscious evocation of indigenous tradition, recalling the 1792 letter to Reeves cited in Chapter 1 that extolled the affective value of 'an Old English tune'. Remembered by James Boswell as a 'good old glee', the tune dates back to at least 1686 and bears all the hallmarks of that era.[69] It is well chosen for performance by ballad singers: the tune is undemanding, memorable, and gently paced, affording plenty of space for the lyric, which scans impeccably. It is only the lyric itself that undermines the song's potential performative impact. The opening lines concede that pro-French arguments are in circulation:

> Because I'm but poor,
> And slender's my store,
> That I've nothing to lose is the cry, Sir;

This sets up the logic of the nine verses that follow: a series of reasons, by turn pragmatic, sentimental, and dutiful, why the ideologically indecisive ploughman should set aside such folly and defend his king, Church, and country. It is an elegant composition – the classical allusion to swords and ploughshares may have been a shade *too* elegant for its target audience – yet it is flawed in both its examples and its approach. Many of its arguments presuppose the possession of property – cottage, garden, orchard, as well as wife and child – and a confidence in English law, which will protect this homeowner 'if the squire shou'd oppress'. These are the idealised tropes of the cottage as pastoral idyll, more likely to appeal to elite purchasers-in-bulk rather than the primarily urban audience of these printers' broadsides; tropes dissected in Barrell's 'Cottage Politics'.[70] Were such idyllic sentiments to have reached rural listeners, it is unlikely that many would have identified with the song's narrator, in a period of several failed harvests and the escalation of enclosure. Indeed, More runs the risk of aggravating the sense of poverty and exclusion that the song sets out to address in the first place.

This insensitivity is common to many metropolitan songs of 1803, especially those aiming to construct a single nation united in arms, typified by John Mayne's 'English, Scots, and Irishmen. A Patriotic Address to the Inhabitants of the United Kingdom' or the anonymous 'The Voice of the British Isles', yet which relied on offensive stereotypes such as 'Teague' or 'Paddy', 'Sawney', and 'Taffy', terms likelier to widen rifts than close them.[71] Yet the model of the 'answer' itself represents a fundamental misreading of the performative realities of song culture. Traditional 'answer' songs existed in plenty, but they were comic or ironic rather than earnest, engaging not with topical politics but with characters or jokes in other songs: playful explorations of, typically, the battle of the sexes, that created personas so as to entertain, not to instruct.[72] As Booth writes, the aim of songs – voiced, but undramatised – is ritualistic, whereby: 'The individual member of the audience enters into a common pattern of thought, attitude, emotion, and achieves by it concert with his society.'[73] He continues: 'The mechanism of identification fails if the state offered us is not acceptable: the song may seem repugnant, or, more likely, simply uninteresting.'[74] In adopting the model of an 'answer' song, More clearly had in mind the identification of her audience with the singer, a tactic similar to her earlier moral duologues, yet she makes the singer speak to, rather than for, her audience: the ploughman is not expressing something on behalf of the singing community, but arguing with it. This is not the same as a generic man arguing with a generic woman in a typical 'answer' song, as they are both *of* their respective communities. The distinction is subtle but crucial: More's ploughman is, by the nature of his appeal, an outsider. Though less repellent than the sermonising tone of her earlier 'A King or a Consul?', he is still distanced from his audience, and thus a fundamentally unsuccessful narrative conceit.

I have no wish to single out the singularly capable More for special treatment, nor to obscure her contribution to the role of women in public

society.[75] This was, rather, a ubiquitous characteristic of the propaganda songs of 1803: they address an audience from above, rather than represent it from within. More, in fact, displays a far greater grasp of her subject than some of her contemporaries. James Plumptre, vicar of Hinxton near Cambridge, proved incapable of surrendering the comforts of the pulpit when he too produced anti-invasion songs in 1803, writing that:

> I shall object to all *derry downs*, and *toll de rolls*, as unmeaning impertinence. The last line of a verse should contain some valuable sentiment or point, and to repeat this is to enforce the sentiment; but a chorus of derry down is merely an apology for noise and riot.[76]

One wonders what More, who made repeated use of the 'derry down' chorus, thought of Plumptre's scruples, which severely hampered his moralising songs.[77] By contrast, William Cobbett has been held up as a songwriter capable of assuming a voice with which audiences identified: his ostensibly 'quaint' 'peasant vision', concerned with apparent trivialities such as a preference for bacon and beer over potatoes and tea, was in fact a nuanced strategy that enabled Cobbett, 'where others had failed, to attract an audience and following among the rural poor'.[78] Numerous contemporaries said the same of Charles Dibdin the Elder, one journalist observing that his songs adopted 'a mode, at once the most simple, the most pleasing, and the most persuasive to unenlightened minds'.[79] In his autobiography of 1803, Dibdin conspires in this self-fashioning: 'Of what use would it have been to lecture my audience when it was my business to make them laugh, which nothing can do, or ever did, but broad humour?'[80]

This concern for fitness applies, of course, not merely to the lyrical content of anti-invasion broadsides. Here too, Dibdin was an isolated voice, when he advised that: 'The music must be sorted to the mode of expression as well as the sentiment itself; and thus, there must be a kind of give and take accordance between the music and the words, which is indispensibly [*sic*] necessary to heighten the effect of both.'[81] Most London broadsides evince a very crude approach to the pairing of music and lyric, leading the animal portraitist and writer J.F. Herling to lament the repertoire of tunes used by loyalists: ' "But is it fit for John Bull?" I venture to say, that he will not rest satisfied with anything like that insipid species of melody prescribed for him as *suitable to his character.*'[82] Like More and Reeves' contributors, songwriters favoured 'old' tunes, as this was ideologically consonant with their aims.[83] Yet rather than utilising a range of traditional ballad melodies, the preference in 1803 was overwhelmingly for just three tunes: 'God save the King', 'Rule, Britannia!', and 'Hearts of Oak'. Somewhat less common were still more venerable airs, such as Purcell's 'Britons, Strike Home!' from 1695. Today, we would call these tunes 'anthems'. At a time when that term was generally applied to sacred music, the generic category was 'ode'. This preference

did not go unnoticed. A writer in the *Satirist* may have been sardonic in observing that:

> There never was . . . a nation more zealously attached to its ODES, of all sorts, than Britain. [This is] to be attributed [to] that inflexible spirit of loyalty, of valour, of clemency, and of patriotism, that blazes so intensely in the bosoms even of our most illiterate and most thoughtless vulgar . . . 'God save the king,' 'Britons strike home,' 'Conquer to save,' and 'Rule Britannia,' are compositions which deservedly claim the lead.[84]

The ideological associations of odes clearly appealed to loyalists. Yet in choosing a tune, a writer prescribed a song's potential performative context. Rousing and communal, odes were well suited to rendition in a crowded, celebratory theatre, in a public house full of likeminded revellers, or by a military unit on parade. Odes were entirely unsuited, however, to the commercial and quotidian contexts in which broadsides were sung: by a solo singer on the street, or by purchasers at the domestic hearth, or as an aid to labour. Unlike the radical pamphleteers of the 1790s, many songwriters of 1803 were hampered by a reluctance to politicise more aspects of daily life than necessary. Nor were many writers, concerned not only with the loyalties but also with the morals of the populace, eager to condone an independent love of singing. The ode, with its associations of order, duty, and an organised context, was acceptable: other song types were not. Writing in *The Two Shoemakers*, More explicitly forbids the singing of most love songs and all drinking songs, condemning their impiety.[85] In *The Two Farmers*, Sarah Trimmer lists suitable and unsuitable song types for domestic enjoyment, at a stroke prohibiting several genres.[86] Plumptre refuses to sanction 'drinking, hunting, or sailors' songs filled with oaths, or love songs full of impiety and nonsense'.[87] Faced with a conflict between principle – to restrict the frivolity and licentiousness of the people – and aim – to stir up the nation against invasion – activists appear to have compromised by restricting their endeavours to a 'safe' song type. Odes were necessarily occasional rather than everyday songs; yet odes were the default form employed for hundreds of metropolitan broadsides. Their impact must necessarily have been greatly restricted by this limitation.

The exceptions to this trend were those songs of 1803 written in the first instance for the theatre rather than the street, which subsequently became broadsides, primarily in pirated editions. Many of these were by Dibdin or one of his two illegitimate sons, Charles and Thomas. Charles the Elder was coaxed out of retirement by a government commission to write a series, *British War Songs*, performed out of season in July 1803 with the aid of a military band in his small Leicester Square theatre, the *Sans Souci*.[88] It is perhaps this engagement that has led Rawlinson to label him (anachronistically) as 'the real laureate of the Great Terror'.[89] In *British War Songs* and a later series,

Britons! Strike Home, however, Dibdin makes remarkably little reference to the French. Only 'The Song of Acre' and 'A Welcome to the French' deal with Napoleon, the former calling him 'Corsican' and 'foe', and the latter including the lines 'with their Vive Bonaparte' and 'We're in arms, little Boney'.[90] Nor do these collections, printed as sheet music arranged for military bands, appear to have been widely disseminated as broadsides, unlike many of the elder Dibdin's other patriotic compositions.[91] In more than nine hundred songs, only 'Vive la Peste', from 1805's *New Year's Gifts*, attacks Napoleon directly as a despot and pretender: again, this song does not appear to have penetrated the popular market at all.[92] Its opening couplet implies that some Londoners remained sympathetic to Napoleon:

> 'Vive l'Empereur!' vocif'rates a true Paris parrot;
> So a magpie near Wandsworth bawls out

Elsewhere in his oeuvre, several songs poke fun at the French or belittle their prowess. Three from the late 1790s, 'A Dose for the Don', 'Duncan and Victory', and 'A Salt Eel for Mynheer', are typical: they are not xenophobic, but rather patriotic celebrations of recent naval triumphs against the French, Dutch, and Spanish.[93] Indeed, Dibdin was infinitely more interested in celebrating and sentimentalising the Royal Navy than in castigating the enemy. One of his most successful songs, 'Nongtongpaw', was even a satire on unworldly English patriots, in the guise of the parochial John Bull, unable to comprehend the fundamentals of the French language.[94] It can be read as a direct lampoon of precisely those little Englander songwriters he was once thought to have epitomised.

Charles the Younger, a far less significant songwriter in these years, engaged more closely with Napoleon. Yet his interests were not aligned with the propaganda campaign. His playbill for a benefit concert around 1802 boasted of 'the invincible Flag of BUONAPARTE' as forming part of the spectacle, in enormous typeface: far from slandering the foe, Charles the Younger was capitalising on the public's fascination.[95] In his memoir, he notes his debt to Napoleon in fond terms:

> I had begun [in] the Season of 1803, a series of Songs, sung in the various pieces, allusive to *Bonaparte*, which I continued occasionally to the very last Season of my being at [Sadler's] Wells, which . . . would furnish a tolerably accurate history of the progressive rise of that wonderful Man to the period of his being made Emperor, and beyond it. They were all songs which became popular.[96]

For the younger Dibdin, as indeed for his father, financial success was far more important than the war effort. This became clear in the aftermath of

Trafalgar, when he recycled the props and effects from his 1804 production at Sadler's Wells, *The Siege of Gibraltar*.

> I therefore produced, as quickly as I could, a new aquatic piece, which I called 'The Rival Patriots, or the Battle of Trafalgar', which received general, but not heart and hand applause. People had seen the Ships before, the surprize [*sic*] they had excited had subsided, and they were disappointed.

Swiftly abandoning the flop, he adapted his paraphernalia for a less topical show, called *The Invisible Ring, or Water Monster and Fire Spectre* – and enjoyed far greater success.[97]

The attitude and output of father and son – patriots but not nationalists, professionals rather than activists – exemplifies the variety and nuance to be found in broadly 'loyal' metropolitan popular songs of 1803. It was perhaps the greatest single strength of the anti-invasion broadside campaign that, by dint of its overwhelming scale, it denied oppositional London voices the public space to wage an overt counter-campaign. Yet in the light of the preceding analysis, I consider it reasonable to judge the campaign itself as flawed, incoherent, and open to wildly different interpretations by audiences. The songwriter often cited as being at its centre was at best an unwilling and unrepresentative participant. There is, in short, a strong argument against these songs having enjoyed 'a collectively powerful impact' which represented 'the cohesion of many individual wills into one national will and purpose'.[98]

1803 to 1805: Across the archipelago

Any such claims to national impact based on purely metropolitan productions necessarily stand upon false ground, in a period where long-standing regional identities were as augmented by the growth of local printing presses as they were subsumed within a London print culture. Across the archipelago, responses to Napoleon and the renewal of conflict were far more disparate than those from the capital. Anti-invasion songs were composed and circulated in some areas, even in Ireland, though here these have been found predominantly in Ulster. One such garland includes 'Bonaparte', a song that has much in common with London productions, whilst exhibiting clear differences based on its geopolitical situation.[99] Napoleon is a 'Bantam cock', 'proud' and boastful; there are allusions to Nelson's triumph of 1798, again given as a defeat of Napoleon himself. Eschewing or unaware of the more inflammatory aspects of the developing Black Legend that was being put about in London – the massacre and poisoning in Egypt in particular – the song's writer focuses instead on conventional politics: the invasion of Switzerland, and the diplomatic wrangling over the Treaty of Amiens. The

invective is reserved and the references uncontroversial; qualities that it is tempting to ascribe to the prevalent political climate in even the north of Ireland. Its opening verses are especially interesting in this regard: an ostensibly pro-Napoleonic opening is steeped in sarcasm that only becomes apparent as the song unfolds. Such an irreverent technique, with its overtones of subversion, perhaps indicates a performative context in which audiences would be more accustomed, or even predisposed, to songs in Napoleon's favour:

> Come, listen every lord and lady,
> Gentleman and states-man,
> I've got a little song to sing
> About a very great man!
> And should the name of Bonaparte
> Mingle in my story,
> 'Tis with all due submission
> To his honor's worship's glory
> Bow, wow, wow, &c.
>
> The kindness of this philanthropic
> Gentleman extending,
> Colossus-like, from isle to isle,
> Their grievances amending,
> To England would reach (if he could)
> From fancied ills to save ye;
> But though he likes us vastly well,
> He does not like our navy!

Despite the visibility of Napoleon's Army of England encamped across the Channel, it was in Ireland that invasion had been a reality, and might be again. In 1803, a notice in a 'childish script' was pasted onto a wall in Sloane: 'Bonapart [*sic*] is our Friend. B Ready'.[100] Maura Cronin makes the point that, in the wake of failed rebellion, the prospect of another French landing did more to exacerbate indigenous divisions than unite the populace either for or against Napoleon. In a study of broadsides, Cronin identifies 'loyal' songs even from Munster in the southwest, but stresses that 'the predominant note was . . . not loyalty or anti-radicalism but local pride and machismo', indicating 'a stronger desire to settle old scores than to tamper with the political system'.[101] Our observations of Bonapartist Irish song from 1798 hold true for superficially 'loyalist' songs of 1803: what mattered lay rather closer to home.

It would be disingenuous to posit a binary of local and (super-)national interest: the one might easily inflect the other. Across the Irish Sea, the Cumbrian poet Robert Anderson penned the dialect song 'Jenny's

Complaint', in which the narrative gives voice to a girl, Jenny, whose lover Jemmy leaves to join the army.[102] Anderson's tune, 'Nancy's to the greenwood gone', in both its title and its plaintive melody, reinforces the song's sentimental aspect, which ends in a vision of romantic tragedy:

> Brek heart, at yence, and then it's owre! [at once]
> Life's nought widout yen's dearie,
> I'll suin lig in my cauld, cauld grave, [soon lie]
> For, oh! of life I'm weary!

One could read this song as a picturesque treatment of a pathetic archetype, free from wider import. Yet Anderson, a radical, weaves topical politics into his verses. Jemmy's recruitment is figured as an act of crimping, or entrapment:

> To Carel he set off wi' wheat;
> Them ill reed-cwoated fellows [red-coated]
> Suin wil'd him in – then meade him drunk: [wiled]
> He'd better geane to th' gallows.

Patriotic iconography is repeatedly implicated with trauma. Not only are the soldiers' red coats ill-omened, but the very sight of Jemmy's cockade 'set us aw a crying'. National military symbols are given negative valence, whilst the use of dialect – a technique Anderson repeats in later songs criticising the Wars – sets up a peculiarly Cumbrian mood of antipathy to the army. This locally set love song, which is still sung today under the variant title 'The Collier Recruit', was evidently written to convey a wider topical message, as is reinforced by its given date of composition: 19 April 1803. This was just under a month before Britain declared war, at a time when the Addington administration was clearly preparing for conflict: Anderson's seemingly timeless anti-war song constituted a very pertinent form of protest.

A self-consciously rural figure, Anderson couches his critiques in the aestheticised vernacular of lyrical Romanticism. A stark comparison may be drawn with John Freeth, a songwriter of similar intent but operating in a very different context: a tavern in urban Birmingham.[103] In the terminology of the day, a 'tavern' (in this case, the Leicester Arms) was much more than a public house: it was a substantial, sophisticated complex of rooms, offering not only drink and food, but spaces for debate and organised entertainment.[104] The Leicester Arms was also known as 'Freeth's Coffee House', indicating the liberal conversational connotations of the establishment, and indeed Freeth regularly hosted a 'circle of twelve' local artisans and small businessmen with revolutionary sympathies, one

of whom revelled in the name John Wilkes.[105] In keeping with this lively, literate environment, Freeth's lyrics employ the idiom of the periodical rather than the border ballad, and are consistently well set to simple, mid-tempo dance tunes, allowing space for ready comprehension of the words whilst mirroring his sprightly writing. His 1805 collection *New Ballads, to Old Familiar Tunes* (thereby employing the tactics of loyalist songwriters, but demonstrating greater technical aptitude) includes four songs from 1803 to 1805 that deal with Napoleon and the threat of invasion. A previously published fifth song, 'Bonaparte's Coronation', reflects Freeth's disillusionment in 1804, likening the event to 'a raree-show' and a 'farce': criticism motivated by republicanism rather than loyalism.[106] His 1805 collection features two songs that use similar attacks on Napoleon as cover for more controversial assaults upon the British administration.[107] 'Upstart Emperors' uses the strophic form to progress from satirising Napoleon's self-coronation, to jibes at the Prussian monarchy and Britain's other Ancien Regime allies, before arriving at its real target: the domestic situation, culminating in a dig at Tory cronyism. The song ends:

> That dreadful *monster* of the day,
> INVASION, is suspended,
> And who will now pretend to say,
> 'Twas seriously intended.
> Tho' England can no Emperor boast,
> Her greatness what evinces,
> She's got of Knights and 'Squires a host,
> As rich as German Princes;
> Within the space of twenty years,
> Have titles swell'd the nation,
> For P-tt has caus'd of British Peers
> A wonderful creation!

Two further songs centre on the invasion threat itself. In 'No Continental War; Money and Men at Home', Freeth asks, 'War is the farce, but who is the dupe?'[108] His answer: John Bull, forced to pay for the government's follies, first with taxes that are sent in vain to Prussia, and then with his life, in Flanders. Freeth directly criticises the propaganda campaign in the couplet:

> Threats of the *Carmagnols* dancing o'er,
> Only the timid can tend to fright

Throughout the song, Freeth deploys the patriotic rhetoric of martial valour to dissuade his audience from taking up arms, rather than encouraging them so to do; for if the Royal Navy is invincible, what need has Britain of a land

defence? It is an eloquent argument that skewers the loyalist message at its weakest point, reinforcing the song's final pay-off, emphasised by the typeface: '*So keep your own* MONEY *and* MEN *at home*.' In print, Freeth can bellow his alliteration, just as he could in a tavern performance, safe on his own property from loyalist reprisals.

'The French Invaders' is somewhat subtler, again masking its subversion beneath a veneer of patriotism.[109] The twist comes only in the second verse, where once again Freeth plays with the loyalist paradox that the 'threat' had to be simultaneously awful and absurd:

> Jersey and Guernsey – step-stones two,
> Their blustering with derision view;
> All from Brighthelmstone to Penzance,
> Treat with contempt the threats of France;
> Rumours afloat,
> Artfully wrought,
> Much have imagination heighten'd;
> Strange to behold!
> But so we're told,
> The inland towns the most are frighten'd.[110]

That final line was especially forceful in landlocked Birmingham. The invasion threat was seen as more credible, and the response was more enthusiastic and jingoistic, the further removed one was from the reality. Freeth was contending with a climate in which his fellow townsman John Allin, a draper, saw fit to advertise his 'Cheap Clothes and York Shoe Warehouse' by writing a hysterical anti-invasion broadside.[111] John Collins, a leading comedian and co-owner of the *Birmingham Chronicle*, was especially guilty of the hyperbole mocked by Freeth.[112] Verse nine of 'Old England's Strength and Stay', which Collins sang on stage and published in a collection pitched at the town's artisans, runs:

> Let the Corsican Fiend then with fiends in his train,
> To the white cliffs of Albion waft over the main,
> Firm as rocks will her sons such Infernals repel,
> And their Legions consign to their own native Hell![113]

It is worth noting that Collins, like his London peers, oscillated between inciting horror and humour, contradicting the invasion threat in 'Mirabile Dictu! Truth Told by a Frenchman! a Song', which gave the direction that it should 'be sung in broken English, by a Fugitive from that Country on this Side [of] the Water'.[114] Typically, much of its comedy inheres in a pun upon Napoleon's name:

> But as for all de French can do,
> John Bull he only laugh,
> And deir Fee Faw Fum Invasions
> He make his Mock and Joke,
> For he say, bay Gar, dat BONY PART,
> Is von great Sheep or Calf,
> To tink de Necks of Englishmen
> Vill stoop to vear his Yoke.
> But to England if he come,
> Vich so much he make his Brag,
> Dey swear upon his great long Neck
> Dey'll only leave de Scrag;

Laughter as a response to fear or disquiet is as common if less logical than laughter as a response to implausibility. General Dumouriez, the famed French defector, was charged with reporting on the viability of an attempted landing. His sceptical verdict includes the telling reflection: 'I know that English sailors will laugh', so impossible were the logistics.[115] This coastal view, shared by Freeth in the midlands, runs contrary to the modern misapprehension that the invasion 'came close to succeeding'.[116] Even maritime settlements could fall prey to hysteria; in the northeast, there are reports of an escaped baboon being taken for a French spy, such was the collective tension of the moment.[117] But it was precisely that: a moment. Those same reports circulated immediately, and survived in collective memories, as songs mocking, rather than exhibiting, that hysteria:

> Tom flang doon his pipe, an' set up a great yell;
> He's owther a spy, or Bonnypairty's awnsel: [own self]
> Iv a crack the High Fellin was in full hue an' cry,
> Te catch Bonnypairt, or the hairy French spy.[118]

Decades later, the story was retold in a second song, Ned Corvan's 'The Fishermen Hung the Monkey, O!'[119] Corvan notes that: 'These words are the greatest insult you can offer to the Hartlepool fishermen.'[120] Tynesiders remembered the incident, not in hostility to a French Other, but as a means of mocking their near neighbours. Even the original song is not a manifestation of hysteria, but a satire thereupon, and anyone hearing or singing 'The Baboon' would necessarily be in on the joke. Moments of particular panic or fervour were followed, not by the absorption of that hysteria, but by a rueful distancing from it.[121] Across the archipelago, even the most fervent anti-invasion songs enjoyed a purely ephemeral coexistence alongside an array of more nuanced, even subversive productions.

Whilst we can identify subversion, however, it has proved impossible to root out sedition in song: there are no extant Bonapartist songs from

1803 to 1805. Strict censorship, and the activities of loyalist groups, may have kept such material underground. Certainly, we have many examples of pro-Napoleonic sentiment from all parts of the Isles in these years; but if such people sang, their songs appear to have been restricted to an oral or at most manuscript circulation. The Wilsons, a radical songwriting family from Manchester, possessed just such a manuscript: a collection of thirty-five unpublished songs, several concerning Napoleon and the Wars.[122] However, the book was lent to one Thomas Brotherton in the years after Waterloo and subsequently lost, despite a reward of two pounds being offered for its recovery. We know of the obscure ex-Croppy fugitive and amateur poet John Lauderdale, who escaped across the Irish Sea to Wigtownshire. Lauderdale had runs-in with a lenient magistrate for roaring treasonable songs at the top of his voice, in the streets and in grog shops, before emigrating to America.[123] Yet the collection of his own compositions was lost, and the only recorded snatch of his singing that has survived is a chorus:

> Viva la the new convention,
> Viva la republican,
> Viva la America,
> It was in you it first began[124]

Other glimpses are briefer still. A Manchester magistrate compiled a commonplace book of seditious ballads and pamphlets around 1805, in response to fears of a United Irish infiltration of that city, but only scraps remain.[125] In Sheffield, work into the radical underground supports the view that pro-French sentiment persisted, and that songs in the tradition of the Jacobin Joseph Mather were sung in alehouses, but never committed to paper.[126] The local militia colonel reported seditious handbills disseminated amongst his troops, but not, apparently, songs.[127] In Huddersfield, John Taylor was taken up 'for drinking repeated toasts of "Success to Buonaparte and his undertakings", in front of recruiting parties in a public house', but if Taylor ventured a song as well as a toast, it went unrecorded.[128] Robert Thomas Crossfield was charged with treason and tried at the Old Bailey. During his trial, it emerged that the defendant had 'said his name was not Crossfield, it was Thomas Paine, and laughed; I said nothing to him, but after supper, he began singing some very bad and audacious songs', yet the songs were not recorded.[129] In Wales, there were Jacobin societies at Hereford, Brecon, and Cardiff; we know too that: 'at Brechfa, in Carmarthenshire, a weaver and others sang a seditious song'.[130] Tomos Glyn Cothi, an itinerant weaver, translator of Priestley and correspondent of Frend, also sang an unrecorded seditious song in public in 1801.[131] Yet the only extant songs from the principality are vociferously loyalist.[132] In print culture at least, loyalist songs were countered by implication, satire, and insinuation, rather than by open contradiction in kind. We must concur with Thompson that the 'continuous underground tradition, linking the Jacobins of the 1790s to the movements

of 1816–1820' avoided unwanted attention, and that those radicals who did publicise their songs used Napoleon as a Trojan horse, rather than as a figurehead.[133]

Volunteer songs

Suitably forewarned by the multivalence of civilian song, we should expect no less of the songs written for and about the volunteer movement: an unprecedented mobilisation of hundreds of thousands of auxiliaries, to meet the threat of invasion. The scholarly consensus suggests as much, finding that volunteers' patriotism was both problematic and conditional.[134] Men might enlist to avoid the ballot for the more onerous militia; for financial gain, either direct, or because petty tradesmen had a ready market in their own regiment; or simply due to peer pressure.[135] Far from representing the will of the people, volunteering could be a casual form of elite sociability; in some regions, such as Yorkshire and East Anglia, enthusiasm among all ranks was minimal; regiments were often 'forced to advertise in the newspapers' to make up their numbers.[136] Yet volunteering remained preferable to being chosen for the militia. Insurance companies were set up to provide a substitute militiaman in the event of the 'policy holder' being selected.[137] In 1797, the Bromley militia ballot was composed of 44 substitutes out of 45; by May 1804, the Militia Act was acknowledged as having failed, as fully one ninth of the 45,492 militiamen had deserted.[138] Pamela Horn writes that: 'contrary to later beliefs, there is little evidence that the majority of men had any great patriotic enthusiasm . . . Even the desire to defeat France, the traditional enemy, did not arouse much fervour, and support for the various constitutional associations . . . soon dwindled away.'[139]

We might add music to the list of volunteers' motivations. Colley quotes George Cruikshank in highlighting the 'exciting' soundscape created by a recruiting party's band:

> In one place you might hear the 'tattoo' of some youth learning to beat the drum, at another place some march or national air being practiced upon the fife, and every morning at five o'clock the bugle horn was sounded through the streets, to call the volunteers to a two hours' drill . . . and then you heard the pop, pop, pop, of the single musket, or the heavy sound of the volley, or the distant thunder of the artillery.[140]

To Colley, such sounds were part of loyalist iconography. Keith Watson demurs, drawing a rather crude distinction between volunteers' ideological motivations and purely 'frivolous' or theatrical incentives.[141] Yet Watson's unsubtle binary appears to reflect contemporary sentiment. John Stephen, a loyalist writer, made the same point in 1807: 'The lighter motives for volunteering also, are peculiarly felt by young men; but I will not particularise

them, lest I should seem to detract from that manly, generous, and patriotic spirit, by which the defenders of their country are chiefly actuated.'[142] As seen in Chapter 1, the Buckinghamshire farmhand Joseph Mayett ascribed his volunteering to 'the Musick [being] Congenial with my Carnal nature'.[143] Subsequent service gave him a horror of the army, but a love of song, until his eventual conversion: 'Satan [tempted me] to sing a good war song telling me there Could be no harm in that and from that to a merry love song and from that to all the paltry and filthey songs that could be devised.'[144] Robert Butler, born at Peebles in 1784, was certainly susceptible to 'the lighter motives': he joined the Earlston volunteers purely because they wanted an additional fifer, and he wanted a chance to practice his piping.[145] From the volunteers, he passed into the Army of Reserve, not out of patriotism, but in search of a regiment 'where I could get proper instructions in my favourite music'.[146] Subsequently stationed at Dublin, Butler 'found pleasure in nothing but music and musicians'.[147] Newcastle's volunteer band, meanwhile, chiefly functioned as 'a commercial lifesaver' for local musicians, in whose choice of repertoire, 'fashion and novelty . . . won out over nationalism'. The band's officers hired them out for private functions, extending to Masonic dinners.[148] Love of employment appears more significant here than love of country.

Once recruited, these part-time soldiers raised obvious problems. The movement lacked the trust of the government that raised it, and with good reason: these organised bodies of men raised working-class consciousness.[149] The collective action of reform movements after 1815 owed much to their example as, in some sense, proto-unions. Volunteers formed committees, went on strike, and liberated their comrades from the press gang. Conversely, volunteer regiments could sow discord when they succeeded in representing state authority. In radical Nottingham, volunteers were regularly attacked and beaten.[150] In Bath, the tailor Thomas Carter railed against the 'degrading actions and the disgusting language of the private soldiers and their companions'.[151] Even the loyal Mary Lisle held the Mitchelmore and Mitchelden volunteers in contempt, writing of 'Colonel Somebody, who was the only real soldier in the field', and confessing that 'there was a worthless idle set in Mitchelmore as in every other parish, and the whole crew had joined the volunteers, and men were so scarce . . . that the officers were glad enough to enroll them'.[152] Lisle's Bristolian contemporary Elizabeth Ham mocked the craze as 'Scarlet Fever', satirising the sartorial and martial vanity of local officers.[153] In Edinburgh, William Nicholson accused the private soldiers of similar behaviour in his later poem, 'The Peacock':

> Or like the raw recruit's cockade,
> Who thinks himsel' a flashy blade,
> While ribbons roun' his tap he gathers,

> An' thinks to fear the French wi' feathers;
> Or dream o' gear an' great preferment,
> Because he's pimped for his serjeant[154]

In extreme cases, ridicule could turn to hatred. In Sheffield, the local volunteers killed two civilians in 1797, an incident immortalised in Joseph Mather's song 'Raddle-Neck'd Tups'.[155]

Volunteers' own songs sought variously to express and to contain the violence of their martial, masculine culture. The biographer Edgar Johnson describes Walter Scott's attempts to civilise his own company of light dragoons:

> Scott showed them [the troopers] his own War-Song, scribbled by candlelight the night before:
>
> > To horse! to horse! the standard flies,
> > The bugles sound the call;
> > The Gallic navy stems the seas,
> > The voice of battle's on the breeze,
> > Arouse ye, one and all!
>
> There were nine more tirelessly patriotic stanzas. The dragoons, loyal to their quartermaster [Scott], praised it and adopted in as their official song, but [in practice] it never took the place of 'Hey! Johnny Cope.'[156]

'Johnny Cope' was a Jacobite song written by Adam Skirving in 1745, celebrating the defeat of the English at the battle of Prestonpans, and as such must have caused Scott great anxiety. Yet at least its lyrics were clean. Lieutenant Ward of the Sheffield volunteers almost fought a duel with a fellow officer, over the latter having allowed one of his privates to sing 'an indecent song' in the officers' mess, in front of ladies.[157] The young John Clare joined his local volunteers to obtain the bounty and avoid the militia ballot, and detested his time in its ranks, during which he penned a vulgar song about one of his officers. This song he

> ventured to offer one evening at Bell's the printers 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 & returnd it[.] I felt fearful of being found out so I quickly destroyed it. [158]

More scandalous still was 'Mr Mayor', written by Thomas Thompson, a captain in the Newcastle Light Horse, in the wake of Trafalgar.[159]

Discussed in Chapter 5, the song is at once obscene, slanderous, and radical. Wiser than Clare, Thompson restricted the song's circulation to a manuscript copy.

Across the Tyne, the grocer John Shield wrote 'The Bonny Geatsiders', apparently for the Gateshead volunteers, to the lost comic tune, 'Bob Cranky'.[160] The rich dialect idiom reflects intensely local opinions, such as scorn, not of the French, but of those on the north bank:

> The Newcassel chaps fancy they're clever,
> And are vauntin and braggin for ever;

The eighth verse is explicitly sceptical of the government line:

> Some think Billy Pitt's nobbit hummin, [only telling tall tales]
> When he tells about Bonnepart cummin;

The song concludes with an ostentatious affirmation of loyalty, whilst managing to suggest that the issue is in doubt:

> Now, marrows, to shew we're a' loyal,
> And that, wi' the King and Blood Royal,
> We'll a' soom or sink, [We'll all swim or sink]
> Quairts a piece let us drink,
> To the brave and the Bonny Geatsiders.

The toast, moreover, is not to the king (Church and constitution go unmentioned), but to themselves. Is this simply an excuse for drinking? The song hints at outrageous behaviour:

> To Newcasel, for three weeks up-stannin,
> On Permanent Duty they're gannin;
> And sune i' th' papers,
> We's read a' the capers,
> O' the corpse o' the Bonny Geatsiders. [corps]

In such a context, the song can have done little to reassure an audience of either the discipline or the loyalty of the corps: it appears instead to revel in that very ambiguity.

Many volunteer songs were more carefully controlled and on message. Yet even here, contrasting complications could arise. The braggadocio of 'Chester Lads forever', however plausible to volunteers in their cups, flirts with absurdity:

When Frenchmen heard of their intent,
To Bonaparte in haste they sent,
And said, since Chester thus is bent,
We are ruin'd, sirs, for ever.

O dreadful news! said Bonaparte,
Enough to break each Frenchman's heart[161]

'The Local Militia' ran the opposite risk, its generic platitudes hardly recommending themselves to a group of lusty young men:

The local militia are men of high renown,
Give credit to their country, and honour to their Crown,
All with their muskets shouldered to meet the daring foe,
To go with Lord – – –, that valiant hero.
Our fifes and drums shall beat, the band shall sweetly play
While the Local Militia lads, shall boldly march away.[162]

In this instance, the fault lies with the song's production: rather than originating with a local songwriter, it was published by John Jennings of Fleet Street, London, as a cut-price model designed to fit any volunteer regiment, the dashes after 'Lord' in this case not preserving an individual's anonymity, but leaving a gap to be filled by the purchaser.

Other songs did praise the qualities of individual officers, whilst others still were predominantly bawdy, and several Welsh volunteer songs are primarily notable for their piety.[163] Indeed we find consistency, not in volunteers' own songs, but in those written about them: the movement attracted a great deal of vocal criticism. Freeth's 'Drilling, or Warring without Blows', to the tune of 'Larry Grogan', a swift Irish jig, is nominally patriotic, but centres on the financial 'burthen': the volunteers represent the pointlessness of sham mobilisation, used to justify oppressive taxation. Drilling itself, the most visible manifestation of volunteering and thus easy prey for sceptics, is also sent up in John Scriven's 'We Must All to Drill'.[164] Scriven, a Newcastle entertainer, tells of a gullible recruit who finds the experience of soldiering both hard and ridiculous. The song ends with the recruit declaring, in an advertisement for Scriven's playhouse, that: 'I'd sooner dance to the fiddle than march to the drum'. A second song by Scriven, 'Country Joe, or, Down with Bonaparte', is more complex.[165] Beginning with conventional loyal declarations, the titular Joe turns gradually to self-parody:

With my Gaiters, Cartouch-box, my Cap all awry,
I shall then look as wise as a pig with one eye

On parade, Joe's neighbour treads on his toes, whilst Joe's real motivation is finally revealed: he hopes, not for glory or honour, but 'by chance pretty

lasses to meet'. More foolish still are the eponymous 'Simon and Janet' in a song from Buchan in northeast Scotland.[166] Simon, the husband, is an elderly volunteer. When the French are sighted, Janet begs him not to fight, but Simon vows he will shoot Bonaparte before sunset, the whole being rendered in a self-consciously comical dialect voice. Yet the alarm is exposed as a 'Fat trick!', and having spent an entire night in argument and discord as Simon hurries to muster, the old couple end by wandering home, cursing the French for being so inconsiderate in *not* invading.

The same jocular knowingness may be found in two northern songs that were sung throughout the nineteenth century: 'Bob Cranky's Adieu', written by either John Shield or the Gateshead-born clerk John Selkirk; and 'Joan O'Grinfilt', written under a roadside hedge during a downpour by two Lancashire schoolmasters in 1803.[167] As northern variations on John Bull, both Bob and Joan (John) went on to feature in a series of regional songs over the decades, all characterised by bathetic humour and gentle satire. Lancashire Joan travels to Oldham to enlist and fight the French. But he is driven by hunger rather than patriotism:

'Bare meal, ecod, aye, that I very weel know [by God]
There's been two days this week 'at we'n had nout ate;
I'm very near sided, before I'll abide it, [i.e. very thin]
I'll feight either Spanish or French.'

His reward in Oldham is the volunteer's bounty of a guinea: a happy ending for the parochial, endlessly bumbling Joan. The same incentive motivates Bob Cranky, who progresses from consoling his forlorn 'hinny' with promises to spend his 'marching guinea' on presents for her, to deciding instead to spend it on himself:

Sae smash! aw think'st a wiser way,
Wi' flesh and beer
Mysel' to cheer
The lang three weeks that aw've to stay
A-sougering in Newcassel.

Cranky then frets about his sergeant's harsh tongue, before concluding that, duty be blowed, his love should follow him to his billet:

But, hinny! if the time seems lang,
An' thou freets aboot me neet an' day,
Then come away,
Seek oot the yell-hoose where aw stay, [alehouse]

> An' we'll kiss and cuddle;
> An' mony a fuddle [fuck]
> Shall drive the longsome hours away
> When sougering at Newcassel.

The comedy inheres largely in the noble volunteer succumbing to his baser urges, exposing the sham of his patriotism. This descent is reflected in the tune: the song parodies Charles Dibdin the Elder's 'The Soldier's Adieu', a sentimental lyric with a soaring, aria-like melody.[168] The dialect travesty as well as the narrative constitutes a bathetic subversion of the original.

Shield's 'O No, My Love, No' of 1803 employs the same device of parodying a sentimental London stage tune, this time in Standard English.[169]

> Whilst the dread voice of war thro' the welkin re-bellows,
> And aspects undaunted our Volunteers show,
> Do you think, O my Delia! to join the brave fellows,
> My heart beats impatient? O no, my love, no.

Shield turns convention on its head by asking, 'Can I, cruel, desert thee?' A man's primary duty is thereby construed as to his love or wife, rather than to his country. Thus the act of desertion, usually applied to a regiment, here refers to 'Delia'.

The only significant deviation from this parodic mode is the aforementioned 'Raddle-Neck'd Tups', by Joseph Mather.[170] Yet in common with the comic songs above, Mather makes his narrator a volunteer, the better to put words in his mouth in a hideous travesty of the volunteers' oath:

> To Beelzebub I will be true,
> I'll show no love, remorse, or pity,
> And that's just the part of a blue.

The two men killed by volunteers in 1795 – Sorsby and Bradshaw – are named, described by the narrator as 'swine', probably (Mather was well read) in reference to Burke's 'swinish multitude'. In common with another of Shield's Newcastle songs, 'Blackett's Field', reference is made to the volunteers being forced to drill behind closed doors, 'For none durst be seen in his blue'.[171] In voicing aloud, in song, their subversive triumph in this turn of events, both Mather and Shield were publicly asserting the failure of the loyalist project. The volunteers are not welcome in public, yet we are, and may sing this song against them. Any listeners, most likely in an alehouse, by hearing or approving the song, would be indicating their participation in a sphere of discourse where local opposition had triumphed over state patriotism. That such spheres existed is testament to the remarkably varied

and contested song culture of these years. Loyalist campaigners may have enjoyed a monopoly on metropolitan print production – though even there, songs could be understood in very different ways – yet across the Isles, even at the height of the invasion threat, popular songs continued to articulate a broad and controversial array of perspectives.

3
'That the War Might Cease': Awaiting and Making News, 1806–1813

Britain's war changed decisively in late 1805. Trafalgar and Austerlitz turned the nation from besieged to bystander. Nelson's final victory ended the invasion threat. Yet within weeks, Napoleon's Army of England marched away east to defeat the Austro-Russian forces. Safe but impotent, Britain grew diplomatically isolated, the two treaties of Tilsit in 1807 ratifying Prussian submission and a Franco-Russian alliance. In song, Trafalgar occasioned both grief and triumph, but continental affairs were met with a deafening silence. Even the most idealistic loyalist must have recognised that this was not the medium in which to play down the collapse of the fourth and fifth coalitions. Philp's view on the Trafalgar songs is that they represent a transient 'historical moment', in which fleetingly vainglorious productions jarred with the story's tragic resonances, the latter proving more fit for the song tradition.[1] Unlike songs of the Nile, Napoleon is barely mentioned, Trafalgar proving too complete and affective a subject in its own right to be represented as the final act in the erstwhile invasion story. Anti-invasion broadsides ceased completely, replaced for a full year by a host of new Trafalgar songs, before a handful – those portraying Nelson's death as an undying tragedy, rather than those dwelling on the topical detail – became 'standards', republished intermittently for decades to come.[2]

Trafalgar's wake afforded broadside printers slim pickings. Several volunteer songs were still being written and published in 1806; in 1809, George III's golden jubilee occasioned a concerted outburst of patriotic song.[3] The death of Sir John Moore at Corunna in 1809, his brave last stand transforming an ignominious evacuation into a proto-Dunkirk, inspired one or two tragic songs, examined below, in the tradition of Nelson, Abercrombie, and Wolfe. There was little else worth the singing. Moore's 1808 expedition to Sweden failed. The infamous Convention of Cintra (30 August 1808), whereby a defeated French force was transported home, in possession of their arms, by British ships, overshadowed Wellesley's minor victories in Portugal. The second attack on Copenhagen in 1807 proved a moral nightmare, barren ground for propagandists. Expeditions to Rio de la Plata in 1806

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and 1807, and Walcheren in 1809, were unmitigated disasters. Vernacular song ignored these affairs, whilst polite productions such as those carried by the anti-administration *Morning Chronicle* were derisive.[4] By contrast, Napoleon was winning battle after battle, yet unsurprisingly there are no British songs for Austerlitz, Jena, or Wagram. In earlier years, French victories by land had been balanced by British naval triumphs. Now, naval engagements worth celebrating were limited to occasional single ship actions. In sum, we are faced with a cessation of topical British song on Napoleon from 1806 to 1808.

There is a methodological issue here. As Mary-Ann Constantine writes, 'ephemeral genres are vulnerable to historical misreadings . . . we can only work with what has survived in print or manuscript, and "dangerous" material is damned twice over by being suppressed or never committed to paper in the first place'.[5] Songs may simply have gone missing. Yet it is remarkable that the Bodleian Broadside Ballad archive has dated 49 publications (many comprising at least two songs) to 1806, 40 to 1807, and 26 to 1808. Of these 115, none deals even tangentially with Napoleon, or (beyond Trafalgar) with the Wars at all.[6] The same is true of Cambridge's Madden collection.[7] Several songs are extant from 1809. Of the Bodleian's 23 for that year, two touch on Napoleon. 'John Bull in Town; or, British Wool Forever' satirises the profligacy of country visitors to London, criticising high commodity prices. Originally written for the Haymarket, its milieu is really the City rather than the street. Only its final verse is patriotic:

> What signifies fine Spanish wool,
> Our own makes us very good cloth, sirs,
> And while proudly it's worn by John Bull,
> There's no fear of the *Corsican moth*, sirs:
> Old England's a bee-hive well stor'd,
> We're ruled by a merciful king, sirs,
> And shou'd France dare attack our rich hoard,
> She'll find British bees wear a sting, sirs.[8]

The sentiment is loyalist. But its isolationist tone and suggestion that Spanish wool is susceptible to '*Corsican moth*' is pessimistic, given its publication date: 15 August 1809. In July, Wellesley won the battle of Talavera. Yet in early August, the Anglo-Portuguese army retreated into Portugal. Aware of these developments or no, the song's author and original singer Mr Emery cannot have entertained great hopes for the liberation of Spain. The song's publication would appear to have more to do with its printers' desire to recycle a stage hit, than any continuation of a broadside campaign.

The second 1809 song comes from the same source: Laurie and Whittle, of 53 Fleet Street. It is 'The Ghost of a Scrag of Mutton', with lyrics by Charles Dibdin the Younger, and music by his stage manager Mr Reeve, first sung at Sadler's Wells by a Mr Smith. Subsequent reprints and piracies indicate

its popularity, due perhaps to the shaggy dog pun at its centre, of a type so beloved of Georgian humourists, rather than to its politics.[9] Indeed, Dibdin appears to have cribbed his narrative from an abstruse Cambridge poem of 1801, simplifying the verse and adding the pun.[10] Four verses describe a coaching inn haunted by the spectre of a scrag of mutton, before a scholar arrives and uses the mutton to flavour his broth:

> The story thus finish'd, the moral shan't lag:-
> The landlord who'd such little heart,
> Not the only one he who's been scar'd by a scrag,
> For a *scrag's* but a small *Bony-part*.
> So the Emperor Scrag in fear Europe has got,
> Tho' John Bull don't mind him a button;
> For Johnny's the scholar who'll send him to pot,
> Like the Ghost of the grim Scrag of Mutton.

The younger Dibdin here employs rather tortuous humour as a means of maintaining the spirits of his play-going audience in the face of a disastrous war, a message repackaged for general consumption by Laurie and Whittle's broadside, which advertised both the songs as having been received 'with unbounded Applause', and accompanied them with etchings illustrating the songs' central incidents. These 1809 songs were polite, commercial productions, scarcely comparable to the earlier broadside campaign, making capital from their theatricality and, above all, their wit.

The spectre of Bonapartism

As Dibdin's final verse implies, the end of the invasion scares failed to allay loyalists' fears: vigilance could not be relaxed until the war was won. The cessation of the broadside campaign did not betoken complacency. Dorothy Wordsworth, precipitately sanguine, wrote to Catherine Clarkson on 12 May 1811: 'God be thanked the tide is turned against Buonaparte and we shall see, I trust, the delusion speedily vanish which even in England has spread too widely, that he was a great genius and a great Hero.'[11] Her hope reveals her worry: even in 1811, there was considerable Bonapartist sentiment among the people. In Ireland, this was only to be expected. Disturbances were at their greatest since 1798, and Dublin Castle was still receiving confiscated songs of sedition from informers and police.[12] This translated verse comes from Meath in 1809:

> Even though many people who do not fear justice
> Believe that there is no help or protection available to them;
> Still, the leader will come from France without delay
> And he'll take the English down a peg or two – that's Boney.[13]

As Wordsworth indicates, it was another matter to find such feeling in England; yet it obtained among all ranks, across the country. Elizabeth Ham, a gentlewoman of modest means, never lost her early attraction to Napoleon. Shortly before the first Peninsular campaign, she remembered that 'Napoleon was still my hero, much to my family's annoyance. One evening, my Mother thought to enlist Capt. Napier on her side. "Do you know," said she to him, "that Bessy won't believe a word against Bonaparte . . . " "I honor [*sic*] you," he exclaimed. "I honor you from my heart!" '[14]

The affection of one young lady may not have caused the authorities much concern: the Luddites were quite another matter. One typical Luddite letter from March 1812 boasts that 'we hope for assistance from the French Emperor in shaking off the Yoke of the Rottenest, Wickedest and most Tyranious [*sic*] Government that ever existed'.[15] A spy within the Luddites reported that 'Napoleon was ready to supply men and arms' to assist the coming revolution.[16] These were undoubtedly bluffs designed to prey on the paranoia of authorities. Yet they demonstrate the plausibility of popular English support for the Emperor, if not his military support for them. Midland and northern cities were notorious for their popular Bonapartism. In late 1813, the *Nottingham Gazette* reported that 'Twelve months ago, he who would have dared to attempt burning the effigy of Bonaparte in Nottingham, would have run some risk of himself being committed to the flames'.[17] Lieutenant Ward encountered six workers in a Sheffield public house talking of revolution in October 1812: 'Everything, they say, is wrong in this country, from the King to the Constable, and Bonaparte is an honest fellow. I insisted upon the despotic nature of the French Government, and the great freedom which we enjoyed. They would not believe me.'[18] When Ward persevered, 'They said the rich always pretended to know better than the poor, who had, or ought to have, equal rights with them'.[19] Plainly these Sheffield workers had not absorbed the lessons of the broadside campaign. Nor had Thomas Carter, the Bath tailor, now at London. His political consciousness was 'awakened' by the Copenhagen expedition of 1807; he and his friends thereafter sought all the accurate news they could obtain.[20] In 1812: 'The paper we took was called "The News". Its arrival was looked for with very considerable interest, so anxious were we to see some bulletin of the Great Napoleon respecting his military operations.'[21] Carter himself was staunchly for Napoleon.

In the face of these Bonapartist attitudes in the south, the Midlands, and the north of England, loyalist writers were forced to rehearse and revise their arguments. William Coxe's pamphlet *The Exposé, or Napoleon Buonaparte Unmasked*, published in 1809, was a self-professed 'compilation' of the Black Legend, fully six years after it had entered the public consciousness.[22] 'The chief aim in the composition has been, to render the narrative concise, to occupy the mind but for a short time in the reading, yet to endeavour to leave an impression which might come home to the bosom of every one.'[23]

Coxe comes across as an insecure writer confronting a sceptical audience. A representative sample runs: 'It may be deemed a bold suggestion to maintain, that Buonaparte would not hesitate to march an army across the crater of Vesuvius … but should the opinion be thought too strong, let it be remembered that …'[24] This is far from the hectoring tone of Hannah More, though the medium – extended prose for a literate audience rather than verse – may be responsible. Yet it remains clear that Coxe felt the propaganda battle had not been won.

Coxe also apologises for his lack of 'originality'.[25] This was the chief difficulty for loyalists: with a popular readership eager for topicality, what material could they employ when the war was going so badly? Indirect attacks on Napoleon could be made by targeting his brother Joseph, whose ascent to the Spanish throne in 1808 was suitably farcical. Coxe includes the poem 'Introductory Lines on Joseph Buonaparte's Princely Visit to Spain!' in his *Exposé*.[26] Cobbett, still pro-war, wrote 'A New Song, Called Little Boney in the Dumps, or, Brother Joe's March from Madrid' to the tune of 'Just the Thing', printed by Jennings, one of the publishers at the heart of the 1803 campaign.[27]

> But Joey he begins the storm to dread,
> I wish dear brother, you wou'd go in my stead;
> For the Spanish Patriots will never stand this rig,
> I'll plunder all I can and then I'll hop the twig.
>
> Now Spain is all in an uproar and hue and cry,
> And on British assistance they do rely,
> So let us take our pot and glass so hearty,
> And drink confusion to the crimping Buonaparte.

The lines are problematic. Joseph's cowardly wish implies that Napoleon himself would subdue the Spanish successfully, whilst the phrase 'crimping Buonaparte' carried connotations of the despised British practice of crimping: luring soldiers to enlist through entrapment with prostitutes and drink. Curiously, the spry tune specified fits the meter very poorly, besides featuring a chorus presumably achieved, in Cobbett's parody, by repeating the last three words of each verse. 'Hop the twig' does very well, but 'the crimping Buonaparte' is an awkward mouthful that can only have accentuated the sour note of 'crimping'.

Few other writers seized the opportunity to come at Napoleon through his brother, yet a door had been opened: impeccable as a military commander, Napoleon could be attacked via his domestic relations. The next opportunity arose in 1810, as loyalists seized hold of a silver lining. Austria's defeat in the Wagram campaign, the subsequent Treaty of Schönbrunn, and the collapse of the Fifth Coalition, were disasters. The resultant French hegemony, sealed

by Napoleon's marriage to Marie Louise of Austria in March 1810, might have seemed the nail in the allied coffin. Yet, by divorcing Joséphine and attempting to establish a dynasty coupled to Europe's noblest house, that of Habsburg, Napoleon was unwittingly opening up another front on which English loyalists could do battle: the bedroom.

1810–1812: The bedroom as a theatre of war

In 1810, Sergeant Maclaren, an invalided veteran of the 26th Foot, published an unperformed play called *Empress and No Empress; or, Mr. Bonny's Wedding: A Farce, with Songs*.[28] Priced at sixpence and laden with typographical and spelling errors, clearly directed at a plebeian market, this was an early example of a writer exploiting Napoleon's divorce from Joséphine. The play's modest claims to humour make subtle digs at the respectability of the French crown. By seeking to marry into Ancien Regime royalty ('Russian princesses' are mentioned), Napoleon rendered himself susceptible to an especially heinous crime in British eyes: aiming above his station. Caricaturists too attempted to emasculate Napoleon through domestic figurings. Having previously portrayed him in bed or as an infant, they now used depictions of the infant son and the nursery to poke fun at the father.[29] Visually, this was a one-dimensional, unproblematic strategy: wife and child were signifiers, not real persons with an emotional connection to the main subject. In popular song, the saddling of Napoleon with a family fed into more interesting traditions, wherein the beleaguered husband and father was as much the subject of sympathy as derision.

For years, a weak spot had been sought in the general's armour. Songwriters now effected this by imagining him in his nightshirt. The philosopher Henri Bergson gives us an ironic footnote to the comic effect thus achieved when he notes that: 'Napoleon, who was a psychologist when he wished to be so, had noticed that the transition from tragedy to comedy is effected simply by sitting down.'[30] This also solved the loyalist problem of how to reconcile terror with humour, as the scenario was based solely on the ridiculous. Laughter was a tried and tested weapon of the English press, with the potential not only to diminish Napoleon in the eyes of the people, but to make any Bonapartist defence all the more difficult; for, as Bergson notes, 'it is the business of laughter to repress any separatist tendency'.[31] The songs that emerged – all from the same band of London publishers, such as Jennings and Pitts, who had backed the campaign of 1803 – were purely comic, their structure, tunes, tone, and rhyme schemes rooted in that genre. These were largely derived from traditional songs of gender conflict: the 'struggle for the breeches' trope. As Clark notes, publishers aiming 'not to inculcate morals but to sell songs [by speaking] to the realities, not just the aspirations, of plebeian life' were increasingly producing songs that catered to the female perspective, enriching an older stock of songs about

shrewish wives.[32] Clark observes that songs of domestic dispute 'drew upon a language of tyranny and slavery familiar from the political rhetoric of the time'.[33] The Napoleonic phenomenon is the exact reverse: politics drawn from domesticity. This domestic angle, once introduced, became inextricable from representations of Napoleon in song, whether written by loyalist humourists or later sympathisers.

The first songs, appearing in the wake of Napoleon's remarriage, predicted a fall for the would-be father. 'Boney wants a Baby', published by Jennings, envisions his disappointment:

> Then to crown their joy,
> Nine months hence will shew it,
> Th'Emperor cries, A boy!
> If 'tis, pray let me know it;
> Then the joke to clinch,
> The midwife on that gay day,
> Says, yes! within an inch,
> For bless you 'tis a lady.[34]

'Madam Boney the 2nd', published by Pitts, is less sanguine, holding out hopes and prayers in place of predictions:

> Another wife he now has got young devils for to ra[i]se
> But e'er he does accomplish it, let's hope he'll end his days;
> And let us pray without delay,
> His dad Old Nick will not be idle,
> But fetch him safe away, with his long sword, saddle, bridle, &c.[35]

Both songs use the reduction in status afforded by viewing Napoleon in a domestic light, to cast aspersions on his masculinity.[36] The former imagines the scene:

> His bride see[ing] Boney leave,
> Cock sure he had succeeded,
> She the maid did call,
> And looking slyly at her,
> Cry'd, Well! his little all
> Is no prodigious matter.

The latter song takes as its tune 'Mrs Flinn and the Bold Dragoon', a bawdy song with a bawdy chorus which Pitts' writer retained, the recurrent 'long sword' suggesting phallic overcompensation on Napoleon's part. In this setting as in their sentiments, the songs display greater assurance than those of the previous decade, drawing on a rich tradition of scurrilous domestic

insinuation to create songs of far greater fitness than during the initial broadside campaign.

Although the successful birth of a son represented a blow to propagandists, the scenario remained attractive. The oft-reprinted 'Daggerwood's Description of Bonaparte' adds domestic verses to the existing Black Legend:

> He found an odd *Way to get Married*,
> *The Honey Moon* pass'd without strife, sir,
> And though his point nobly carried,
> It was a *Bold Stroke for a Wife*, sir.
> Josephine, like a sad *Mourning Bride*,
> Saw Hymen's soft fetters undone, sir,
> And the poor *Son-in-law* thrust aside,
> To make way for the *Doubtful Son,* sir.
> Tol de rol, &c.[37]

Napoleon's decision to anoint his son as King of Rome was also absurd enough to warrant satirical treatment. Jennings and Pitts followed up their marital songs with one apiece on the new heir in 1811. Jennings' 'The Young King of Rome' favours cynicism:

> He tried at his best, and she brought him a Son,
> And he soon let us know it, by firing of guns;
> Since now his tyrannical race is begun,
> How he'll love his Louisa – because of her Son[38]

Like many of these comic songs, the rhymes and rhythms are unusually repetitive, short, emphatic: even the loosest of them, 'Madam Boney the 2nd', compensates with limerick-style internal rhymes. These precisely organised arrangements are distinctive of comic song, drawing attention by their compact structure to the wit they at least purport to contain.[39] When performed, the effect of this style is that they often appear funnier than they actually are, simply by enacting the conventions of humorous writing. An alternative strategy adopted by Pitts' 1811 production, 'The Christening of Little Boney', was to include spoken interjections, or 'patter', in his song, a technique adopted from the stage that would endure on the halls later in the century. Both of the prose sections of this song accord Napoleon a degree of military respect rarely seen since 1802.[40] The first runs:

> (Spoken) I know Jack English would willingly do any thing to stop the progress of my talent and my warlike arm – but I will let them know that I will always do my endeavour, to conquer them by land. Let them do what they will by sea which I well know them to be expert lads at. Could

> I conquer by sea as well as by Land, not a ship in the ocean ever should stand.

The second reads:

> (Spoken) O my darling boy, it is my sincere wish that you may be like your father Napoleon, to be courageous and brave in the honour of war when in battle in the field, for such I mean you to be, if you could once humble Little England I should be happy.

This is a return to positive patriotism, a more winning tactic than xenophobia, wherein Britain may take credit for her naval superiority over a redoubtable enemy by land. These interjections heighten the contrast between warlike father and babe-in-arms: it is in the pretentiousness of the infant's title that the author finds his comedy.

> Both Lords and lady's were invited,
> Unto this grand banquet at home,
> [- - -?] by his mother's desire,
> He should be christened young King of Rome;
> Grand presents unto him was brought
> Though he never was known for to tipple,
> If they had it had been all the same,
> He would rather take of the Nipple.
> Rum ti iddity, &c.

Loyalists drew on this theme for the rest of the war, both in popular productions and in epigrams, poems and songs intended for polite journals.[41] These later examples share a delight in the subject for its own comic sake, rather than as a vehicle to denigrate Napoleon. Indeed, the introduction of the domestic angle, resulting in fitter songs than the anthemic tirades of earlier years, achieved more than loyalists intended: it rounded out the character of Napoleon, a man with whose every foible, whim, and attribute the British were fascinated. To draw for a final time on Bergson: 'The comic character is often one with whom [the reader] sympathises. By this is meant that we put ourselves for a very short time in his place, adopt his gestures, words, and actions, and . . . treat him first as a playmate.'[42] Between 1810 and 1814, this comic sympathy was repeated in numerous songs, so that audiences became familiar, not with an implausible ogre, but with an all too human conqueror with feet of clay, beleaguered by marital strife and ambitious for his son's future. Philippe Kaenel approaches this notion when discussing the corresponding caricatures: 'Paradoxically, the vast iconographic corpus of works ridiculing Napoleon . . . did nothing but magnify his aura . . . the cartoons only strengthened the collective fantasies of the masses.'[43] Ultimately, these bawdy domestic songs would be succeeded by sympathetic treatments

of his exile, as a husband parted from his loving family. In seeking to render Napoleon absurd, satirical songwriters had rendered him human.

1812–1813: Russia and Leipzig

From 1812, topical broadsides on Napoleon necessarily shifted their focus to the Russian campaign and the subsequent allied advance, culminating in victory at Leipzig. Though their invective returned to 1803 levels, the dominant rhetorical strategy shifted decisively to the comic tone established by the domestic songs. Pitts' 'The Russian Bear', possibly written by Thomas Best, is an extended hunting allegory that figures the invasion of Russia as an ill-starred jape, whilst continuing to draw on the familial angle:

> The sportsman he could think of nought,
> But overthrow and ruin sir,
> Instead of hunting of the Bear,
> He wish'd himself at home sir,
> And playing hunt the slipper,
> With the little king of Rome sir[44]

The London printers' new penchant for comedy did not entirely solve their underlying problem: that amateur loyalist songwriters had not mastered the medium of song. Jennings published 'Boney's Degradation', a narrative of Napoleon's Russian reversals that exhibits familiar structural deficiencies. Its tune, 'Maggie Lauder', was an ostensibly excellent choice: a well-known Scottish comic song of long standing, with a fast tempo, major key, undemanding range, memorable melody, and an internal rhyme scheme that would accentuate the wordplay.[45] Yet the anonymous lyricist misjudges their material, struggling endlessly with the meter and stress, indicating a refrain of 'Sing, tal, lal, lal, &c.' for a tune that has no refrain, and attempting to cram an already pacey tune with an involved description of topical politics. The result is all but unperformable, and cannot have conveyed a clear message to a casual listener. Lines that read acceptably on the page become incoherent when sung, since the listener is given so little time to process meaning:

> Their march begun away they run,
> And drive the Bears before 'em,
> With might and main, o'er hill and plain,
> The rascals sadly bore 'em.
> The Russians shew they feel the flow
> Of England's haughty nation,
> And soon they swear the Russian Bear
> Shall seal French degradation.

Increasingly, topical metropolitan broadsides adopted the tone of caricature and polite journalism, employing verbose witticisms that bear the mark of the stage or drawing room. As seen below, this appears to coincide with the increased availability of newsprint among urban workers, and may indicate a conscious effort on the part of printers to match their audience's literary appetites. If so, it cannot have aided these songs' dissemination and reception nationwide. A typical song of 1813 is 'Boney and the Gay Lads of Paris Calculating for the Next Triumphal Entrance into Moscow', published by Fores of Piccadilly, the title raising comic expectations matched by the internal rhyme scheme:

> But take care Master Nap, you meet with no trap;
> To poke either leg or your head in:
> Loss of legs stops your flight, lose your head why the sight
> Will be welcome at Miss Platoffs wedding.[46]

No longer the ogre or monster of a decade before, Napoleon was now 'Runaway Boney', a phrase that so angered one broadside's purchaser that they scribbled out the offending word.[47] Songs of Leipzig in particular emphasise the farcical side of the battle at the expense of its strategic significance, preferring the comedy afforded by 'Bonaparte's Bridge' to the chance to depict four allied nations combining in a decisive victory. The best of several songs on the subject makes use of a familiar nursery rhyme, a tactic more common to caricature:

> This is the bridge that was blown into air.
> These are the Miners who had the care
> Of mining the Bridge that was blown into air.
>
> This is the Corporal stout and strong,
> Who fired the Mine with his match so long,
> Which was made by the Miners, &c.
>
> This is the Colonel of Infantry,
> Who ordered the Corporal stout and strong
> To fire the Mine, &c.
>
> This is the Marshall of high degree
> Who whispered the Colonel of Infantry
> To order the Corporal, &c.
>
> This is the Emperor who scampered away,
> And left the Marshall of high degree
> To whisper the Colonel, &c.[48]

The tune, of course, is 'The House that Jack Built'. The parody is ideal for this chain-of-command fiasco, but also allows the anonymous writer to exploit

the infantile, emasculating connotations of nursery rhyme, linked implicitly to Napoleon's domestic affairs.[49]

Topical songs from elsewhere across the archipelago dealing with these events are conspicuously scarce, the prominence of Moscow in post-war songs notwithstanding. Exceptionally, 'The Twa Emperors, or, Sandy and Nap' was written by William Lillie, a ploughman and vernacular poet from Inverugie, north of Peterhead in Aberdeenshire.[50]

Twa Emperors ance had a bit o' a spree,	[once]
I wat na fat was the meanin' o't,	[I know not what]
I believe they fell out 'cause they could na agree,	
Sae it maks na fat was the beginnin' o't.	[It matters not what]
The tane wis a general o' muckle renown,	[The one was]
His name it was Nap, an' he wore the French crown,	
He swore he wad eat's geese in Peterburg town,	
Quo Sandy, 'Ye's ken o' the winnin' o't.'	

This is humour of a different register to the metropolitan broadsides. The first four lines adopt a knowing pose of bafflement, indicating the essential futility of war. Throughout, Lillie's chief comic conceit is a by now familiar one, the dialect travesty, here taken to an extreme by depicting a colossal modern conflict as a medieval, parochial Scottish affair that might be found in a border ballad. Lillie's declaration that Napoleon 'had four hunner thousan' men' is offset by showing the emperors as brawling lairds. Alexander is 'Sandy'. Napoleon 'touted his horn to gather his clan', who march with 'guns, swards, an' halberts'. They exchange insults like a pair of fishwives, and snow, Cossacks, and casualties contend with homely idioms such as 'Shank's mare'. The effect renders the war itself, rather than either protagonist, absurd. In so doing, the song bridges the space between London's topical comic broadsides and the humane, compassionate popular songs that flourished in later years. It is sheer chance that 'The Twa Emperors' was taken down by a folk collector: no similar songs of these years are extant, leaving the metropolitan songs historically predominant. Yet even these, in substituting comedy for fire and brimstone, brought Napoleon – though geographically so much further away – far closer to home than he had been a decade earlier.

The Peninsular War

The extant record is more mixed when we turn our attention to the British war effort. Songs of the Peninsular may be divided into two categories: those composed and sung by soldiers on campaign, and domestic responses to events in Portugal and Spain. Just as at home, topical and martial song was merely one element of soldiers' song culture. Behind the lines and when

in camp, sentimental and nostalgic songs were favoured, that told of loves and lands left behind rather than of the battle to come. Songs of battle were reserved for marching, or particular celebrations, and were essentially both insular and commemorative, furthering a collective sense of memory and identity. This operated on a regimental level: in these contexts a soldier would be surrounded by the rest of his unit, and could participate in songs suited for communal rather than individual performance.[51] Accordingly, new songs of this sort proved remarkably scarce. Regimental identity was built on tradition: it would require an exceptional event and a skilled songwriter to create a new song worth adding to a unit's repertoire. Lewis Winstock has collected several such songs from the Peninsular, each connecting a regiment and a battle: the 92nd Foot and Arroyo dos Molinos (1811); the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers and Barossa (1809); the 15th Hussars and Sahagun (1808).[52] This last is a typical mix of banal detail and generic patriotism, striving perhaps for an epic quality:

> So we saddled our horses, and away we did go
> Over rivers of ice, and o'er mountains of snow.
> To the town of Sahagun, our course we did steer
> For the 15th Hussars, my brave boys, never fear.

There is no trace of anti-French or anti-Napoleonic sentiment in this or any other soldiers' song. This tallies with Laurence Montroussier-Favre's survey of memoires, which finds that the British and French forces held each other in 'mutual esteem'.[53] As the British never fought against Napoleon in person prior to Waterloo, he rarely appears: in 'Sahagun' one line runs 'Whilst loudly they cried on Napoleon their king'. 'King' was almost certainly chosen for the sake of the rhyme, as soldiers' songs were preoccupied with recording their own deeds, rather than engaging with contemporary politics.

Far more songs were produced at home. Before the battle of Salamanca in July 1812, a decisive victory followed by a sustained advance, these songs were infrequent and circumspect, reflecting the views of the press in general. Only Jennings appears to have made much effort to publicise Wellesley's early victories. 'A New Song, Called, British Valour in Portugal' by William Cabe, and set to 'Rule, Britannia!' may have appeared as early as 1808, for it salutes 'brave General Sir Arthur Wellesl[e]y' and tells 'Of two noble battles so lately been won', which correspond to Roliça and Vimiero.[54] Cabe concludes:

> Now a health let us drink to our officers and men,
> Who so boldly fought your rights to maintain
> May God help each widow that's left in distress,
> Comfort and support the young fatherless.

A focus on the human cost was characteristic of songs on this war, and redoubled in response to the retreat and evacuation of 1809, concluding in the death of Sir John Moore. Jennings' 'The Battle of Corunna' was set to the tune 'Battle of the Nile', by now a standard: as no single song of Trafalgar had yet established itself, this was the best way to suggest a parallel with the fallen Nelson.[55] Yet the song devotes just a single couplet to Moore's death. His enduring elegy, endlessly reprinted, was instead 'Not a drum was heard, nor a funeral note', depicting Moore's funeral rather than the battle.[56] The lyric was by Irish poet Charles Wolfe, and became his most famous composition, praised by Byron as 'the most perfect ode in the English language'.[57] It was written, not in 1809, but 1816. If the song enjoyed a vernacular forerunner, it was perhaps 'General Moore', printed by J. Ferraby at Hull.[58] It begins:

> Ye gen'rous Britons, who honour the brave,
> Attend to my ditty – shed a tear o'er the grave
> Of Moore! gallant chief! who in glory's bright hour,
> Fell like Wolf[e], in his prime, of manhood the flow'r.

The song features a second comparison to Wolfe, and one each to Abercrombie and Nelson. The writer is at pains to spark recognition and confer eminence by allusion, conscious of Moore's relative obscurity. Indeed at the time, Corunna was recognised as one of a series of ongoing defeats, in need of a positive recasting, not the glorious sacrifice it later became. Like Dunkirk 131 years later, the heroic angle had to be stressed to deflect attention from a bungled, unsuccessful venture.[59] Despite the campaign being the only Iberian episode for which Napoleon was present, albeit at an earlier stage, he appears in none of these songs, which are notably short on either glamour or glory.

Wellesley's early victories had little effect on this subdued tone, generating few songs. The retreat into Portugal after Talavera, however strategically sound, did nothing to improve matters. William Tucker did compose the song 'The Battle of Talavera', published in the *Universal Magazine*, yet its exuberance hardly matched the public mood of apathy, and its lofty stylings precluded a popular incarnation:

> Britons arise! the voice of glory brings
> Illustrious tidings from Iberia's shore![60]

However, Wellington's triumphs at Salamanca and Vitoria in 1812 and 1813, coinciding as they did with welcome news from the Russian front, were greeted with far greater enthusiasm: for the first time, ultimate victory seemed possible. In London, Astley's Amphitheatre staged *The Battle of*

Salamanca, and Pitts produced a broadside of the same name.[61] Napoleon is absent from the song, its focus on the battle and its victor, who is dubbed 'The Nelson of the land': a telling comparison for a nation in search of a new hero. In keeping with prevalent trends, the third verse uses bathetic humour as a way of jocularising the acknowledged slaughter:

> From plains with carnage spread,
> Inglorious Marmont fled,
> Wounded sore,
> In the rear,
> On the field of battle O!

Several songs on the battle are extant. One, 'Lord Wellington for ever, huzza! A Favourite New Song', used as its tune 'The Brags of Washington', later known as 'A-Hunting We Will Go', the success of which is attested by a lasting association between the tune and Wellington.[62] The insistent, memorable melody provides space and structure for five verses of narrative description, fulfilling a new hunger for news of Britain's most significant victory in seven years, as well as enabling a simple two-line chorus for audiences to learn and join in with before the song's end:

> With Wellington we'll go, we'll go, with Wellington we'll go,
> Across the main o'er to Spain and fight our daring foe.

This chorus suggests a propaganda function; the song may have been used to encourage men to enlist, capitalising on enthusiastic responses to the victory. Yet the song's final verse, in which in accordance with ballad convention a moral is drawn, indicates that the songwriter's patriotism is conditional, more basely motivated than the chorus implies:

> All you that wish to have a peace, from heavy taxes free,
> Pray for success to Wellington and all his grand army.
> May he always gain the victory so that the war might cease,
> Then trade again in England will flourish and increase.

It was this tangible prospect of peace that gave Wellington's later Peninsular victories their domestic resonance. Once the Peninsular War penetrated the mass consciousness as a meaningful, even glorious endeavour, songwriters could invoke it as uncontroversial patriotic shorthand, a way of conferring positive public associations upon private endeavour.[63] This 'Newcastle Election Song' was sung by its author at a dinner in October 1812:

> While Wellington, leading the soldiers of Britain,
> Eclipses the glories of Greece and of Rome,
> Old England might smile 'midst the dangers that threaten,
> Did nought vex or bias our Councils at home.[64]

By contrasting the government's failures with Wellington's neoclassical triumphs, the writer could trade on the general's glory by association, marking himself out as a patriot despite his criticisms of state policy. Only a year earlier, the Peninsular itself might have been bundled up with those failed policies. Yet by 1813, a flurry of victories and an advance to the French border transformed the war into something worth celebrating at the most tenuous opportunity. The enterprising Edward Humble, also of Newcastle, produced 'Boney Invaded, a New Song' to the tune of 'Hearts of Oak', which listed four of Wellington's victories of the past year, also finding room to praise Generals Hill and Graeme.[65] His motive for writing the song, however, only becomes clear in the last two verses: he is advertising a lottery.

> Having taken a view of LORD WELLINGTON'S roam,
> Let's now cast our eyes, my dear friends, towards home,
> For quickly approaches the third of November,
> A day which in England we all should remember…
>
> THE THIRD OF NOVEMBER! *pray mind what I say,*
> *The neat little Lottery will draw on that day*;
> After Gen'rals in Spain, Sirs, I hope you'll not grumble,
> If I call your attention to General HUMBLE;
> For tho' he has never commanded in Spain,
> Steady, boys, steady, he always is ready
> *To sell the great Prizes again and again**.
>
> * For a List of which see the other Side.

For Humble to devote six verses to events in Spain, merely to preface his advertisement, is testament to the rhetorical power of the war. From 1812 onwards, the Peninsular provided a positive context for patriotic songs, free from active engagement with Napoleon, focusing on British feats of arms. It is hardly surprising, given this newly optimistic climate, that it was from 1812, not 1808 to 1811, that civilian writers date their excitement at hearing news and songs of the Peninsular.

'Great News!'

'No subject was ever found so inexhaustibly interesting as the present.'[66] Whately's dry wit neatly encapsulates the insatiable wartime appetite of all classes for detailed news. Both John Magee and David Love found their

audiences' foremost desire was for news.[67] Topical songs did not sell if they were 'stale'.[68] The clamour for the latest reports was widely satirised, from Rowlandson's sketch 'Great News', to a series of 'Peter Pindar' verses describing the effect of Napoleon's return in March 1815.[69] Both focus on the human agency behind the transmission of news: Rowlandson depicts two disreputable hawkers, one tooting a horn; Pindar (Charles Lawler)'s central character is a paperboy. Yet whilst illustrative of the momentous quality of news, these accounts lead us to question the importance of song as opposed to prose. Where possible, people sought sight of a paper. In London, journeyman tailor Thomas Carter recorded his colleagues' interest in the Copenhagen expedition of 1807. '[T]hey clubbed their pence to pay for a newspaper, and selected the "Weekly Political Register" of that clever man ... William Cobbett.'[70] Carter took to breakfasting in a public house, 'that I might have an opportunity of looking at the morning newspaper ... I felt a considerable degree of interest in regard to the course of public affairs, and therefore was the more anxious to see a newspaper every day.'[71] This privilege cost him a halfpenny, the purchase price of a single ballad. Few had such opportunities. Carter notes that workers' coffee shops, stocked with daily papers, were only becoming 'general' in 1815.[72] Moreover, he was not always sure of a paper being available, as the appetite for news increased after Salamanca. Accordingly, several workmen

> united with myself in subscribing for a weekly newspaper. We would gladly have taken a daily journal, but our pockets would not allow of so costly an indulgence ... Occasionally a debate would ensue between the sturdy John Bullites and those who were dazzled by the exploits of the French emperor.[73]

Carter's account is coloured by his desire to present himself as an informed, literate individual participating in the life of the nation. He highlights the communal, contested reading of news amongst urban workers; their hunger for information; and the prohibitive cost of sating that hunger. This was active and participatory consumption, characteristic of a culture in which any news was 'subject to the vicissitudes of debate' as soon as it was made public.[74] Sociability and reading were central to the construction of working-class consciousness.[75] Interest in the Wars and discussion of news was as much a part of this as Friendly Societies or reading groups were after 1815.

Nor was the phenomenon restricted to London. Perhaps every 'Village Gang' had its opinionated 'Jwohnie', who:

> ... reads the papers yence a week, [once]
> The auld fwok geape and wonder – [old folk gape]
> Were Jwohnie king, we'd aw be rich,
> And France mud e'en knock under.[76]

Throughout the Isles, where newspapers were available, similar communal acts took place. Two accounts stem from rural southern Scotland, the first from an ex-mariner at Cousland, seven miles southeast of Edinburgh.

> As Mr Dickson knew I was anxious for the news, he was so kind as [to] give me a reading of the newspapers when he was done. The other workmen assembled in my cottage on the evenings I got them, and I read aloud; then we would discuss the important parts together.[77]

The second, from Kirkinner, near Wigtown, demonstrates both the scarcity of news, and the determination of the poor to access it:

> Every one was feverishly anxious for intelligence – that six London newspapers once a week were all that were received in the whole parish of Kirkinner . . . my uncle, who was manager for one of the gentlemen who received one of them, used to read the news on a certain evening weekly to the inhabitants of the village, who met at his garden stile – hence called the Parliament stile. There is little doubt that the whole country was similarly situated.[78]

All these accounts are about newspapers, not songs. Carter's evidence in particular demonstrates the increasing availability of papers to an ever more literate working class, moving from Cobbett to the *Black Dwarf* and its hundred counterparts.[79] Yet many still found it impossible to obtain or read a newspaper. As one itinerant wrote of rural Britain: 'There were few newspapers in these days . . . the various classes of people who made their living by travelling among these wilds were then the real news-mongers, and of course, were always welcome guests.'[80] Song, an immediate and familiar means of recasting prose news in an affective and, crucially, a memorable form, remained an alternative or at the very least a supplement to newsprint.[81] Freeth's Birmingham obituary, with which we begun Chapter 1, stresses the mediatory role of the songwriter:

> Who, when good news is brought to town,
> Immediately to work sits down,
> And business fairly to go through,
> Writes songs, finds tunes, and sings them too.[82]

The impulse to greet good news with song was not restricted to writers. As a reprint of Bishop Horne's sermons noted: 'When the spirits are raised by good news . . . every one whose actions are unobserved, and therefore unrestrained, will break forth into singing. It is the proper expression of pleasure; it is "the voice of joy and health in the dwellings of the righteous".'[83] The song did not have to be new: 'spontaneous' reactions to good news were

more naturally articulated by the communal singing of established songs. As noted in discussion of the Nile in Chapter 2, multiple accounts record the news being greeted by the mass singing of odes, in particular 'Rule, Britannia!' When Peace was announced at Gainsborough in 1814, Thomas Cooper and his childhood friends (knowing no patriotic songs) responded with 'hymns we had learned at school, or in the church'.[84] Song could be part of the reception, rather than the dissemination, of news, and in these instances, the specifics of the song appear to have mattered less than the general sentiment. Yet this model presupposes that the news be received as good. The years of the campaign, 1808 to 1814, were also those in which a powerful alternative perspective was articulated: that of hostility to the war effort, its methods, its aim, and its human consequences.

'I Wish the Wars Were Over'

From 1793 to 1802, anti-war sentiment had been regularly articulated in song as in the press, yet the renewal of the conflict largely quashed this, at least in print, the threat of invasion and the scale of the broadside campaign crowding out oppositional voices. From 1806 these voices returned, provoked by war taxation, a steady trickle of casualties, and the draining of young men from functioning communities. Even in the heady days of 1813, the people of Nottingham hissed the mail coach that brought news of Vitoria.[85] For many, crimping and the press gang were no way to wage a war, whether that war was justified or not.[86] Song in particular was an age-old medium for the expression of protest, as for the depiction of death, loss, and horror, and these subjects were taken up in forms ranging from polite verse to nursery rhyme. Spofforth's 'The Sailor's Wife' was one of a collection of 'Little Ballads' printed in 1807, drawing on numerous stock characters, and, priced at 3s. 6d. and including the notation, clearly aimed at a polite market:

> I lov'd a Sailor bold and brave,
> a nobler Tar you ne'er will see,
> He fought and found a Wat'ry Grave,
> O think on him and pity me.
>
> Why was not MARY by to save?
> Her gallant Husband on the Sea;
> Ah no! he found a Wat'ry Grave,
> O think on him, and pity me.[87]

More elaborate was 'The Orphan Boy' by the radical John Thelwall, published for a halfpenny in the popular format of an eight-page, single-sheet pamphlet.[88] The song begins in innocence, evoking the aural signifiers of war at home:

> But, ah! there came a war, they say,
> What is a War, I cannot tell:
> But drums and fifes did sweetly play,
> And loudly rang our village bell.

Thelwall's orphan is soon disenchanted with these sweet sounds, as his father enlists:

> But, when I found he rode so far,
> And came not home as heretofore;
> I said it was a naughty war,
> And lov'd the drum and fife no more.

Ultimately, those same sounds betoken tragedy:

> At length the bell again did ring;
> There was a victory, they said,
> 'Twas what my father said he'd bring;
> But ah! it brought my father dead.

In the final verse, the boy's mother dies of grief, leaving him as the titular orphan.

Though contemporary in their criticism, the conflicts in these rhymes are abstract, essentially timeless, an approach mirrored in many other songs, most notably Campbell's 'The Wounded Hussar'.[89] In so doing they were continuing a venerable ballad tradition. Yet timelessness did not preclude a political dimension. Spofforth and Thelwall were both advancing a radical argument.[90] 'The Soldier at Night', written at Blackburn in 1809, includes a verse that, in its symbolism, elides monarchy with bloodshed:

> O thou seducer of the human mind,
> Thou bane of millions, and thou bliss of none,
> Ambition! restless tyrant of mankind,
> No knee bend I before thy blood-stained throne.[91]

Campbell's own 'The Soldier's Dream', another tragic lyric striving perhaps for transcendence, includes the loaded phrase 'the war-broken soldier': 'broken' is a significant value judgement, suggesting unnatural rupture rather than dutiful sacrifice.[92]

Similarly abstracted temporally, yet with a very real target, were the numerous songs in both oral and print circulation that attacked impressment. One published example eschews criticism of the state itself, the deserted wife declaring that:

But suppose in the wars my Jemmy should be slain,
Then to the Gods I will complain[93]

More usually, however, the complaint was directed at mortals. One Northumbrian song knew both whom to blame, and how to attempt to salvage the situation:

O the Weary cutter
That stole my laddie away
They always come in the night
And never come in the day
They Always come in the night
And steal the Lads away –
I'll give the cutter a Guinea
Ill give the cutter na More
Ill give the Cutter a Guinea
To steal my laddie a shore.[94]

Songs attacking the press gang were especially prevalent in the northeast, from 'The Tarpaulin Jacket' and 'I Wish the Wars Were Over', to an incidental half verse in the Newcastle favourite 'The New Keel Row', a variant on an older song, written by Thomas Thompson:

But gie's a peace that's steady,
And breed cheap as lang-syne;
May a' the press-gang perish,
Each lass her laddy cherish;[95]

Most successful, judging by its permanent place in regional repertoires, was 'Here's the Tender Coming'. As in Shield's subversive 'O No, My Love, No', the song privileges the sailor's duty to his family above that to his country:

Hide thee, canny Geordie, hide theesel' away;
Hide thee till frigate makes for Druridge Bay.
If they take thee, Geordie, who's to win our bread?
Me and little Jackie better off be dead.[96]

Equally vehement in their sentiment and familial in their loyalties were those songs dealing with the army rather than the navy. These ranged from attacks on individual crimps and their methods, to broader indictments of war. John Leonard, another unregarded but fascinating figure, penned several songs of the former variety. 'Johnson Reed', from 1813, castigates the

eponymous crimp for the harm he has caused both the young men, and their dependents.[97]

> You Mothers that have lost Your Sons
> Each wife and Maid by him Undone
> Assemble quick and Swiftly run
> Duck J--- R---
> ...
> See those Youths now drench'd in gore
> Aloft on Rapid pinions bore
> While chaind upon the Sulphureous Shore
> Lies J--- R---

The 'youths' are at least destined for heaven, whilst Reed is given the fate of Lucifer. Less personal in its indictment, the anonymous 'The Soldier's Wives Complaint' locates blame in institutions rather than individuals:

> Their poor wives they've left behind them,
> Full of grief in every town,
> Whilst they're gone to defend the nation
> In fighting for King George's crown.[98]

The song stresses the suffering and distress occasioned by the conflict, before targeting specific social evils:

> Ask relief, then the parish grumble,
> It's the truth you really do know;
> And when they can't keep house no longer
> To the workhouse they're bound to go.

David Love had one song called 'Remarks on the Times', which includes the verses:

> Sin caus'd the present war abroad,
> Sin robb'd us of our peace;
> Sin doth provoke the Lord our God
> To hide his gracious face.
>
> When God doth, with a liberal hand,
> Plenty for all provide,
> Why should poor people in this land
> Of cheapness by deny'd?[99]

Love claims that he sold 'above three thousand' of this composition in Nottingham, a city noted for its opposition to the war.[100] Taken together, these songs deploy economic, religious, romantic, and familial arguments to critique the state's war effort, in a powerful rejection of the loyalist rhetoric that sought to align these perspectives with love of king and country.

These sober lamentations clearly occupy a separate performative and affective space to that of the jocular topical songs discussed above. Yet criticism could take comic form too. 'Odsbobbins! I'ze go for a Sodger' appeared in urban and urbane songbooks throughout the Wars, and centres on Ralph, a caricature of a vain, foolish young man keen to sign up for perhaps the wrong reasons:

> Wi' the girls I were always a fav'rite, I know,
> And as red-coats they never refuse,
> Mayhap, if so be for a *sodger* I go,
> I, among 'em may then pick and chuse.[101]

Ralph achieves one moment of insight that gives him pause, and lends the song an awkward undercurrent:

> When I go to the wars for my country and king,
> I'ze kill every Frenchman I see;
> But hold – mayn't it turn out another guess thing,
> The Frenchman, mayhap, may kill me.

Less sobering were the political satires penned by Thomas Moore: indictments of Westminster and Whitehall that deal, comically, with the Peninsular. In two songs from 1813, 'Lord Wellington and the Ministers' and 'Reinforcements for Lord Wellington', it is neither the eponymous general nor the French who are criticised, but the new Tory administration of Castlereagh and Canning, and Moore's erstwhile patron the Prince Regent.[102]

More vernacular compositions, even when engaging with the specifics of the Wars, are by contrast remarkable for their neglect of great men and the minutiae of dates and place names, focusing instead on the plight of ordinary men and women. 'Fate of Faithful Nancy', later reprinted by Thomas Ford of Chesterfield near Sheffield, is a desolate sequel to the love song 'William of the Waggon Train'.[103] Nancy follows Will to Spain and watches his final battle from a mountain: Will is slain and she is shot, managing to write a last message home before sealing it 'with her gore' and dying beside her lover.[104] The anonymous 'The Soldier's Death' is similarly narrated by a maid who has lost her Johnnie in Spain.[105] The first verse, all willows, billows, and 'wild howling storm', draws on sub-Romantic nature imagery that would come to characterise post-war songs of Napoleon.[106]

It ends in unrelieved sorrow for the inconsolable maid, yet Johnnie himself is eulogised in the second verse by a direct comparison to Sir John Moore:

> Bravely he fought on the hills of Vimiera,
> Was doomed at Corunna with Moore to lie low;
> But bravely he fell, his brave comrades declarèd,
> While bravely he pressed on the ranks of the foe.

The repetition of 'brave' is open to interpretation; depending on the singer and listener, it might be heard cynically, positively, or as mere bad writing. The coupling of Johnnie's fate with Moore is perhaps more significant, symptomatic of a wider trend that valorised the sacrifice of the ordinary soldier, in contrast to the hero worship accorded Nelson some years earlier. This juxtaposition of commoner and commander is emphasised in two further tragic songs. 'The Bantry Girls' Lament' features another Johnny, who 'went a-thrashing the dirty King of Spain'.[107] As with 'Jenny's Complaint' and 'Here's the Tender Coming', a contrast is drawn between the domestic world he leaves behind, and the onerous duty he has undertaken. The song is far from loyalist, as 'Johnny died for Ireland's pride in the foreign land of Spain', rather than for Britain's. Three verses end with Johnny depicted as personally fighting the King of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte: it is the everyman who fights and dies, not his leader.

Still more explicit is the famous 'Bonny Light Horseman', also known as 'Broken-Hearted I Will Wander'.[108] One verse, either the first or the last depending on the edition, runs:

> When Bonaparte he commanded his troops for to stand,
> And he planted his cannons all over the land;
> He has levelled his cannons the whole victory to gain,
> And he's killed my light horseman, returning from Spain.

Contrastingly, many Victorian versions omit Napoleon, whilst that collected by Terry Moylan appends the extra verse, not found elsewhere:

> Oh Boney, oh Boney, I've done you no harm.
> So why, tell me why have you caused this alarm.
> We were happy together, my true love and me
> But now you have stretched him in his death over the sea.

'Stretched him' is Irish slang for hanging, as well as shorthand for laying someone out. Whilst we may confidently deem this a later addition, as it appears nowhere else, the former verse appears in all broadside editions including 'new song' in the title, and may be supposed to have featured

in variants contemporary to the Peninsular.[109] Thus the cavalryman in question is linked directly to Napoleon, though the chorus tells us more neutrally that 'in the wars he was slain'. Is Napoleon specifically to blame, or is he the instrument of destiny? Perhaps the latter, considering the two references to 'cannon', the ultimate representation of arbitrary death dealt from afar. By this reading, Napoleon is the only individual, due maybe to his ubiquitous fame, via whom the grieving lover may connect with her dead horseman. She herself is separated from the field of battle, and imagines two fantastical means by which to reach her lover:

> Sure if I was a blackbird and had wings to fly,
> I would fly to the spot where my true love does lie

Alternatively, drawing on a rich vein of folklore concerning cross-dressing female soldiers, she declares:[110]

> I will dress in men's apparel, to his regiment I'll go,
> And I'll be a soldier for to fight all his foes.
> And I'll count it an honour if I could obtain
> For to die on the field where my true love was slain.

Both scenarios articulate the narrator's struggle to bridge the geographical, conceptual, and mortal distance between her condition and his. Thus the song achieves a deeper profundity than most under discussion. This, coupled with the beauty of its far older tune, has made it a standard for British folksingers. Its verdict on the wars is negative, and Napoleon's place remains enigmatic. Potentially he is the one man whose name, face, and deeds are well enough known by the isolated lover to form an imagined framework for the otherwise faceless context of the horseman's death. Once again his evocation is humanising, giving us a clue to the highly personal engagements with Napoleon that became so prominent after 1815. Yet as with all these songs, that vision of humanity is one of grief and loss.

'The tax of quick alarm'

We are presented with two bodies of song here: one managing the positive reporting of conflict, one dwelling upon the suffering it caused. How are we to reconcile them? Two decades ago, Mary Favret began a highly productive critical discussion of the domestic impact of these wars, coining the memorable phrase, the 'paper shield', first deployed to suggest that literary and sub-literary print culture, by mediating the experience of war for civilians, palliated its effects on the public sphere.[111] The mail coach, *Childe Harold*, and Dibdin's songs all served to transpose bloody violence into a

more palatable key. As Philip Shaw has argued of visual culture, contemporary Britain had no Goya, no images of atrocities or broken bodies to trouble the public consciousness.[112] The English, Scottish, and Welsh domestic experience of war could not compare to that of a Spaniard, Milanese, or Prussian, or to that of the Irish. Yet war *was* brought home as never before.[113] Most recently, Mary Fairclough has stressed the destabilising, 'incendiary' power of the mail coach, not merely a disseminator of official opinion but a disruptive and at times catastrophic intrusion into quotidian regional society, 'potentially an agent of terror' by virtue of the news that it might bring.[114] Favret too has significantly developed her own position, locating in these Wars a potency for British civilians as strong as anything the First World War had to offer.[115] The body of the widow, the alarm of the letter bell, loomed and sounded in everyday experience as written texts could not, rendering war both inescapable and sensorially ubiquitous.[116]

As demonstrated in Chapter 1, song practice not only evoked but exploited these resonances for commercial gain, singers adopting the outward trappings of the war widow or the crippled veteran to elicit sympathy. Thus even songs intended as part of a paper shield might in performance become a sounding dagger. Popular morale as well as popular opinion must have been fragile. It is impossible at such a remove to obtain a clear impression of the nation's feelings. Did moments of good news – the Nile, Amiens, Trafalgar, Vitoria – shots in the arm of the people – induce fleeting highs, or a sustained sense of inoculation? How might such intermittent celebratory moments, or indeed the high tensions of 1803, be set against the longer experience of wartime; something Favret defines as 'not just a period of time that can be got over or settled, but rather a persistent mode of daily living and a habit of mind'.[117]

For many, this persistent mode meant waiting for news that, unless it was of peace, could at best only defer tragedy. As Thelwall's 'Orphan Boy', discussed above, demonstrates, even news of a victory could bring disaster in the accompanying list of the fallen. Maria Edgeworth's 1814 novel *The Ballad Singer* deviates from its subject to depict that harrowing act of living in war:

> Alas! how many tenderly anxious wives and children dread the sight of a newspaper; the pages of which daily teem with details of thousands slain, which they have not resolution to persue [peruse?], fearful of encountering amongst the list of slaughtered heroes the name of a beloved husband or father.

Far from accepting this condition, Edgeworth rails that:

> posterity will blush indignantly at the cause which has imbrued the sanguinary plains of Spain and Portugal with the blood of so many thousands of the flower of our English youths; and for what? to establish that

> GRAND achievement – to seat again the dastardly Ferdinand on that throne he had not courage to defend.[118]

Such was the view taken by many families of would be and serving soldiers. In 1809, when one young Scotsman told his father he meant to enlist, the immediate riposte was: 'the first news I hear of you, may be that your corpse is bleaching on the Continent – a prey to wolves and eagles'.[119] For some, that tragedy was realised. James Burn, the itinerant, remembered:

> The French war was then carrying desolation . . . and there were few of the people even in these lonely, and sequestered vallies [*sic*] who had not occasion to mourn some dear relative who had fallen in the service of his country. If these people had not heard the martial sound of the bugle, or the roar of the murdering cannon, many a loved one was missed from the family circle.[120]

Thus was the war brought home, creating a habit of mind eminently receptive to sentimental or even bitter songs of loss, among a populace tyrannised by – in a phrase taken from Austen's *Persuasion* and superbly examined by Favret – 'the tax of quick alarm'.[121]

This model of unremitting anxiety, punctuated but not relieved by news that could only be cathartic if tragic, omits the excitement that was undeniably bound up with living through the Wars, a fervour that created a mass appetite for news in spite of the peril implicit therein. In a discussion of satirical prints of Napoleon, Kaenel states that 'they contributed to a new historic conception that might be termed *narrative*'.[122] This 'History in the making', told in song as much as print, was of course largely a narrative of Napoleon's rise and the allies' failures.[123] Patriotic songwriters were thus required to capitalise upon the handful of opportunities presented to them. In attempting to think through their relative impact when weighed against this sustained climate of gloom and worry, we might do worse than consider the opinion of Rousseau, in a discussion of the lasting effect of propaganda upon an audience, in this case a theatre audience. Rousseau is sceptical of the power of propaganda in affecting popular mentalities outside the moment in which it is experienced:

> [W]hen a man goes to admire the great exploits of fabulous heroes, and to weep over imaginary woes, what can we expect more from him? Is not he content with himself? . . . Does not he discharge every duty he owes to virtue, by honouring it on the stage? What would you have him do more? For him to practise it himself? By no means: he has no part to act; he is no player.[124]

This observation, more recently elaborated by Rancière, is worth wider consideration when assessing the reception of songs, endorsing Philp's view that loyalist ephemera 'delivers temporary compliance, not allegiance – quiescence, not patriotism'.[125] Rousseau too doubts the ability of even repeated exposure to such productions to create more than transient, exteriorised conformity:

> Can the concern, the pain, the pity we feel during the play, and which continue some time after it is over, can these be said to be the forerunners of a disposition to regulate and subdue our passions? Those lively impressions, which by frequent repetition must needs grow habitual, are they proper to moderate our affections?[126]

His ironic stress suggests an answer in the negative, which, when applied to song and the Wars, might lead us to emphasise the effect of enduring sentimental songs, capable of voicing the long-term experience of living through a war. On a more banal level, those fleeting moments of celebration may be further marginalised by a consideration of their convivial accompaniments: songs of patriotic triumph typically involved the consumption of alcohol, which would heighten the enjoyment of the moment at the expense of its enduring memory, as this 1806 interview with a witness at the Old Bailey demonstrates.

> Q. What time did you go to the play. – A. At eight o'clock.
> Q. Where was the place that you went to the play. – A. Upon my life I cannot speak the name of the street, somewhere in Whitechapel.
> Q. Are you sure it was a play. – A. Yes.
> Q. Had you been drinking before you went to the play. – A. No, I had beer at the play, it goes round.
> Q. What play did you see. – A. I cannot say, there was a song singing.[127]

We are forced to conclude that, due to the beer, neither play nor song lodged in the witness' memory.

As discussed above, however, the latter stages of the Peninsular War, in common with the summer of 1803, created two sustained periods when the topical moment might be spun into the 'frequent repetition' mentioned by Rousseau. It is no coincidence that these are the two most prominent periods in the memoirs of those who grew up during the conflict. For Thomas Cooper at Gainsborough, it was during the later Peninsular War that 'our little town was kept in perpetual ferment by the news of battles'.[128] Harriet Martineau recalled 1813 and 1814 vividly:

> In the old days, I used to fly into the kitchen, and tell my father's servants how sure 'Boney' was to be caught, – how impossible it was that he should

> escaped, – how his army was being driven back through the Pyrenees, – or how he had driven back the allies here or there . . . I remember my father's bringing in the news of some of the Peninsular victories[129]

Elizabeth Ham too shared Cooper's impressions of these years:

> Great changes were now going on in the Peninsular, and we used to watch anxiously for the Mail coach to see if it were decked with laurels to show that it bore the news of Victory. At length day after day the clanging bells, and the mails as they dashed by, horses and passengers in perfect bowers of green branches, told of triumph after triumph, keeping everyone in a state of joyful excitement.[130]

Several years older than the others, Ham also remembered the previous decade, wittily dubbing the period of the invasion scares 'Scarlet Fever'.[131] The militia paraded beneath her window 'every evening, with a full band'.[132] For Mary Lisle, it was the summer of 1803 that left its mark. 'The songs of the period added not a little to the enthusiasm of the people . . . There was one song of Dibdin's called "True Courage," which was for ever in our ears.'[133]

The language is telling: 'perpetual ferment', 'day after day', 'keeping everyone in a state of joyful excitement', 'every evening', 'for ever in our ears'. It was the accumulated impression of repeated moments that made its mark, so much so that the pastimes of both Cooper and Lisle – and there is no reason to suppose they invented these memories – reflected topical stimuli. Cooper and a friend drew 'imaginarily, Wellington and "Boney" '.[134] Lisle's game was more active:

> We invented a new game, at which we played incessantly, and with unwearying delight. It required noting but a moderate-sized stick, and a very strong imagination. The sticks we called our swords, and arming ourselves with them every day when we went out, we used them to beat the bushes, and cut off the heads of the nettles, exclaiming, "And this is the way we beat the French, we beat the French, we beat the French!"[135]

If we are to read this after Kennedy's view of the 'palatable' effects of imaginative transposition of the conflict, then this is a picturesque rather than a harrowing impact.[136] Nonetheless it is palpable. In both 1803 and 1812 to 1814, the sustained repetition of songs, news, and iconography exerted a powerful influence upon the mentalities of civilians. Yet that influence appears to have been transitory, remembered for its anecdotal quality rather than absorbed into the psyche of these individuals. Cooper soon became a radical.[137] Martineau was horrified by Waterloo, and 'was more impressed still with the disappointment about the effects of the peace'.[138] In post-war life, she played a leading role in feminist networks of radical activity,

and composed reformist songs of her own.[139] Ham remained a confirmed Bonapartist.[140] She remembered the invasion scare period as farce, recalling that, upon causing a false alarm in 1804, 'poor Mr. Daniel hid himself behind his Portland Stone for weeks after'.[141] Even Lisle 'had grown tired of waiting for them [the French]' by the summer's end, recalling that 'The people maintained their warlike attitude during some months, but gradually the alarm of invasion died away'.[142]

The conclusion to be drawn echoes that of the liberal composer William Gardiner, writing in the late 1830s of his wartime memories. 'Dibdin, it is said, wrote more than a thousand [naval songs] . . . They increased with our victories, but at the close of these struggles they disappeared, and are now nearly forgotten.'[143] It is telling that he cannot recall any other songwriters: in the popular imagination, as opposed to the print record, we may state with confidence that loyalist propaganda songs exerted little to no influence beyond their brief seasons of the invasion period and the later Peninsular War. We cannot privilege these six or seven years, the impact of which was so materially copious yet so psychologically impermanent, above fifteen other years of conflict. The topical 'moment' possessed undeniable power, especially when extended by repetition over months and years. But it was the lesser experience, not the greater, in a war of short peaks and long troughs.

4

'Now Boney's Awa'': Triumph, Tragedy, and the Legend Established, 1814–1822

'Glorious News, Wellington in France and Bonaparte out of Germany!!'[1] Such was the tone of many broadside songs in early 1814, developing a giddy, celebratory rhetoric in keeping with the crowds around the mail coach and the eager anticipation of peace. Comedy kept its place, especially in songs describing the Dutch revolt, two of which were later republished in an Edinburgh songbook.[2] Yet on the brink of victory, the mood of the establishment press was savage, with half of London's writers baying for Napoleon's head.[3] The song entitled 'Glorious News' ends in glee as the trapped emperor 'trembles for his neck'. Batchelar's 'Swaggering Boney' proclaims that 'He will never be easy till in death he's fixt.'[4] With the coming of peace and Napoleon's exile as the ruler of Elba, many felt cheated of blood. Certainly Britain's foremost poets were not inclined to magnanimity. From one extreme, Shelley wrote:

> I hated thee, fallen tyrant! I did groan
> To think that a most unambitious slave,
> Like thee, should dance and revel on the grave
> Of Liberty . . . [5]

From the other, Southey thundered in triumph:

> Hide thee from earth's wide rage, a second Cain
> Condemn'd to live, to brood on English slain,
> And roam o'er Elba's rocks, a pension'd slave,
> Till the dark death-worm battens on thy grave.[6]

Byron's anonymous 'Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte', the most commercially successful of these responses, took issue with the timidity of his abdication rather than his crimes when in power:

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Is it some yet imperial hope
That with such change can calmly cope?
Or dread of death alone?
To die a prince – or live a slave –
Thy choice is most ignobly brave! [7]

For most, however, the welcoming of peace was more significant than retribution. Even 'Glorious News' anticipates as much in its festive chorus:

So fill your glasses to the brim
And laugh at Nap's presumption,
These victories have given him,
A galloping consumption.

The song's tune was 'Mrs Casey': not a martial ode, but a country quadrille, a tune to dance to. Its anonymous writer or printer evidently had a finger on the pulse. This was a time for celebration.

Celebrating the General Peace

Long before the ink dried on the treaties, British cities, towns, and villages were holding festivals to mark the certainty of peace. Like the propaganda campaign of 1803, these events were not centrally coordinated by authorities, but organised by corporations or even individual patrons. There was a longstanding custom of charitable civic feasting, yet fears of the mob, combined with a widespread tightening of belts, had seen them greatly restricted since 1793.[8] Unsurprisingly, commercial sites declined to admit the troublesome poor. Vauxhall Gardens raised the admission price for its 1814 celebrations to an exclusive three shillings, a stance it had also adopted for the 1813 *Grand Fête* in celebration of Vitoria, setting itself apart from the popular experience.[9] More widely, a precedent had been set in 1809 for George III's golden jubilee. On that occasion, some boroughs had eschewed illuminations, pageants, and open air feasting for fear of disorder, preferring to make conspicuous donations to local charities.[10] Yet the more optimistic municipalities had shown that events could be managed safely and successfully. With the nation no longer at war, many settlements, at least in England, appear to have celebrated formally in 1814.

For patriotic local authorities, there were obvious advantages to be had from organised celebration – if they could be controlled. As Nicholas Rogers writes, 'festivals provided both a focus and definition of revolt as well as a plausible source of social integration and ruling-class hegemony'.[11] Elsewhere, in a case study of the 1814 celebrations at Great Yarmouth, I have analysed in particular this issue of social integration, following an idea outlined by Pierre Bourdieu.[12] The boldest organisers, as at Yarmouth, adopted

strategies of control that situated elites within the masses, taking on the role of waiters and servants for the day in a nod to the 'Saturnalian' tradition of such festivities. This symbolic inversion of the social hierarchy, coupled with a literal, physical negation of distance between rulers and ruled, enabled patrons both to supervise the revellers at close quarters, and construct an imagined unity between normally distinct social groups. Ideologically, this may have served to reinforce the existing social order. Pragmatically, by seating the people at long benches, each supervised by an elite 'servant', thus regulating their access to alcohol and creating orderly lines of diners rather than an unruly mass, organisers could both control and choreograph the proceedings.

Music and song had a functional role in this orchestration. 'Festive organisers attempted to keep the crowds relatively immobile and spectatorial . . . plebeian celebrants were encouraged to join in the singing of patriotic songs and glees rather than leave the tables prematurely.'[13] The phrase 'join in' points to something more, however: these celebrations afforded the ideal space for the communal reception of patriotic song, creating a community of singers as well as listeners. At Yarmouth, flags, garlands, laurels, transparencies, and effigies ensured that loyalist and patriotic iconography framed the experience of the 8,023 impoverished diners, whilst 'the bands of the Wexford and Third East Norfolk Local Militia paraded round, playing martial and other airs, in a fine style'.[14] In such a context, the familiar and emphatic odes to which so many loyal songs were set came into their own. It is plausible that topical broadsides were distributed to exploit the situation, or at the least to foreshadow it. Jennings' 'A New Song on the Triumphant Entry of the Allies into Paris; Being the Sure Prelude to Universal Peace!!!' was set to 'Hearts of Oak', for once an appropriate choice of melody.[15] 'The White Flag', first performed in the Surrey Theatre before broadside publication, found its way into an Edinburgh collection of comic songs, conceivably via a festive performance: its alternative titles were 'Boney's Abdication' and 'Boney Done Over'.[16] 'Peace, and England's Glory' was printed in radical Nottingham.[17] 'Downfall of Buonaparte' was set to 'Rule, Britannia!'[18]

At Yarmouth, however, the only mass sentiment recorded in the event's commemorative pamphlet was not tub-thumping patriotism, but cathartic relief. In a list of scripted toasts that were drunk, a footnote is appended to 'The speedy Return of our Townsmen imprisoned in France'. It reads: 'It is difficult to describe the emotion with which this toast was drunk . . . suffice it to say, that many, very many, drank it with tears of joy.'[19] We might return here to the discussions of community and sentimentality in Chapter 1: such a toast transmuted the gathered revellers from a united mass to a series of individuals, each prompted to make imagined emotional connections to loved ones across the water. This atomisation – the assertion of discrete entities within the collective body – was reinforced by the spatial arrangement,

as dining tables were strung out linearly along the Quayside, rather than being amassed in a solid body, the purpose here being, inevitably, to avoid disorder.[20] The sentiment is paralleled in 'A New Song Called Little England', which, rather than criticising Napoleon, addresses the grievances of those who have suffered in wartime:

> Your poor of old England give hear and attend . . .
> One and twenty long years been oppress'd by the war,
> Half starv'd we have been for a number of years,
> Could hardly get food, it was so very dear.[21]

The song presents peace as a panacea, drawing attention, like the Yarmouth toast, to the return of loved ones, as well as trade's increase. In seeking to diffuse hostile sentiments among its listeners, the song's writer may have been contemplating less stage-managed popular responses to peace, such as that reported from King's Lynn, another East Anglian port some sixty miles northwest of Yarmouth:

> Capt. Hedington, on the impress service at Lynn, lately received orders to pay off and dismiss the press-gang, which for so many years had excited the terror of the seafaring part of the inhabitants. It is impossible to express the demonstrations of joy which took place on the occasion; even the British flag, from having been constantly displayed at the rendezvous, was torn piece-meal, and the staff burnt by the wives and families of the sailors who were thus liberated from the fear of being impressed.[22]

Such were the scenes most feared by loyalists: the expression of emotional release in violent retribution against the state's ultimate icon, the flag.

The women of King's Lynn were celebrating victory for familial rather than patriotic reasons, the two sentiments being patently opposed in a resonant echo of the press gang songs discussed in Chapter 3. This represented the failure of decades of loyalist propaganda to inculcate a sense of identification with the state and against the French. Independent songwriters were quick to articulate this subaltern attitude in songs that, though unsuitable for performance in the peace festivities, certainly struck a chord with the Yarmouth toast. At Edinburgh, William Nicholson's 'Song on the Prospect of Peace' stresses the same idea:

> See, where the war-worn soldiers come,
> Once more to view their native plains!
> With joy they hail their friends – their Home,
> And bless the hands that burst their chains![23]

Nicholson advocates compassion for the defeated Napoleon, in a logical progression from the sentimental reflection on the return of loved ones:

> Yet, tho' the proud, the great, are low,
> His eagles fall no more to rise –
> We tread not on the vanquish'd foe,
> But LEARN by OTHERS to be WISE!

In Cumbria, Robert Anderson took a similar approach in his dialect song 'Peace', envisaging the joyous reunion of parted families:

> Now, monie a weyfe'll weep for joy,
> An monie a bairn be fain,
> To see the fadders, they'd forgot,
> Come seafe an soun agean;[24]
>
> [Now many a wife will weep for joy,
> And many a child be glad,
> To see the fathers they'd forgot,
> Come safe and sound again;]

As in his bitter 'Jenny's Complaint' of 1802, Anderson refuses to let sentiment occlude a sense of the suffering caused by the conflict. Of the returning soldiers, Tom has lost a thumb (in a wry echo of the fairy tale), Peter has a wooden leg and must become a beggar, and Lanty has not returned at all, so that:

> Sally's heart for suir mun brek,
> If he's amang the deed.
>
> [Sally's heart for sure must break,
> If he's among the dead.]

For Anderson the celebration of peace requires a condemnation of war, and of those on all sides who would bring it about:

> The King thowt war wad ruin aw,
> An Bonnyprat the seame;
> What, some say teane, an some say beath,
> Hae lang been mickle to bleame.
>
> [The King thought war would ruin all,
> And Bonaparte the same;
> Though some say one, and some say both,
> Have long been much to blame.]

The lesson he derives is if anything a radical one, pitting the plight of the poor against the arbitrariness of their rulers:

> Wer dang'rous wars aw flung aseyde,
> How happy fwok wad be!
> But ruin's monie a Ruler's preyde,
> Throughout the warl, we see!
> To fratch an feght's ay their deleyte,
> They leyke to crush the peer!
> Wad they dui gud, as aw fwok sud –
> Hut! – Ills the warl mun bear!
>
> Oh! but I us'd to wonder much,
> An think what thousans fell;
> Now, what they've aw been feghtin for,
> Wey, deil a yen can tell!
> But, God be prais'd! we've peace at last,
> The news hev spread afar;
> May Englan, leyke the weyde warl, hear
> Nae mair ov murd'rous wars!
>
> [Were dangerous wars all flung aside,
> How happy folk would be!
> But ruin's many a Ruler's pride,
> Throughout the world, we see!
> To brawl and fight is their delight,
> They like to crush the poor!
> Would they do good, as all folk should –
> Oh! Ills the world must bear!
>
> Oh! but I used to wonder much,
> And think what thousands fell;
> Now, what they've all been fighting for,
> The devil only knows!
> But, God be praised! we've peace at last,
> The news has spread afar;
> May England, like the wide world, hear
> No more of murderous wars!]

Just as peace could prompt heartfelt criticism of the conflict, so the festivities themselves incurred their share of condemnation. Even 'The Wonderful Wonders of Town', a superficially idealised song of the celebrations at London, contains two verses satirising the Regent's mock naval battle in Hyde Park, and this pointed contrast between the conspicuous consumption of the assembled dignitaries and the scant fare available for the masses:

> You never see'd yet a procession so fine,
> As when into the city the kings went to dine;
> I gap'd with my mouth open, like many an elf,
> Till no dinner I got to put in it myself.[25]

These complaints were articulated more forcefully by Charles Lawler, London's premier 'Peter Pindar', a common pseudonym of satirical poets. Lawler's target was primarily the Regent.[26] Yet his humorous critique of loyalist celebrations was echoed in popular songs, especially from the north of England. One of Samuel Bamford's earliest songs, 'The Petition of Jammy's Hen', mocks the miserly contributions of the Middletonian gentry in providing a dinner: allegedly, only one old hen was volunteered.[27] Similarly, 'Bob Cranky's Leum'nation Neet', from 1 June 1814, is a sceptical reading of the Newcastle festivities as both unsporting and hypocritical.[28] Not only does the song's hero come away with neither beef nor ale, indignant at the mockery of Napoleon, but he proclaims – in a punning confusion of the late premier's surname with Cranky's own occupation – that his own contribution to the war effort is as great as that of any local worthy:

> Then agyen, what a shem an' a sin!
> Te the Pit Dinner nyen ax'd me in:
> Yet aw work like a Turk,
> Byeth wi' pick, knife, and fork, –
> An' whese mair a *Pittite* nor Cranky?
>
> [Then again, what a shame and a sin!
> To the Pitt Dinner none asked me in:
> Yet I work like a Turk,
> Both with pick, knife and fork –
> And who's more a *Pittite* than Cranky?]

For some, the staged celebrations clearly left a bitter taste in the mouth as well as an empty stomach, reinforcing a sense of division between the privileged and the dispossessed, the latter having been the real victims of a war whose conclusion was chiefly welcomed for the prospect of reuniting families and putting bread on the table.

The exile of Elba

As observed in the previous chapter, this groundswell of popular feeling had been gathering for some years. Symptoms of unrest and disloyalty often incorporated by social historians into a 'Waterloo to Peterloo' narrative had contributed to the Luddite risings, and were visibly fomenting in 1814. In Manchester, Michael Wilson's comic song 'Soldier Jack', a parody

of Charles Dibdin the Elder's 'Soldier Dick', expressed frustration with the tall tales of Peninsular veterans, channelling tensions caused by a newly bloated workforce.[29] In protest at unemployment, seven thousand Newcastle seamen pitched a camp at Cullercoats for a month and five days in autumn 1814; 'their organisation and discipline rendered such meetings extremely dangerous', and it took army, navy, and watch combined to dissolve 'the combination' there assembled.[30] The song 'Tyne Cossacks' immortalised the event.[31] Discontent only increased as the economic hardships of peace began to tell. In Bolton, Cobbett reported, workers first burnt Napoleon in effigy, and then swiftly repented once French goods flooded the market for their products, ritually restoring his effigy to a position of respect.[32] Songs of Napoleon's first exile formed a significant part of this subaltern climate, wherein even those antipathetic to the fallen emperor often used him to engage in a broader critique of the established order. Samuel Taylor, a Birmingham printer, produced a broadside lavishly illustrated with two custom woodcuts of Napoleon and the devil, featuring two songs on the same theme.[33] These were 'The Devil's Own Darling' and 'Buonaparte's Lamentation, or His Banishment to Elba's Isle'. The former describes itself accurately as a 'comic song' about 'that little great man Bonaparty'; the latter is more complex. The song repeatedly addresses 'all you cruel Tyrants' and 'brother Tyrants', admonishing them to learn by Napoleon's example and 'Leave off your cruel Tyranny'. Written from Napoleon's perspective, the writer allows a degree of compassion into his depiction, a compassion not afforded to the other nameless 'Tyrants' he addresses.

The same moral obtains in 'Fallen Boney', a song set to an incongruously merry dance tune by Hugh McWilliam, a radical schoolmaster from Belfast who published the song in a later collection of 1816:

> But fortune's fickle, so is life,
> They're here today, away tomorrow,
> Since he has lost both crown and wife,
> No wonder he does mourn in sorrow.
> Let Kings not with their subjects play,
> To spill their blood or waste their money,
> Lest they should fall some other day,
> And mourn their fate, as well as Boney.[34]

In preceding this verdict with a narrative of Napoleon's descent from 'great and noble' to 'lawless tyrant', McWilliam is making a clear statement about political authority in general, though the turn to 'Kings' verges on the specific, voicing a dangerous degree of animosity to the British establishment. A year later, the government was terrified at the thought of Napoleon coming ashore at Torbay, more afraid of invasion by Napoleon alone, in chains, than they had been in 1803.[35] Would the popular Bonapartism they

suspected in 1815 have been less in 1814? Captain Tower of the *Undaunted*, which carried Napoleon to Elba, discussed the subject with his admired captive. Napoleon is recorded as opining that: 'If I went to England the English Government would be afraid of my popularity and would pack me off'.[36] The hero worship displayed by the seamen of the *Undaunted*, and the gushing testimonies of Britons of all political persuasions who visited him on Elba, suggest this was no empty boast.[37] Yet the increasingly vocal popular identification with Napoleon was as much about the politics of person and emotion as it was about economic hardship, disenfranchisement, or government oppression.

McWilliams' 'Fallen Boney' concludes, not with its rebellious threat to arbitrary kings, but with a profession of domesticity:

> 'Bout great folks I do little care.
> I'll take my glass, and kiss my Annie,
> For I partake of comforts here,
> Unknown to Emperors, Kings, or Boney.

These lines are as political as those that precede them, drawing perhaps upon Cobbett's cottage rhetoric, fulfilling a levelling as well as a libertarian function. Yet they also tap in to a particular vision of domesticity and family love increasingly associated with Napoleon, a discourse prominent in popular song ever since the satires on his remarriage of 1810. One anonymous 1814 broadside imagines Napoleon's plight in exile:

> Without a wife – without a mother,
> Without a sister, or a brother,
> And even of a friend bereft,
> Poor Nap is to his conscience left.[38]

There is a loyalist judgement here, the song only working if that conscience is to trouble rather than succour Napoleon, yet even this derogatory song is engaging with a humanised figure, lonely, pitiable. L.R. Shilling's 'A Crocodile's Tears: or, the Sighs of Boney', published at Norwich, is similarly affecting in spite of its hostility to Napoleon, voiced again from his perspective and beginning with the plaintive address, 'O hear my sad story of woe'.[39] It requires only the slightest shift of emphasis to create an entirely sympathetic Napoleon.

Such songs did exist, and at least two are extant from 1814, though one is largely illegible. In 'Napoleon's Lamentation' and the partially disintegrated 'N.B. Bonaparte's Farewell to Paris', we find sympathetic, elegiac songs as pronounced as any from the years after Waterloo.[40] The latter was written by 'R.A.H.' and published by G. Summers of Sunderland: even if the author was reluctant to put his name to a pro-Napoleonic broadside, Summers saw no such difficulty. Both lyrics contrast past glories with domestic tragedy.

The former recalls Austerlitz and Egypt as twin triumphs, and dwells sadly on Moscow and Leipzig, before changing tack:

> So it's fare thee well, my royal spouse,
> And offspring great that I adore

The latter blames his downfall on betrayal by his army, before turning to the domestic:

> It is well known I have a wife,
> Like other Princes ev'n --- [?];
> A lovely Son, a [?] smiling [?] boy

For four years, songs had given Britain Napoleon as a family man. Now, as Yarmouth's women toasted the return of their imprisoned husbands, one husband was sent into exile. In both instances, the parallel suffering had a common cause: the vicissitudes of war. Far from being the Corsican Ogre, the war criminal, of loyalist rhetoric, this was Napoleon as everyman, a figure more sympathetic than those in the British government. The seeds of this phenomenon had been sown years before. The events of 1815 would bring them to full fruition.

Escape!

> What do you think now of my supernatural friend, the emperor?... Milton's Satan is nothing to him for portentous magnificence – for sublimity of mischief! If that account in the papers be true, of his driving down in his carriage like lightning towards the royal army embattled against him, bare-headed, unguarded, in all the confidence of irresistibility – it is a fact far sublimer than any that fiction has ever invented, and I am not at all surprised at the dumb-founded fascination that seizes people at such daring.[41]

Thus wrote Moore, in characteristically playful yet elated tones, at news of Napoleon's escape from Elba. The manner of his return rehabilitated Napoleon among those who, like Byron, had deplored the ignominy of his abdication. Once in Paris, his liberal politics and pacific proclamations did still more to restore the faith of British radicals.[42] For the first time, Napoleon was juxtaposed in close geographic and temporal proximity to the Bourbon alternative, against the backdrop of the Congress of Vienna. Such a staging could not help but favour Napoleon in the eyes of most British observers. Scott wrote to Southey that 'to hear the nonsense which the people talk in London about the alteration of that man[']s nature and disposition is enough to make a dog sick'.[43] One of Bamford's early poems from

March 1815, 'The Retrospection', contrasts the vainglorious celebrations of the previous year with news of Napoleon's return, beginning, 'Ah! where are now our bonny white cockades?', devoting a verse to ridiculing the 1814 celebrations.[44] Bamford inverts the triumphalism of 'Boney-burnings' to imply British cowardice and Napoleonic valour:

> Napoleon chained on his stubborn ass,
> Whilst valiant Cossacks club'd him on the pate,
> Knowing the figure was inanimate.
> Ah! one short glance from his keen eagle eye
> Had made a host so despicable fly,
> And from the warrior's face one darkening frown
> Had scatter'd all the Cossacks of our town.

Moore too returned to this subject, contrasting the 'calm and easy grandeur' of the 'eagle' Napoleon's return, with the 'Royal craven' who had flown the throne in terror.[45] Lawler ('Peter Pindar'), fresh from satirising the arbitrary division of Europe at Vienna in *The German Sausages*, produced *Bonaparte in Paris! Or, the Flight of the Bourbons!*, in which Louis is derided as Napoleon's 'warming-pan', keeping the throne heated.[46] The Congress is used to accuse the Allies of hypocrisy for calling Napoleon a thief, since their own robbery of Europe has been worse.[47] And Lawler turns loyalist rhetoric on its head, mocking the flight of British visitors from Paris:

> Away they scamper, high and low,
> Like children from a bugabo;
> Run, Johnny, run, should Boney meet you,
> The cruel monster'll kill and eat you!
>
> 'Boney is coming! Oh! the devil!
> Whoever dreamt of such an evil.
> They say – I shall expire with fright, –
> He will be here to-morrow night.'[48]

As in Hone's more famous satire *Buonapartephobia*, here is a London writer inverting the incendiary language of 1803 for comic effect – 'bugabo', 'monster', 'devil' – thereby reiterating its absurdity.[49] The same effect was achieved in broadside culture when, in a remarkable repetition, Pitts republished 'The Corsican Drover', with Batchelar offering a pirated version under the title 'Boney's Return to Paris'.[50] Just as in 1803 the parody was a topical one, especially as the clown Joseph Grimaldi had sung the original 'All the World's in Paris' at Covent Garden, in the 1814 Boxing Day pantomime *Harlequin Whittington*, thus renewing the currency of the jest.[51] Laurie and Whittle's subsequent broadside of 1 February 1815 features a bespoke Gillray portrait of Grimaldi in costume standing outside an imaginary Paris.[52] No longer was this a joke for Londoners alone, as Grimaldi's company toured Scotland, the

north, and the Midlands in early 1815; the song was immediately printed as a ballad slip in Liverpool.[53] The revived parody would thus have benefited from increased exposure, as it exploited the doubly enriched farce of fashionable Londoners fleeing from the dynamic trickster Napoleon. In Batchelar's abridged four-verse production, it is unsympathetic dames, Jews, clerks, 'gouty lords', and debtors who tremble 'at Boney's name', their inherent silliness emphasised by the insistent, nursery like melody, which references 'Yankee Doodle Dandy' to knowing effect. Arrayed against these monied and moneyless cowards, Napoleon takes on the status of a potent anti-hero.

The general reaction appears to have been characterised by excitement rather than dismay. The Bonapartist London tailor Thomas Carter recalled that as the Hundred Days began: 'The roll of the drum, the shrill notes of the "spirit-stirring fife," with the sonorous tones of trumpets and bugles, again greeted our ears, and brought back all the warlike feelings and thoughts which, for the few preceding months, had been in a state of abeyance.'[54] Such sentiments appear at odds with the fervour with which peace had been greeted less than a year before: testament perhaps to fascination with Napoleon, but also attributable to dissatisfaction with the economic downturn, and widespread disgust with the new Bourbon regime in France and the avarice of the statesmen assembled at Vienna. Such was the mood engaged with in two further broadsides, one metropolitan, and one unknown in origin. Both came with a woodcut, replete with speech bubbles, illustrating the lyrics. That produced by John Fairburn of Ludgate Hill even bore an advertisement in a footnote for one of 'Peter Pindar's' satires on the Congress. These were, then, atypical publications. Yet their lyrics fit the emergent model of Napoleon as anti-hero: as folkloric mischief-maker, rather than the respectable hope of radicals.[55] The two titles are suitably sensational: 'John Bull in alarm; or Boney's escape, and a second deliverance of Europe' and 'The bungling tinkers! or Congress of blockheads!'[56] The former song speculates at a pact with the devil; not, as a decade before, out of hatred, but from admiration:

> Some think that this wonderful fellow,
> Must sure have Old Nick to assist him,
> For whether they're sober or mellow,
> The devil a soul can resist him.
>
> But what must make everyone stare,
> And well may the matter alarm ye,
> When the rogue in his chaise and *two pair*,
> *Put to flight the French King and his army!*

The latter eschews explicit demonic allusion, though the imagining of Napoleon's return as a sprite emerging from the hole in 'Great Europe's kettle' is a typical folkloric manifestation of a demon or faerie:

> Avast! cried one – the hammers stopped,
> When from *the hole* there nimbly popp'd
> A man, that made them all to start; –
> Who could it be? – *'Twas Bonaparte!*
>
> They scarce believe their eyes and ears,
> He nods and cries – '*Bon jour Messieurs!*
> 'I have no time to lose, – *adieu;*
> 'I'm off – *le Congress est disout.*'

Though the songs revel in the news, they are less sanguine about its consequences, due largely to their discontent with the British administration. The former song is convinced of allied victory, but only if 'John Bull *pays the piper*': Prussians and Russians will succeed if 'John Bull will *equip and maintain 'em*'. The latter includes two verses on the greed of Castlereagh at Vienna. These are broadly patriotic news bearing broadsides that nonetheless portray Napoleon as a charismatic worker of wonders, hoodwinking the greedy monarchs and statesmen at Vienna and in Paris.

'The Crimson Field'

The manner of Napoleon's return did much for his reputation in Britain. Yet the event's currency as a 'moment' was short lived, absorbed into the grander narrative of the Waterloo campaign. Waterloo instantly achieved, and has long retained, a colossal, mythic status, as tragedy, triumph, the close (or beginning) of a historical epoch, and simply as perhaps *the* definitive land battle of all time.[57] Other battles within the Wars were larger by far, with higher casualties, and certainly Waterloo was no great showcase for tactical genius. Yet its significance, in part in reality but far more importantly in the Western imagination, is unparalleled. To meet one's Waterloo remains an English idiom. No other battle looms so large in Anglophone folk tradition. To the British, the meeting of Napoleon and Wellington (akin classically to that of Hannibal and Scipio at Zama) carried especial resonance. Given this legacy, it is tempting to view Waterloo as exceptional. Yet in many ways, the songs of Waterloo exemplify the themes of the past three chapters.

Inevitably, we can make regional generalisations: metropolitan broadsides persisted in jocular celebration; Welsh broadsides were filled with righteous wrath; songs from 'North Britain' and Ireland saw the battle as at best a tragedy, at worst a crime. It may prove more productive to consider these songs in chronological rather than geographic groupings. Precise dating is of course impossible. Yet songs may be roughly separated into those composed in immediate response to experience or news of the battle; in the months that followed; and in the years to come. Those in the first, immediate category could have a commemorative as well as an informative function. This was a distinctive feature of the set of variants known as 'The Battle of

Waterloo' or 'The Plains of Waterloo', always set to the meter of the tune now known as 'A-Hunting We Will Go', a tune first associated with Wellington in 1812, also giving rise to the closely related variant 'With Wellington We'll Go'.[58] The tune's rhythms and rhyme scheme are well suited to a lyric seeking to convey both narrative and details, whilst maintaining a positive, mid-tempo mood.

These variants, whilst conveying a sense of the battle's exceptionalism, adhere to the established conventions of battle narratives observed in Chapter 3. Most incorporate Quatre Bras, fought two days earlier, into their depiction, giving a greater sense of scale. Often written by private soldiers seeking to emphasise the importance of their own arm of the service, and presumably receiving a flat fee from a London printer, their strategic accounts could grow understandably confused:

> Our grape shot flew among them and put them to the route, [rout]
> But still those cowardly rascals refused to come out.
>
> When Duke Wellington saw their cowardness he ordered a retreat
> Which orders was comply'd with and his design it was complete.[59]

This particular relation of the retreat from Quatre Bras was written by 'Samuel Wheeler, trumpeter, in his Majesty's First of King's Regiment of Dragoons', keen to give credit to the cavalry commanders Uxbridge, Ponsonby, and Somerset, yet less clear on Wellington's attempts to maintain contact with Blücher's Prussian army. Such hasty errors are characteristic of songs swiftly produced to sate the public appetite for hard news, boasting casualty estimates, specific manoeuvres, and details of the time of day. Wheeler's song, sold for a full penny by Pitts, was headed by a large annotated woodcut purporting to be a faithful representation of the battle. Yet these songs also emphasise the sacrifice and efforts of ordinary soldiers, as well as the British and Prussian commanders. Napoleon, who does not escape comparisons to bantam cocks, is by contrast a marginal figure. It may be this feature – the ordinary soldier as hero – that led to the song group entering oral repertoires, even crossing the Atlantic with one Scottish veteran.[60] This particular variant ends with a verse praising Wellington, not for his leadership, but for the monetary benefits he brought to those soldiers:

> Here's health to our Prince Regent,
> And long may he govern;
> Likewise the Duke of Wellington,
> That noble son of Erin.
> Two years he added to our time
> For pay and pension too.
> And now we are recorded
> As Men of Waterloo.

This invested attitude is mirrored in another Scottish soldiers' song, 'Sandy and Donald'. Written by Walter Watson, who had served in the Scots Greys, this was an irreverent, colloquial perspective on the battle that recalls 'The Twa Emperors', set to the spacious, versatile melody of 'The Lass o' Glenshee', and later collected from both Glasgow (where it also endured in print form) and Shevado, a village west of Peterhead in Aberdeenshire.[61] The eponymous heroes are private soldiers in the Lowland Scots Greys and the Gordon Highlanders, who personify the regiments' deeds in capturing a French eagle and driving back D'Erlon's columns. Wellington and the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian armies go unmentioned: this is a song of 'crafty wee Bony', who acts 'courageously' yet meets his match in the united Scotsmen: 'Bony cried oot, "Oh those terrible Greys!" ' The song is dedicated to 'auld Scotland's glory' rather than Britain's, in a healing of regional scars left by the Jacobite conflicts: once again, it is the common man and the sub-British interest, not the loyalist state, which are celebrated in this contest with the admired Napoleon.

This concern for ordinary combatants could creep into even the most jingoistic of immediate metropolitan broadsides. Pitts' 'Boney's Total Defeat, and Wellington Triumphant', written by John Thompson to the famous drinking tune 'Roast Beef of Old England', dedicates its refrain to 'old England's brave boys', and devotes its penultimate verse to noting that:

> In this glorious battle some thousands were slain,
> The slaughter was dreadful I tell it with pain,[62]

Batchelar's 'Battle of Waterloo' crows that:

> 300 captured cannons show,
> Our victory's complete;
> While Boney's eagles crouching low,
> Now Kiss the Regent's Feet![63]

Yet its chorus repeats the moving phrase 'the crimson field', and its final verse reflects the humanitarian emphasis of songs on the battle:

> For our brave men who nobly died,
> Let pity's tear be shed,
> Relieve their hapless widows wants,
> And give their orphans bread.

The same tone is central to 'The Eighteenth of June', a song composed by a soldier in the battle's immediate aftermath, and learnt in Brussels by the Scot Jim Shoubridge before its initial publication in an 1815 Falkirk garland.[64] The tune taken down from later oral performance is duly sombre, a slow ballad

in a minor key that returns inexorably to that minor keynote. Its fourth and fifth verses, though written by a victorious soldier, represents the battle as a tragedy:

> . . . But Scotia may mourn without ceasing,
> Her best and her bravest are gone!
> Ye Lassies, wha's Laddies are yonder,
> Gae ilk-ane and buy a black gown;
> A thousand it is to a hunder, [hundred]
> They've fall'n on the 18th of June.
>
> Ye fops, and ye fine gaudy mortals,
> Whose life's like the mist of the morn,
> An hour in this terrible conflict
> Would told you what for you was born.
> The groans of the dying and wounded,
> Would sent thro' your bosoms a stoun!
> You would learn'd to have danc'd a new figure,
> At the Ball on the 18th of June.

The latter half of the third verse, which later became the song's chorus, extends this empathy to Napoleon himself, the seriousness of the melody removing any possibility of a sarcastic interpretation, leaving 'poor Boney' as the ultimate victim of the conflict:

> And what a sad heart, sirs, had Bonnie,
> To tak now, instead of a Crown,
> A canter frae Brussels to Paris,
> Lamenting the 18th of June.

Beyond song culture, it was this attitude that dominated the mass and indeed the official response to the battle. As Shaw observes of Cobbett's descriptions of mass mourning: 'Since a sizeable portion of that people had been slaughtered in the campaign, the muted reception of the news amongst the labouring classes seems entirely credible.'[65] The recollection of Harriet Martineau suggests such feelings were common to those of higher social status even when immune from personal disaster: 'Somebody (I forget whether father or brother) burst in with the news of the Waterloo slaughter. It was the slaughter that was uppermost with us, I believe, though we never had a relative, nor, as far as I know, even an acquaintance, in either army or navy.'[66] Even on an institutional level, church services were preferred to illuminations and banquets. 18 January 1816 was planned as a national day of Thanksgiving, reported in the *Gazette* as marking 'the re-establishment of Peace with France' rather than a glorious victory.[67] The radical press took

exception, however, to the piety of the official prayer, as well as to the treatment, at Westminster, of the veterans present:

> 'Some trust in chariots and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God' – Which means, we suppose, if there be any meaning to it, that battles are won 'by faith, and not fighting' . . . as if the vanquished Hero now at St. Helena had been stopped at Waterloo by any thing but hard blows . . . [later] the company retired, and the soldiers were dismissed; but it is not said that the poor fellows had even a pint of porter allowed them on this brilliant occasion . . . a little earthly refreshment might not have been altogether unacceptable to the veterans who had survived the carnage of that day.[68]

However niggardly, the authorities appear to have guarded against claims of insensitivity. The Licenser forbad the performance of a farce set on the night of the battle in September 1815, due to its excessive frivolity.[69] No such censorship could be brought to bear, however, on the content of songs within plays. 'Nappy's Napped', sung by a Mr Sloman at Sadler's Wells and subsequently printed by Batchelar, evinces a supremely flippant attitude to the campaign, dismissing the battle in a punning couplet more concerned with infantilising Napoleon ('*brush'd*' being a reference to corporal punishment):

> Ney brought Boney back,
> The Marshals Emperor sound him,
> Louis forc'd to pack,
> Th'Allies all rallied round him;
> Nap didn't care a rush,
> He said for what they'd do, sir,
> And vowed he'd have a *brush*,
> So *brush'd* at Waterloo, sir!
>
> Nappy's napped at last, [nabbed]
> To St. Helena going;
> I hope they'll keep him fast,
> Not let him tricks be shewing;
> Some at his fate repine,
> And wish, the case to alter,
> As he must cross the line,
> They'd make the line a halter.[70]

There are clear echoes here of the domestic songs of 1810 to 1814. Yet this lightness of tone – so characteristic of the illegitimate theatre – is extremely unusual in songs of Waterloo. So strong was the general consensus that

two years later, Robert Shorter devoted an entire song, published in the twopenny radical paper *Sherwin's Political Register*, to his outrage 'On Seeing in a List of New Music, *The Waterloo Waltz*', scandalous that such a light dance form should be associated with the tragedy.[71] Bamford too articulated this anger and sorrow in 'The Patriot's Hymn', a parody of 'God save the King', which he records as having been written in July 1815 in response to hearing the details of the battle:

> Gory is Europe's plain,
> Whelmed beneath her slain,
> Dreadful to see.
> Bleeding promiscuously,
> Victors and vanquish'd lie,
> Mingled in butchery;
> Let man be free.[72]

Bamford's radical Dissenting stance is clear in every subversively sung line. Just as inflected by faith are two Welsh broadsides from the same period, their titles translating as 'A new song on the retaking of Bonaparte, together with his sending to St Helena' and 'A new song about the success which our soldier had over Bonaparte and his army in France on the 16th, 17th and 18th of last June', written by Ioan Dafydd and Thomas Jones, respectively, the former published at Porth Tywyll, Caerfyrddin, and the latter at Trefriw.[73] In an echo of the fatalistic prayer criticised in the *Examiner*, above, the latter begins:

> Britain! Britain! Great is your success!
> Give the King of heaven the glory!
> It was He Himself – neither man nor angel –
> Who caused success to our men of war.

Both Welsh songs are rich in imagery of suffering, dwelling on the plight of soldiers' families and displaced civilians as well as considering the sacrifice of the combatants. Yet this does not prompt equal compassion where Napoleon is concerned. Dafydd writes:

> He had deserved to be hung, so it is, so it is,
> Without need for judge nor jury, so it is;
> And to have his head struck off on a block
> And be slowly drawn afterwards
> And cut up piece by piece, so it is, so it is,
> And be buried in the pigsty, so it is

Jones decrees:

> The betrayer of the Isle of Britain
> Deserves not a scowl but to have his windpipe broken;
> He has been the cause of the death of myriads
> For twenty years now!

Though thwarted in their merciless imaginings, both writers take some comfort in the thought of Napoleon's second exile. This forms the subject of Byron's first major topical response to Napoleon after Waterloo. 'Napoleon's Farewell', set to the grand, modal, Irish air by now associated with Campbell's anti-war poem 'The Wounded Hussar', was swiftly pirated and even entered oral repertoires, yet its first appearance was as an anonymous item in Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* – accompanied by an editorial disclaimer of responsibility – on 30 July 1815.[74] In a *volte face* from his 'Ode' of the previous year, Byron inhabits the persona of the fallen but unbowed Napoleon to stirring effect. Uniquely among Romantic writers, Byron's third verse imagines, provocatively, a second return from exile:

> Farewell to thee, France! but when Liberty rallies
> Once more in thy regions, remember me then –
> The violet still grows in the depth of thy valleys;
> Though withered, thy tears will unfold it again –
> Yet, yet I may baffle the hosts that surround us,
> And yet may thy heart leap awake to my voice –
> There are links which must break in the chain that has bound us,
> Then turn thee and call on the Chief of thy choice!

In print, Hunt could maintain the tactful fiction that the poem was a 'translation' of a French original. As a popular song, shorn of such literary caveats and set with expert care to a powerful melody, its impact must have been all the greater. Yet though it is an important song of Napoleon, it is a poor testament to the battle of Waterloo itself, containing a single allusion to 'the veteran hearts that were wasted'. No established poet did the battle justice in 1815. Scott's attempt was the most infamous. Moore wrote to Mary Godfrey on 6 December 1815 that 'I have read *Walter*-loo, since I heard from you. The battle murdered many, and he has murdered the battle'; Lord Erskine went one better in his verdict on the poem:

> Of all who fell, by sabre or by shot,
> Not one fell half so flat as Walter Scott.[75]

Poems such as Scott's were not susceptible of a recasting as song, due to their length and complex meters. By contrast Bamford, in addition to his July parody, wrote at least two further poems on the subject. 'Waterloo' takes the form of polemic:

> Thy baubles are black gouts of gore,
> Wrung from the soldier slain,
> With countless tears empearled o'er,
> And steep'd in woe and pain.
> Wear them, to England's blushing shame,
> And the dishonour of thy name![76]

The 'noble' and 'gallant Gaul', Napoleon, is contrasted with the Bourbon 'BEAST' and the 'phrenzied' Prussian 'daemon', yet Bamford's central accusation comes closer to home:

> Hell, in her darkness, triumph'd then,
> For freedom fell by Englishmen!

'Waterloo' is inescapably radical. The same writer's 'Dying Dragoon' is closer to the stuff of non-partisan song, consciously echoing 'The Wounded Hussar' in its titular subject, focusing on the sentimental plight of the dragoon and his loved ones. As in 'The Eighteenth of June', sympathy is extended to Napoleon, 'the mighty chief that's now afar', reiterating the empathetic link between fallen soldier and fallen emperor.

Unlike Wolfe's poem on the death of Sir John Moore, however, none of these purely verse productions appears to have entered the popular consciousness. Instead, the legacy of Waterloo in subsequent years is dominated by more generic songs using the battle as a backdrop for traditional tales of sundered lovers, either returning, initially unrecognised, to their homes, or failing to return. These songs spanned the Isles: Pitts published 'Elwina of Waterloo'; Thomas Wilson of Manchester wrote 'Young Edward Slain at Waterloo' to the tune of 'Garland of Love'; and at least two separate 'The Plains of Waterloo', unrelated to those discussed above, were current in Ireland.[77] 'Elwina' and the first 'The Plains of Waterloo' appear to have become standards in the later nineteenth century, judging by the frequency with which they appear in major broadside collections. They contain mere traces of politics; all four are highly sentimental narratives of common combatants and their lovers, usually named: Elwina and the narrator; Edward and Susan; and Willie Reilly and Nancy, in the first three of these songs. The second 'The Plains of Waterloo' does not name its lovers. More unusually still, the fallen Irish soldier fights in the French ranks, rather than the British:

> When Ireland fell and traitors rowed, his rambles first begun
> To Bonaparte he was faithful and he wore the soldiers' blue.

He also fights 'for our land', that is, Ireland. Yet this republican subtext is subordinated to the central romantic tragedy. Elsewhere, lockets, broken tokens, and flowers abound: these are less songs of Waterloo, than popular love

songs given a resonant tragic context by reference to this battle to end all battles.

It was Waterloo's bloody exceptionalism within the British experience of the Wars that made it such powerful material for songwriters. Yet the resultant songs were largely typical of established song traditions. Those that endured were marked by the same features of detached observation and everyman sentiment that distinguishes so many of the successful songs we have encountered, from 'The Grinders' to 'The Battle of the Nile' to 'Bonny Light Horseman'.[78] The popular collective memory of Waterloo was from the very first one of tragedy rather than triumph: and, therefore, wholly commensurate with a sympathetic response to Napoleon's own fate. Shaw's comment that 'It is a curious aspect of modern culture that Waterloo is best remembered as a tragic defeat rather than as a glorious triumph' becomes, in this light, something of a misapprehension: Waterloo has been a tragedy for two hundred years.[79] His continuation, when applied to the contemporary society as well as the twenty-first-century present, is a fit final word on the battle. 'If, as Jacqueline Rose has argued, our interest in celebrity turns on the inevitability of loss, one can understand why Napoleon, solitary, tragic and glamorous, wins out over the "pure good" of Wellington.'[80]

'Since Boney is Down'

In the decades following Waterloo, Wellington was rarely represented as 'purely good': the self-interested approbation of the Scottish singer of the 'Battle of Waterloo' collected in America stands alone. In 1832, as the leader of opposition to the Reform Act, Wellington was targeted in numerous songs, typified by the Scottish 'The Tyrant's Fall'.[81] In a pointed inversion of wartime rhetoric, Wellington becomes the tyrant, whose war record is used to indict rather than exculpate as the execution of Marshal Ney is laid at his door. The final verse makes common cause with Napoleon against the Iron Duke:

> How can you gain a soldier's heart?
> Beneath the lash you made them smart,
> Hung them before great Buonaparte,
> For a sma' fau't ony morning. [small fault]

At the decade's end, the Chartist 'New Hunting Song' in praise of Feargus O'Connor, set like so many songs of Waterloo to 'A-Hunting We Will Go', singled out Wellington for condemnation:

> It's one of our brave huntsmen, my song I will commence,
> Brave Bonaparte I will begin, he was a man of sense;
> From Corsica he did set off to hunt upon a chance,
> He hunted until he became the Emperor of France.

> And Nelson for his hunting he got the nation's praise.
> He was the greatest huntsman that hunted on the seas;
> He and his war-like terror, a-hunting bore away,
> A musket ball proved his downfall in Trafalgar Bay.
>
> Now Wellington at Waterloo, he had the best of luck.
> He hunted from a lieutenant till he became a duke;
> But men that did fight well for him, and did him honours gain,
> He tried the very best he could to have their pensions ta'en.
>
> O'Connor round the country, a-hunting he did go,
> With meetings called in every town to tell the truth, you know;
> The tyrants tried to keep him down but that was all in vain:
> The people swear they'll back him up and have their rights again.[82]

The 'tyrants' are, once again, the British authorities; Napoleon represents upwards social mobility; Nelson's fate becomes a warning to bellicose patriots; Wellington is the ungrateful persecutor of his own soldiers. Set to the same tune, now strongly associated with both the Wars and popular protest, is the well-known 'Lancashire Weavers' Lament', also from the 1830s, constituting the most literal critique of the language of 1803:

> You say that Bonyparty he's been the spoil of all,
> And that we have got reason to pray for his downfall;
> Now Bonyparty's dead and gone, and it is plainly shown
> That we have bigger tyrants in Boneys of our own.[83]

It is songs such as these that are cited in defence of the classic interpretation of post-war Napoleonic song in Britain, first advanced more than a century ago by the folklorist Frank Kidson: that 'all these ballads having Napoleon for their hero (in both senses of the word), have emanated from an Irish source, or from that large party of Englishmen who, originally holding the opinions of Thomas Paine, drifted, themselves and their successors into chartists'.[84] That is to say, that later songs that took Napoleon's part were motivated by contemporary subaltern political grievances. At least six further songs may be read in support of this position, dating from October 1815 to the 1850s: three from Ireland, one from Edinburgh, one from Newcastle, and one of unknown origin.[85] Some dwell on workers' contribution to the war effort:

> The corner stones they should protect, that tars may get their right;
> The British flag we've maintain'd, in many a bloody fight:
> It's long since Bonny did intend in England for to land;
> He knew our heroes of the main would stop his warlike band.[86]

Some express nostalgia for the relative prosperity of the war years, attributing this to Napoleon:

> Bonaparte taught some men for to ride a fine horse
> That some time ago couldn't ride a jackass.
> 'By the silver of my whip!' was their oath then in town;
> 'By the nails of my brogues!' since Boney is down![87]

Whether Napoleon is spoken of as a fine soldier, or whether the song goes on to relate his glorious deeds, the essential point is the same: it was the 'labouring man' who fought him, and who went unrewarded, losing rather than gaining by the victory.

This reading of Napoleon after 1815 echoes that of Ireland in 1798: it is not the man himself who appeals, but what he may be made to stand for.[88] This is perhaps a better way of making Kidson's case: an Irish Catholic or a 'frustrated Painite' had no natural affinity with a Pope-imprisoning, self-crowning warmonger, but both might use him as a figurehead with which to oppose the British establishment, just as those made poor by the peace could figure him as emblematic of the good old days. Such has been the view of numerous more recent scholars.[89] All of which is a somewhat circuitous approach to the one serious article written specifically on Napoleon in British song, Gammon's 'The Grand Conversation'. In common with other writers, Gammon approaches the question retrospectively, drawn initially to later songs apparently unconnected to the period of the Wars themselves. Noting what he takes to be a 'discrepancy . . . between the contemporary and the subsequent image of Napoleon in British popular song', Gammon asks: 'Why should material which treated Napoleon as a romantic hero attain a wide acceptance in oral tradition and remain alive for a century and more when the large number of songs that vilified him seem to have sunk almost without trace?'[90] In support of this discrepancy he discusses several songs of the vituperative, unconditionally loyalist type, distinguishing 'between the propaganda pumped out in ballad form during the French Wars and those songs which survived the test of time in popular memory'.[91]

Having begun our more comprehensive enquiry in 1797 and followed Napoleon in British song up to 1815, we are better placed than Gammon to solve his conundrum: evidently, it is based upon a false premise. His discrepancy does not exist; there is no clean break between two dichotomous bodies of song in late 1815. This contrasts too with Semmel's speculative verdict that a British sense of 'fair play' after Waterloo led to a sudden sea change in the nation's sympathies.[92] Indeed, Semmel provides evidence against his own notion in a chapter dealing with Napoleon's reception at Torbay in 1815 and the grave threat to national security posed by the close proximity of his person.[93] Society figures, newspapers, Viscount Keith, and prominent cabinet members were united by fear of even a captive Napoleon's charisma.[94] The British Army of Occupation in Paris, which sung insulting songs about Louis XVIII and the likelihood of his second departure, was suspected of harbouring Napoleonic sympathies and agitating for his return over the

next two years.[95] After Napoleon's death, his son remained a hypothetical figurehead; after *his* death, the ascent of Napoleon III renewed British fears and returned his uncle to the public mind; one of the most prominent broadsides of the 1850s (in spite of the alliance against Russia) was the new song, 'Napoleon Talks of War, Boys'.[96] Two posthumous songs on Napoleon I reflect his lasting subversiveness. 'Grand Conversation Under the Rose' emphasises the *sub rosa* nature of pro-Napoleonic expression; 'Bonny Bunch of Roses', set to an old Jacobite tune, was prohibited in Ireland well into the latter part of the century.[97] Napoleon was no more a 'safe' subject after his surrender than he was universally demonised before it.

Gammon has half of his binary right, however: not a single song has been collected from either a broadside or an oral source after 1815 that speaks ill of Napoleon. This includes reprints as well as new compositions, in stark contrast to the continued popularity in the late Hanoverian and Victorian press of wartime songs, from 'The Death of Parker' to 'The Death of Nelson', from 'The Battle of the Nile' to 'The Battle of Waterloo'.[98] This is a staggering verdict on the part of British audiences and printers, not just on the politics of loyalist propaganda, but on its lack of lasting literary or musical merit. Set against this eloquent absence, we have the body of post-war songs that drew Gammon's attention in the first place, constituting 'an English [and Scottish, and Irish] plebeian version of what Maurice Hutt has called "the legend of Napoleon" '.[99]

'The hero that cracked the whole all'

The plebeian legend of Napoleon, as sung in Britain, was by no means wholly uninvested in contemporary politics. 'The Grand Conversation Under the Rose', for instance, includes a verse on the straitened fiscal circumstances of peacetime economics:

> The Farm and Comedian would wish the great Bonaparte
> Was brought on the stage to act a new play.
> They find their industry drawn by ministerial art
> But all is not sufficient their vast debts to pay.[100]

Other concerns, such as the liberty of Ireland, frame some of the songs. Yet all are notable for their writers' efforts to transcend their circumstances and engage with the figure of Napoleon on a more self-consciously literary level. In 'Bonny Bunch of Roses', the title is a metaphor for England as an aggressive polity, yet the poetic substitution, never explained within the song, serves to elevate the lyric beyond the mundane. 'The Grand Conversation Under the Rose', far from being encapsulated by that one verse, is in its totality a sprawling heroic ballad with an elaborate tune. It is in reference to these songs of Napoleon that Karl Dallas writes: 'instead of the deceptively simple

two-line verses of the classic ballads . . . we have long, free-ranging melodies, as grandiose and gothic as the words'.[101]

Most of the songs focus primarily on Napoleon himself; and as a man, rather than as a national or ideological symbol, dwelling on his character, personal relations, and the misfortune or injustice to which he has been subject.[102] Even Bamford, in 'Saint Helena', makes no accusations and draws no political lessons from his image of a great, brave prisoner.[103] Songwriters appear to have recognised the objective potential of their theme – Napoleon in exile – and responded as artists rather than polemicists. In November 1815, Cobbett published a poem in his *Register*, 'Napoleon's Soliloquy In the Island of St. Helena'.[104] Its central thrust is a jibe at the hypocrisy of the Allies, who have imprisoned Napoleon for the crime of conquest yet who proceed to divide Europe between them. Given its context as a radical sally in a topical political journal, this is entirely appropriate. Yet this tone is not echoed in corresponding songs. Around the same time, the famous song 'Isle of St Helena' was first published as a broadside in either Scotland or Newcastle. Particularly in early variants of this song, the tone is expressly detached, apolitical. Its melody, not associated with any other song and therefore with no parodic resonance, is suitably slow and sentimental. The only resemblance between the two compositions is the uncanny similarity of one verse. In the poem, it is the first:

> The round sea-waves round this sequester'd Isle,
> In swelling pride their foaming volumes roll;
> Far from the pomp of war – from Gallia's smile –
> Here lonely musing fills my pensive soul!

In the song, it is the third:

> The wild rushing waves ' round our shore they are washing.
> And the wild billows deep, on our rocks they are lashing.
> He may look o'er the main to the great Mount Diana
> With his eyes on the waves that surround Saint Helena.[105]

The lines are not close enough to suggest a direct influence. Rather, they point to the centrality of one key theme in post-war Napoleonic song: weather.

In 'War in the Air', Favret discusses the importance of weather to contemporary representations of warfare: as placing conflict 'outside human agency'; as 'echo of classical and biblical precedent'; as – in William Cowper's epic poem *The Task* – 'portending the total overthrow of established order'.[106] In the georgic imaginary, weather (especially freak weather) was a dizzying defiance of logic, reflecting individuals' helplessness in the face of

unprecedented global war.[107] Only the 'elevated genius' of Romantic poetry could prove their potency by influencing the weather, especially storms.[108] It is easy to see where Napoleon came in, as 'the commanding genius of the new weather science . . . mastermind of the storms of global war'.[109] 'As "meteor", "comet", or fiendishly flashing "genius" of liberty, he appeared in British popular literature to command the world's weather.'[110] Favret's only mistake, perhaps, is to interpret this association as a diminution of potency: of rendering both the threat of Napoleon and the effect of war more intellectual, more literary, and less physical.[111] For weather, especially extreme weather, was far from an abstract ideal in the lives of ordinary Britons. To a farmer, a traveller, or most obviously to a sailor, extreme weather could be quite as potent as a battle, destroying one's livelihood or even taking one's life. When cannon are said to 'thunder', they do more than make a loud noise: they literally threaten, they presage danger.

It is this potency that Moore evokes in his letter of 27 March 1815, wherein the 'supernatural' Napoleon is also a force of nature itself, 'driving down in his carriage like lightning towards the royal army embattled against him, bare-headed, unguarded, in all the confidence of irresistibility'.[112] The sentiment is common to 'The Earsdon Sword-Dancers' Song', from a Northumbrian collection of the 1880s, which tells of 'the great Buonaparte':

> The hero that cracked the whole all.
> He went over the Lowlands like thunder,
> Made nations to quiver and quake,
> Many thousands stood gazing in wonder
> At the havoc he always did make.[113]

The tone is one, not of condemnation, but of awe. In songs of his exile, the same awesome motifs are deployed to solemnise the Romantic awefullness of his fate, as in 'Isle of St Helena', above, leaving the listener in no doubt: here, though fallen, is genius, is elemental majesty. Bamford's 'Saint Helena', itself more poem than song, surges with tempests and tornadoes, thunders and lightnings, ending with a verse that makes explicit the connection between popular song and elite poetry in its use of the sublime:

> Tis the prison of the brave, –
> Napoleon truly great,
> High above the stormy wave,
> Stands sublime in silent state;
> Like a comet's blaze unfurl'd
> Over an astonish'd world.[114]

In all the later songs, though the language of most is humbler than Bamford's, the effect strived for is the same: to articulate a sense of Napoleon's towering, elemental achievements and reputation. Songs that go

on to list those deeds have an air of litany to them, as if their mere recitation is itself a potent act. This sense of wonder is achieved in songs spanning a range a genres, from ballad to shanty, yet though the form (and indeed the chronology) varies, the effect is the same. Thus 'The Removal of Bonaparte's Ashes':

> When at the Isle of Elba, Napoleon fought for liberty,
> And when he went across the Alps he did the world amaze,
> He would never yield when in the field, but strive to gain a victory.
> Europe will long remember, how Moscow it did blaze.[115]

And thus 'Boney Was a Warrior':

> Oh, Boney marched to Moscow, way, hay, yah!
> Across the Alps through ice an' snow, Jean François!
> ...
> Boney went to Elbow, way, hay, yah!
> There he got his overt'row, Jean François![116]

The vernacular, composite form of this Anglo-French shanty reminds us that many of these later writers had little or no formal knowledge of elite poetic discourse, calling into question the implications of the use of weather imagery, the supernatural, the evocation of genius. Yet, the very real instances of crossover between these genres notwithstanding, vernacular Napoleonic songwriters necessarily drew on influences from other literary traditions. Among those of rudimentary literacy, there were two major sources of material, one of which formed the basis of most plebeian pedagogy: the Bible and related Christian texts. Religious imagery, such a powerful source of inspiration for artists and writers from John Martin to William Blake, was if anything still more influential in the popular imagination. Carter, who both glamorised Napoleon and attempted his own verse, cited as his childhood influences the Book of Revelations and Barbauld's *Hymns for Children* as well as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Jack the Giant Killer*.[117] It may be recalled that when the young Thomas Cooper and his friends sought to celebrate (and profit by) the peace of 1814, they knew no patriotic songs, and instead performed 'hymns we had learned at school, or in the church', in exchange for pennies.[118] Hogg's first compositions were inspired by the Psalms of David; Clare's entire 'world of literature' came from prayer books and folktales; in 1813, Cobbett credited the Bible with priming the youthful mind for the reception of ballads.[119] Whately not only travestied Napoleon's story as a modern *Iliad*, but as a book of the Old Testament.[120] Shades of the Sunday school must have influenced the imaginaries and the vocabularies of songwriters, singers, and audiences alike. These associations manifested themselves in the broadside campaign of 1803 in the form of

Phaoronic tyranny and comparisons to the Devil, and after 1815 in these grand themes of celestial chaos and mortal fallibility. Curiously, they do not appear to have resulted, in popular song, in parallels to Southey's allusion to a 'second Cain', or indeed in comparisons to the fall of Lucifer from Heaven: further evidence, perhaps, of the failure of loyalist rhetoric to demonise Napoleon in the popular imagination.

The second source of literary influence, repeatedly coupled above with the Bible, was of course folklore. David could also be Jack the Giant Killer. If anything, this was the more powerful association for songwriters, reinforced as it was by existing song repertoires. Whereas secular balladry was often conceived in opposition to sacred song, singers' repertoires frequently combined topical politics with folk and fairy tales. As Gammon states, a song's 'meaning and affect is dependent upon, and in part created by, the other tunes that form a known set or repertory. It is cultural in that it has a place in the web of meanings that cultures create and in the way it relates to cultural norms and values.'[121] Atkinson expands on this idea: 'for any text or performance in the traditional idiom, the relevant tradition supplies a range of further, extratextual and extra-performance data; these in turn provide a ready-made spectrum of implications and interpretations, selected by the unifying context of tradition, upon which both poet/singer and audience/listener/reader can draw'.[122] In the popular imaginary, Napoleon rubbed shoulders on this spectrum with Robin Hood and Robin Goodfellow, Jack the Giant Killer, and filthy Morgan Rattler. As in the oeuvres of popular songwriters from Thomas Thompson to Samuel Bamford, contemporary politics mixed with fairies and witches.[123] Cooper gives a vivid impression of how these ostensibly separate realms shared a performative and affective space:

> Many fragments of the fairy, and witch, and ghost-stories, told by the beggars and wandering pedlars, remain in my memory; but I have a far more vivid recollection of the blind soldier's relations of the way in which he stepped out of the boat up to the waist in water, in the Bay of Aboukir, and how they charged the French with the bayonet.[124]

Visual scholars have repeatedly discussed the influence of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* upon Napoleonic caricature: we must also acknowledge the influence of folklore.[125] The young engineer officer Charles William Pasley did as much in a letter to Samuel Taylor Coleridge: 'we talked of the dreadful power of Buonaparte with the same reverential awe, that the child feels for the more than human prowess of Jack the giant-killer'.[126]

It is crucial to our understanding of Napoleon's place in the affections of ordinary Britons that we realise this folkloric association was fundamentally endearing, as it brought Napoleon within a familiar and entertaining frame of reference. Patriotic songs, far from dehumanising Napoleon, inadvertently gave him an attractive degree of agency. Those songs from the

start of the Hundred Days figuring Napoleon as a sprite emerging from a cracked kettle were perpetuating his status as folkloric anti-hero, one among many such characters in wider song culture. Loyalists had been doing as much since at least 1803, driven by fear of his political attractiveness to the masses into making him an appealing part of folk culture. An issue as petty as the denial of his name was, as Cottrell has written, 'an unusual step driven by superstition about the pleasant and beneficent sound of "Buonaparte". Certainly there were those at the time who felt that public opinion might be influenced by the sound of Buonaparte's name.'[127] I would go further. By seeking recourse to nicknames, from the diminutive (Boney, Nappy) to the fabulous (the Ogre, the Tyrant) to the absurd (the Great Bugaboo), writers were not merely acknowledging the intrinsic power of Napoleon's name, but creating an inherently uncontrollable, because unpolitical, identity that fit exactly the cultural conventions of popular song.

This Napoleon, who existed only in song, served typical functions of the medium: it was attractive for writers, singers, and listeners alike to engage with the fabulous and the folkloric, especially where this intersected with the mundane, in a popular culture that had not wholly abandoned its sense of the magical.[128] Yet this figure was not only more real to many Britons than another foreign military ruler might be; he was also (I am almost tempted to say 'consequently') more human. As we have repeatedly observed, this humanity was only reinforced by the prurience of metropolitan broadsides. It was Napoleon's final fall that completed, rather than instigated, this development, enshrining his status as, in Gammon's term, 'the suffering hero'.[129] Even the crude shanty 'Boney Was a Warrior' devotes half its verses to his exile, including the empathetic line: 'Boney broke his heart and died'. In several longer songs, his downfall is attributed to treachery bought by 'English gold', the result being less a political statement than a figuring of the 'gallant' or 'valiant' Napoleon as but an ordinary man, subject like other ordinary men to the machinations of a faceless state.[130] An especially emotive line repeated in otherwise substantially different songs runs: 'Like a bullock sold in Smithfield was Napoleon Bonaparte'.[131]

The condition of his exile is also humanised by reference to his separation from his son and especially Marie Louise, invariably depicted as a loving and lamenting wife parted from her faithful husband. Hollywood may have preferred the story of Napoleon and his Joséphine, but in nineteenth-century song there is only one wife: the second, mother to his child. Never is she empress or princess, but wife, mother, 'Louisa'. Some songs even adopt her voice to tell their story. 'The Green Linnet' bears the alternative title, 'Maria-Louisa's Lamentation'. In its narrative structure and lyrical tone, it demonstrates a close connection to the 'broken token' ballads that were written after Waterloo, songs also depicting a pair of parted lovers; significantly, these are always a common soldier and his wife or sweetheart.[132] This connection was well established in 1815, when the broadside 'Napoleon

Buonaparte's Exile to St. Helena' was printed in Liverpool – a port town all too familiar with sending its inhabitants overseas.[133] When Napoleon, more sinned against than sinning, is informed of his fate, he bows and sighs:

> Saying, 'my wife, my kingdom, & my glory's lost,
> And I'm an exile on the ocean tossed.'

More significant than the words is the implied tune, which is clearly that of 'Black-Ey'd Susan', a hugely famous eighteenth-century song by John Gay wherein the eponymous Susan laments her 'dreadful' parting from her seafaring sweetheart William. The parallel underlines the universal aspect of Napoleon's suffering: he could be simultaneously the greatest hero of the age, and the husband torn from his family. It is no coincidence that he is often said to have been 'transported' to St Helena. Transportation of a condemned loved one was a fate shared by many among the lower orders. This forcible separation by the state was something with which many could identify from experience, the only difference being the destination: St Helena rather than Botany Bay. Similarly, by envisaging a noble husband permanently separated from his family, people could articulate and indeed ennoble their own grief for lost servicemen, or – more happily – valorise the less permanent sacrifices and hardships endured whilst husbands or lovers served on foreign stations. In these songs, Napoleon is always the individual, his opponents the state apparatus, this in itself securing him sympathy among much of the populace.

Far from being peculiar to the post-war context, the motivation for the composing, singing, and appreciation of many of these songs is demonstrably located in the mass experience of wartime. We find in the pro-Napoleonic songs of the later nineteenth century neither an inexplicable rupture nor an exclusively self-interested set of radical protest songs, but rather the logical fruition of an engagement in song with Napoleon himself, begun in his youth, briefly deafened in 1803, but unwittingly rejuvenated by loyalist songs of 1810 to 1814. This engagement was in sympathy with the generic conventions, performative conditions, and subaltern perspectives of popular song, reflected throughout the Wars in songs of sons and lovers lost to the press gang, the recruiting party, or the justice system. It is clear why Napoleon made an appealing figure in this context. It is also clear that wartime loyalist rhetoric must have failed, and even worked against itself, in its attempts to put Napoleon beyond the pale and construct a nation of loyal Britons: a failure attributable in no small part to propagandists' general misreading of the purpose and practice of popular song.

5
'Canny Newcassel': A Case Study, 1797–1822[1]

'Bout Lunnun then divent ye myak sic a rout,
There's nowse there ma winkers to dazzle;
For a' the fine things ye are gobbin about,
We can marra iv canny Newcassel.[2]

[About London then don't you go make such a fuss,
There's nought there my eyes for to dazzle;
For all the fine things you are boasting about,
We can say too of bonny Newcastle.]

As a British centre of both print and 'organised cultural activity of all kinds', Newcastle was second only to London.[3] Its four weekly newspapers, two of which – the *Tyne Mercury* and the *Newcastle Chronicle* – were vocally liberal, were the most prominent in northern England.[4] The source material concerning songwriters and songs is exceptionally rich. The ephemera and stock lists of its major popular printers are largely extant, and the energies of John Bell preserved many unpublished songs.[5] Such is the vitality of its song tradition that it might be supposed altogether exceptional, of little use as a representative study. I would rather attribute this to the self-conscious activities of Victorian Geordies, who – thanks to Bell's volume and the long lives of singers like Blind Willie Purvis and William Mitford – were deeply conscious of the tradition they inherited, and were at pains to acknowledge this legacy in print and in archival collections.[6] Accordingly, though Bell's activities are central to our understanding, we cannot unduly privilege his contemporary importance. Newcastle may not have been so different from other cities, whose popular song culture has subsequently been neglected and lost.

Relative to some of those cities (Sheffield, Manchester, and Nottingham in particular), Newcastle was no hotbed of popular radicalism in the 1790s. Wilkite enthusiasm of the 1760s had not palled into apathy, yet ongoing disaffection lacked a marked Jacobin or subsequent Luddite character.[7] Nor

was it a bastion of Home Counties conservatism. Its notable Literary and Philosophical Society, akin only to a similar body at Manchester, was liberal and enlightened in its interests and membership, yet, in contrast to its failed predecessor, the Philosophical Society, discussion of religion or politics was prohibited.[8] Newcastle's popular attitudes were far from generally loyalist. Those involved in song culture expressed robustly unorthodox views. But the city possessed no definite partisan character, making it an appropriate microcosm of the kingdom. The geographical extent of its influence was certainly distinctive, however, not merely south towards York and west into Cumbria, but north into Scotland.[9] Within this small, compact city itself, its popular printers, songwriters, and singers, all operated within a remarkably small area around the centre and the quayside: compared with London, Newcastle certainly punched above its weight. An examination of its song culture across the period should serve not only to counter any vestigial sense of metropolitan hegemony, but also to flesh out the findings of the previous chapters.

Newcastle *c.*1797

In another case study of late eighteenth-century Newcastle, Kathleen Wilson draws attention to 'extremes of luxury and want', entitling a section 'The rejection of deference: Newcastle'.[10] These phrases speak of a city at the end of a century of growth, change, and spasmodic improvement. A threefold increase in coal production brought prosperity and problems, as a burgeoning urban population increasingly relied upon a widening hinterland for basic resources.[11] New mercantile interests after the Seven Years' War broke existing coal monopolies, yet failed to secure representation in local government.[12] The resultant discontent with what was perceived as a closed oligarchy was mirrored on every level in a town still tarred with Jacobitism, and boasting a significant Scottish element.[13] An extremely large Dissenting community, headed by Scots Presbyterians but including Unitarians, Baptists, Independents, Quakers, Methodists, Congregationalists, Glassites, and Catholics, was severely underrepresented in the franchise.[14] Wilson identifies an unusual 'absence of active popular participation' in politics and ceremonials, which cast ordinary citizens as 'observers' or 'passive recipients of patrician munificence' on public occasions.[15] Yet this oligarchy did not go unchallenged. 'In apparent opposition to this constellation of power, party divisions, a politically conspicuous citizenry, a lively press, tavern and club life, and increasingly complex strategies of political organisation contested the forms and substance of elite hegemony.'[16]

Newcastle's press was symptomatic of this contestation of hegemony.[17] One clear attempt to engage in civic life was the publication in 1807 of what purported to be the first guide to the city, published by and for the Akenhead family of printers, whose shop was centrally situated on the north

side of Sandhill.[18] Its opening advertisement purported to express 'some surprize that the large commercial town of Newcastle upon Tyne, intimately connected as it is with the British metropolis, has hitherto offered no such assistance'.[19] This guide, a prominent indicator of local aspiration, supplies more details of the town's recent expansion, their exact accuracy being of less interest than the impression they construct. An increase of 887 houses in Newcastle and Gateshead between 1781 and 1801, taking the total to 4,377, represents a 25 per cent rise, the census recording a combined population of 36,891.[20] A little over three-quarters of these lived in Newcastle proper. Significantly, 'in this statement there is no account of the numerous class of seamen which forms a considerable part of the population. Lodgers, travellers, and soldiers are also generally omitted.'[21] The guide's editors were conscious of the importance of a large, peripatetic demographic: persons of particular interest to us.

This explosion in population and development brought tensions between what Wilson characterises as 'two nations'.[22] In 1796, a second major round of improvement was undertaken: streets were widened, and gates and walls demolished.[23] Yet polite visions for the city were often at odds with reality. In 1827, Eneas Mackenzie would complain that 'There are no *coffee-houses* in Newcastle . . . This defect in our public establishments seems almost unaccountable.'[24] The 1807 polite guide lists half a dozen respectable inns and coaching houses; yet a trade directory from 1790 names nine taverns, and above two hundred public houses.[25] These last, informal establishments fell beneath the notice of the guide's compilers, demonstrating the gulf between a very small set of polite locations, and an overwhelming plebeian culture of sites of sociability, and, of course, song. Further juxtapositions indicate the rude health of popular institutions. Newcastle boasted five charity schools.[26] Yet seven thousand working men and women of the town were members of mutually supportive benefit societies.[27] Still more noteworthy was the Keelmen's Hospital. The keelmen, who transported coal by boat to waiting ships, were a close-knit community of labourers, conscious of their iconic and operational centrality to Newcastle's prosperity. 'This Hospital was built by each keelman paying one penny a tide. It is probably the only one in the kingdom built by the poor for the support of themselves.'[28] Yet if Newcastle's workers possessed a strong identity, this did not indicate small town parochialism. Trade was a cosmopolitan affair, and the quayside thronged with foreigners, so much so that the governments of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and the United States each maintained a lifeboat for the benefit of their visiting citizens.[29]

Polite entertainment spaces were plentiful, given Newcastle's size. The Theatre Royal 'is open about three months in winter, and generally in summer at the races and assizes.'[30] New Assembly Rooms had been opened in 1776, complementing similar existing venues.[31] Churches and taverns could also host polite performances. Popular song lacked comparable sanctioned

outlets. White Cross was recorded as 'one of the places where public proclamations are made': improvement had not done away with this medieval tradition.[32] Several squares hosted markets: Sandgate and Butcher's Bank on a daily basis, and the Old Flesh Market on Saturdays, whilst a prominent central pair of parallel streets was increasingly used for the same purpose.[33] These spaces had potential for popular song. Yet anecdotal evidence points us instead to public houses and places of work as sites of performance. This distinguishes Newcastle from comparable cities such as London and Dublin, both of which had streets, squares, and entire districts notorious for their singers.[34] In Newcastle, when the itinerant singer David Love attempted to ply his trade, he reported that: 'on the second day, as I was selling my papers, a crowd being around me, two constables came and bid me give over, and said if we find you again making a noise, we will put you in prison'.[35] This threat was carried out when he continued singing in a different street.[36] It is notable that even the celebrated local singer Blind Willie, known for roving the streets in all weathers, only appears to have sung within public houses.[37] The restricted nucleus of well-maintained streets in Newcastle's urban centre, combined with a zealous corporation, apparently served to drive popular song culture behind closed doors; except on sanctioned civic occasions such as the keelmen's annual meeting day, when they would 'walk in procession through the principal streets of the town, in decent plain dresses, attended with music, playing their favourite air of "Weel may the Keel row." '[38]

Events of 1792 to 1797 reinforce this impression. There were no Paine burnings in 1792, allegedly because 'the wisdom of the magistracy of Newcastle saved that town from such a foolish, disgraceful, and riotous expression of popular opinion'.[39] It is unclear whether there was even any enthusiasm for such demonstrations. As war with France loomed, authorities sought to reinforce their control over popular opinion. On 13 December 1792, 'the common council of Newcastle passed resolutions expressive of their determination to support the constitution, to repress the dangerous spirit of disaffection, and to promote a veneration for the laws'; on the 17th, a resolution was passed 'in bringing to legal punishment all persons concerned in seditious publications'.[40] This contribution to the war effort conflicted with popular sentiment: 'In February, 1793, the seamen belonging to the port of Newcastle associated to defend themselves against the threatened impress . . . These measures did not, however, prevent the impressment of seamen, which commenced at Shields on the 15th of February.'[41] Rioting at North Shields against the press gang was misreported as a French invasion, and Lord Fauconberg led the York militia in an inglorious march halfway to the scene, and then back again, an incident swiftly immortalised in two derogatory songs.[42] Resistance to the press gang was especially prominent in the northeast, as these were substantial port cities with (and in this respect they were unlike those of the south coast) no traditional Royal Navy presence. Northumbrian seamen manned merchant and fishing fleets, and

exploitation by the military was therefore especially intrusive. Moreover, the keelmen – Newcastle's commercial lifeblood – were unusually well organised, furthering the expression of animosity.

In the autumn and winter of 1795, there were two further manifestations of discontent. In September, many of the 33rd (Ulster) Light Dragoons, stationed at Newcastle, engaged in 'mutinous' activities.

> It was suspected . . . that some of the inhabitants assisted in fomenting these disturbances. The following caution was therefore issued: – 'That all sober-minded inhabitants will refrain from collecting in the streets, lest, from an idle curiosity, they should mix amongst those ill-intentioned people, and expose themselves to the misfortunes that may happen.'[43]

This caution was flouted in November, when 'Great numbers of the working classes assembled' to protest at the price of butter, wheat, and potatoes.[44]

Such was Newcastle in 1797: locally patriotic yet socially and politically divided; rich in cultural expression yet lacking sanctioned outlets; prosperous yet suffering from the economic and human privations of war. Events from 1797 only furthered these fractures, creating a volatile context with which popular song engaged.

The state of song culture in 1797

Music in Newcastle was at a low ebb in the later 1790s. Polite musical culture had blossomed mid-century under the stimulus of composer Charles Avison.[45] In 1776, four years after his death, the newly built Assembly Rooms began to host concerts.[46] These Assembly Rooms, the church of St Nicholas, and the Theatre Royal sustained a regular series of charitable musical festivals.[47] Yet the privations of the 1790s prompted a decline in these activities across the north of England.[48] Whilst Roz Southey excepts Newcastle from this trend, citing the establishment of a volunteer band and the continuation of concerts, the contemporary local historian, radical, and printer Eneas Mackenzie was less sanguine:

> In 1796, Messrs. Meredith and Thompson ventured to treat the Newcastle public with a Grand Musical Festival, under the patronage of Prince William of Gloucester . . . The Oratorios were performed in St. Nicholas' church in the mornings, and the Concerts in the Assembly-rooms each evening . . . The tickets were £1, 11*s*. 6*d*. each; but the conductors of this spirited undertaking lost 120 guineas, besides all their trouble and fatigue.[49]

The corporation too was tightening its belt, abolishing its waits (town musicians) in 1793, 42 years before the Municipal Corporations Act did the same nationwide, due to the perceived economic effect of war.[50]

Polite music and the war were increasingly linked, from the rising use of military motifs in new compositions, to a marked reliance upon the unusually large volunteer band in public concerts.[51] The presence of these musicians, hired by independent promoters, provides one plausible link to popular forms of music, as does the prominence of compositions by Thomas Thompson, a composer and organist whose productions also circulated in cheap print. 'The Orphan Boy', written in response to the Battle of the Nile, included the verse:

> To force me home my mother fought,
> She shuddered at my joy;
> For with my father's life 'twas bought,
> Unhappy Orphan Boy.[52]

Songs such as this must have tempered the bellicose tendencies of these concerts. Yet the effect on lower-class audiences may have been negligible. A place in the gallery at the theatre cost a shilling, whilst most concerts charged 3s. 6d. for a ticket.[53] Popular reception of these events would have been second hand, mediated by the publication of songs such as Thompson's, or by the informal re-performance of pieces by musicians when removed to a public house. Manifestations of elite interest in popular music included the appropriation of pipers' tunes and traditional melodies by Thomas Bewick and his circle.[54] Dancing masters and composers exemplified a national trend in their fondness for adapting traditional Scots and Northumbrian airs for use in art music.[55] Yet this fondness did not extend to contemporary incarnations: itinerant musicians were harassed and forcibly removed here as elsewhere, and even mild-mannered Bewick condemned the habits and subversive tendencies of ballad singers.[56] Orthodox opinion had it that, in time of war, lower-class 'singing clubs could only be regarded as subversive and sinister'.[57] The *Newcastle Courant* condemned such activities during the American war: 'managed and conducted by evil-minded, dissolute, and disorderly pretences [these clubs had] seduced and drawn into their infamous associations numbers of Apprentices, Journeymen, Shop-Servants, Gentlemen's Servants, and other unwary Young Men, to their great loss and discredit'.[58]

Such was the climate encountered by David Love on his ill-fated visit shortly after 1796, when he was arrested for disturbing the peace. This helps contextualise 'Colliers of Wear & Tyne', written around 1800.[59] The song is a very rare example of a moralising, loyalist writer engaging with popular song in Newcastle:

> A truce with all peevish complaining,
> Or on the right head let it fall
> They say it's a madman call'd Boney

That makes the poor earning so small
If I had him dead I assure you
I'd cover him heavy with stones
And living if I could but catch him
I'd sharpen my pick on his bones.

The song's rhetoric appears designed to combat specific complaints by workers, attempting to divert popular disaffection by use of Napoleon as a scapegoat. This device, common to metropolitan broadsides from 1803 and 1814, is otherwise remarkable for its absence in Newcastle.

Indeed, prior to the rise of Napoleon, the story of topical song is one of remarkable absences. Songs opposing the press gang, some of which – like 'Captain Bover' – dated back to the Seven Years' War, gained renewed relevance.[60] But contemporary productions were rare. Love, a strident critic of the Wars, had been silenced by constables. Disreputable itinerant James 'Jemmy' Allan, ex-wait, bigamist, deserter, horse thief, and celebrity, might have contributed, yet his instrument (the pipe) precluded a role as a singer-songwriter.[61] The composer Thomas Thompson stands as a lone songwriter, operating in a polite milieu. Until 1801, ephemeral print culture was largely sustained by the long-running family firm of Angus, based at the heart of the town, in the Side.[62] Angus' stock included 'The Death of Parker', a sentimental response to the 1797 execution of mutineer leader Richard Parker that spoke of his 'bright genius' and predicted 'endless glory' as his reward in heaven, whilst avoiding direct criticism of the navy's actions.[63] Yet this was exceptional, as most Angus garlands eschewed specific topical events.[64]

Popular song culture was by no means inactive. Rather, it was devoid of topical voices: there is no trace of radical or loyalist discourse in response to the first decade of the French Revolution. The plethora of topical songs that derives from the Napoleonic era, written by a new generation of artisans and shopkeepers, descended, not from revolutionary debates, but from a localised, indigenous song culture whose concerns were as much personal as political. It was this song culture that thrived. Henry Robson's 'The Northern Minstrel's Budget' listed 230 Northumbrian songs that a wandering musician should be able to play or sing, only eight of which had any potential relevance to the Wars.[65] This minstrel was to attend 'at hoppings, at bridals, and fairs'; the popular festivities of the city and its hinterland were well provided for musically.[66] Mackenzie emphasises the wealth of the 'local' musical tradition drawn upon on such occasions by 'pedlars, tinkers, and pipers', stressing the familiarity of the songs and stories performed.[67] This Northumbrian repertoire was enriched by Scottish pieces and the presence of Scottish performers, facilitated by similarities of dialect. The burial records of St Nicholas alone list four travelling mendicants, hawkers, and pedlars laid to rest between 1797 and 1803, two of whom were explicitly identified as Scottish; a third had the surname 'Burn'.[68] David Love was another Scot.

The result was a distinctively 'North British' song culture that could identify as such, rooted in regular cultural practices, far from ripe for infiltration by London's propagandists.

This indigenous, non-partisan song culture was epitomised by Blind Willie Purvis. Born in 1752, he would live to be eighty, and was already something of an institution by 1800.[69] Blind, slow-witted, and bareheaded, Purvis is not known to have engaged with contemporary politics, yet he was central to popular entertainment throughout this period. Although Corvan describes his habit of wandering the streets 'in all weathers', Harker situates his performances almost exclusively indoors: 'Street performances were rare with him . . . his more general custom being to attend some favourite public-house, where he never failed to attract a company to listen to his fiddling and singing the old Newcastle ditties.'[70] This tallies with the attitude of constables towards David Love; public houses were safer than the streets.

One of the public houses attended by Purvis, The Flying Horse, featured a room called 'Hells Kitchen' [*sic*], reserved for 'ruffians, tramps and low life of the town centre'. This pub stood adjacent to another, the Blackie Boy, which opened onto Groat Market, and served as the meeting place of Swarley's, a debating club that included Thomas Bewick and Thomas Spence.[71] Both were also members of the Philosophical Society founded in 1775, allegedly by Marat, though only Bewick joined the more respectable Literary and Philosophical Society founded in 1793.[72] Indeed, the latter body publicly disowned any connected with the former and with Thomas Spence, in a notice placed in the national press in 1798.[73] In one sense, then, Purvis enjoyed social proximity to the town's liberal, even radical, veins of discourse. Yet this was negated by segregation: regular patrons of The Flying Horse were denied access to the Blackie Boy.[74]

This segregation seems more reasonable when one considers Blind Willie's role in songs such as 'The Collier's Pay Week', a ribald account of the revelries accompanying payday:

> BLIND WILLIE the fiddler sat scraping,
> In corner, just as they went in;
> Some Willington callants were shaking [gallants]
> Their feet to his musical din.[75]

This occurs in a public house 'not far from the head of the Quay': the song then describes a mass brawl, which results in 'Robin' having his breeches burnt off. The fight stems from the enthusiastic reception of Willie's music. When considering the physical environments of popular song in Newcastle, we must privilege the public house over the street, and allow for convivial, even irreverent performance conditions. The singer-songwriters encountered below are presumed by Harker to have met in private: probably in a club located in one room of a public house.[76] Yet the songs 'Winlanton Hopping', from 1813, 'Newcastle Fair; October 1811. The Pitman A-Drinking of Jacky',

and 'Tyne Fair', from 1814, all situate song in dedicated, accessible, festive environments.[77] Significantly, the first two songs link singing to inebriation, and specify the spaces in which these activities took place: 'Tenche's Hotel' in the former, and Sandy's Brandy House in the latter. Many songs feature boisterous audience interaction, and, when performed, were relatively free from interfering authorities by virtue of their sheltered indoor setting. By contrast, laments about the press gang, stressing the plight of abandoned women, may have been sung by communities of wives and widows engaged in group work, most often in the home. Traditional street performances by solitary, outsider ballad singers appear to have been virtually non-existent: this was a communal, familiar song culture, carried out for the most part in secure interior spaces.

In keeping with this theme of dedicated recreation, Blind Willie also features in numerous other songs, fiddling at 'The Skipper's Wedding', and fiddling and singing in the nineteenth-century songs of Robert Gilchrist.[78] His songs were as idiosyncratic as his appearance, chief among them 'Buy Broom Besoms', an ancient advertisement for heather brooms.[79] Thus, though central to the daily and festive cultural activities of Newcastle's workers, Blind Willie made no contribution to topical discourse on the Wars or Napoleon. Widespread plebeian musical involvement with these issues only really began after Amiens, in response to the renewed activities of loyalists.

Popular song and the war with Napoleon, 1797 to 1805

Aside from attacking the press gang, Newcastle's popular voices had little to say concerning the war with Revolutionary France. There is no evidence of a Tyneside version of the loyalist-radical debate waged elsewhere, and no trace of one-sided loyalist propaganda in vernacular form prior to the threat of invasion. This was perhaps in part an accident of chronology; those who feature so prominently from 1803 were mostly young adolescents or children in the 1790s.[80] More importantly, the Napoleonic period stimulated Newcastle's songwriters as the Revolution never did; an interest attributable to both an upsurge in local loyalist activity, and to fascination with Napoleon himself.

Elites organised patriotic gestures in the later 1790s – there were illuminations for both Camperdown and the Nile – yet between those two occasions, it was resolved: 'that the use of the Mansion-house, and all the occasional and public entertainments usually given there, should be discontinued after the following Michaelmas-day, during the existing calamitous state of public affairs'.[81] This ambivalence was typified by the celebrations that greeted rumours of peace. On 14 October 1801, a benefit concert of twice the usual size was held, fully four hundred tickets being printed.[82] Its programme eschewed triumphalist anthems. Indeed, in describing the melancholy songs performed, Roz Southey writes: 'These are not the celebratory accents to be

expected in a concert of this type . . . there was clearly a feeling of weariness and unease.'[83] The tune of 'God save the King' was accompanied by the lyric 'Hail, hail! O Peace divine!', calling for an end to toil and cares, and the return of trade, peace, and prosperity.[84] The following day, more illuminations greeted news of the preliminary negotiations, and the official ceremony of 4 May 1802 included a splendid procession during which 'The reading of the [peace] proclamation was preceded by the sound of trumpets, when the town-sword was sheathed', accompanied by drinking, marching, and merriment.[85] Little enthusiasm for the conflict remained. By contrast, the resumption of hostilities in 1803 enflamed the dampened ardour of all parties, most of whom found their voices for the first time.

We know nothing of the origins or performance of Tyneside press gang songs. We know nothing of the author of 'Colliers of Wear & Tyne'. Yet from 1803, there is an extraordinary glut of information concerning a circle of young male songwriters, all artisans, clerks, or shopkeepers: men a cut above the keelmen, possessed of some education, yet below established polite society. Their songs were first dignified by preservation in John Bell's 1812 volume, *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, their reputations and legacies secured by a subsequent generation of Victorian singers and enthusiasts. Ned Corvan, Thomas Allan, and Bruce and Stokoe collated and expanded upon periodicals and oral tradition to annotate the surviving songs, and in the later twentieth century, Harker subjected these collections to serious academic study. This afterlife elevates Newcastle's minor songwriters above their peers elsewhere; we must not overstate their comparative significance. It does, however, allow insights into connections among writers, their environment, and the songs they wrote and performed. As Martha Vicinus stresses, the appellation 'singer-songwriter' was especially apt in Newcastle: 'The writer-singer was an essential member of many northern industrial communities in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.'[86] They sang their own compositions: there is no evidence of purely performative, 'mouth-piece' ballad singers on Tyneside.

From 1803 to 1806, this new generation responded to the war effort with a large body of predominantly satirical songs, some of which were discussed in Chapter 2. 'The Baboon' derided false rumours of invasion. Shield, Scriven, Mitford, and a different Thomas Thompson all pilloried the volunteer movement, Thompson even doing so from within its ranks, as quartermaster and then captain in the Newcastle Light Horse. Certain features of these and other songs indicate the presence of this sceptical discourse in city life. The singer-songwriters concerned were all involved in daily plebeian activity and, with the exception of John Shield, all aged between sixteen and thirty at this time. Thomas Thompson (born *c.*1773), an established timber merchant not to be confused with the composer of the same name, held the highest social status, but his roots were lowly. His obituary states that 'From an humble origin, he raised himself, by his talents and merit, to respectable

rank in society.'[87] His volunteer's commission must have helped in this respect, as well as affording him wider commercial networks. Thompson's main shop, opening onto Groat Market, was backed by the grocery that John Shield (born 1768, and thus, at 35, something of an elder statesman) ran with his brother Hugh.[88] This grocery opened in turn onto Cloth Market, thus the Shields had hairdresser-cum-sergeant-cum-songwriter George Cameron as a near neighbour.[89] Their younger acquaintance John Selkirk (born *c.*1783) worked as a clerk on Quayside, but was himself a barber's son.[90] His fellow Quayside clerk, James Stawpert (born *c.*1775) was the same age as Henry Robson, who worked for printers Mackenzie and Dent, though he had a small press of his own in his house.[91] Both Robson and John Bell (born 1783) learnt their trade at the established family press of Angus, who later printed Bell's *Rhymes*.[92] In 1803, Bell's father set him up as an independent bookseller, also operating on Quayside.[93] Meanwhile, a young cobbler's apprentice, William Mitford (born 1788) was learning his trade on Dean Street, between Quayside and the markets.[94] Behind all these young writers was the fledgling ephemeral printer John Marshall (no relation to his London namesake), who operated a large circulating library of songs and pamphlets from 1801.[95] Harker summarises the situation thus:

> When we examine the coterie in which John Selkirk (and, presumably, Bell) took part, we find that it was composed of young men, some of them of liberal and even radical sympathies, amongst whom was the key figure of John Marshall, the radical bookseller and publisher of broadsides and chapbooks of songs.[96]

The ranks of this songwriting circle were later swelled by John Leonard, a gardener's son, whose output was most prolific from 1812 to 1813.[97]

These associations demonstrate a lively web of singer-songwriters. They do not prove its relevance to the working population, beyond the circumstantial fact of geographical proximity. Harker demurs on this point, noting that Bell's *Rhymes*, the collection that brought together most of these writers, sold for sixpence, and was thus aimed at a 'bourgeois [and] petty-bourgeois' market, not a labouring one.[98] He concurs with Robert Colls in labelling their use of dialect an affectation.[99] And he emphasises the importance of a private, petit bourgeois milieu to the circulation and appreciation of the Bob Cranky songs.[100] His arguments have merit, and might lead us to draw parallels between the well-documented yet ineffectual compositions of southern propagandists, and those of this liberal Northumbrian clique. Bell in particular is worthy of scrutiny: he collected numerous anonymous songs against the press gang in manuscript form, yet the only one published in his *Rhymes* is by Henry Robson, a member of Bell's circle.[101] Bell may have discriminated by class or gender: though all such songs collected adopt a first-person female persona, it is only in Robson's case that we know the writer to be male. The

others may have been women, unless they too were men choosing a suitable and sympathetic character – the forlorn female dependent – to narrate their songs. Yet set against these arguments, there is much to indicate that Marshall et al. enjoyed a far broader, popular influence.

First, we may question the utility of the term 'petit bourgeois': it is clear that some of these men were extremely literate, yet engaged in work that was not socially distinct from the masses. Stawpert, for example, was an ink-stained clerk but was employed by a brewer on the bustling quayside. These singers were far from complacent or established: none were in the recognised professions, and though some, like Thompson, rose to mercantile success, others, like Marshall, ended in bankruptcy.[102] Mitford may have borrowed Charles Dibdin the Elder's tune 'Madam Fig's Gala' for 'The Local Militia-man', yet the original had already passed into popular repertoires under several names; moreover, as a sixteen-year-old cobbler's apprentice, his use of dialect seems natural rather than affected.[103] The notion that those who spoke in a local vernacular would only read and write in Standard English – the stance taken by Harker and Colls – is only convincing if we suppose a base level of *formal* literacy. Those without a standardised education may have been likelier to recognise phonetic spelling than polite usage. The use of dialect and idiom, far from being an artificial, condescending barrier to a popular audience, may simply have rendered lyrics more accessible to the barely literate, the easier to be spelled out. John White, Northumbria's only significant broadside printer from the era before Holcroft, Edgeworth, Scott et al., made the dialect form fashionable (in business 1711 to 1769), mostly reprinted southern songs rather than local productions.[104] This leaves it unclear whether dialect lyrics could have had a popular application, or were merely symptomatic of polite fashion.

We may at least be certain that these songs were available to a wide, popular market. Harker has commented on Marshall's practice of printing songbooks, sometimes priced as high as sixpence, rather than individual broadsides priced at a halfpenny.[105] This neglects the fact that garlands, or small collections of songs, were the accepted popular print form in the north of England, Scotland, and Ireland: the individual broadside was the creation of a southern urban market.[106] Harker is right to draw attention to the commodification of the songbook after the antiquarian John Ritson's involvement in the later eighteenth century, yet many of Marshall's collections were simple garlands of four to six songs, following the established practice of the family firm of Angus.[107] 'The Collier's Pay-week', discussed above, depicts miners and keelmen as prone to periodic excesses of consumption and revelry, when their not insubstantial pay came around: their regular pattern of income suggests these workers would periodically have had enough to spend on a garland or two. And if a Newcastle worker were to pay sixpence for a songbook, or a lesser amount for a garland, they would receive far better value per song than from the frequent purchase

of halfpenny slips, due to economies of scale. Nor has account been taken of the fact that Marshall operated a large circulating library. If workers rented publications, committing songs to memory before handing them back, then their costs would be greatly reduced, allowing for a still broader social impact.

It may be argued that this was merely so much potential, comparable to the potential impact of loyalist propaganda, disseminated at a discount or for free in broadside form, or indeed that of the United Irishmen. Yet Marshall and the writers around him were intimately connected with their popular audience and with the local events their songs parodied; they lived, worked, and drank in that very environment. By 1810, Marshall had immersed himself still more deeply by opening his main shop in the Old Flesh Market, which was such a busy, disreputable hub of local popular activity that the corporation had been attempting to shut it down since 1807, to avoid inconvenience to passing carriages.[108] Marshall's new location may thus be regarded as an act of alignment with insubordinate elements, as well as good business practice. Given his later involvement in the unionisation of local miners, and the popular activism evident in his post-1815 publications, it is hard to regard Marshall as in any way separate from truly popular culture.[109] Socially, he also moved in polite circles. For some time prior to February 1817 he served as Librarian to the Literary and Philosophical Society. Yet in that month, Marshall was dismissed from the Society's committee for engaging in prohibited debates. According to a minute:

> That Mr. Marshall, having printed and published a Pamphlet, entitled, a Political Litany, in which both [Religion and British Politics] have been introduced in a manner calculated to injure the reputation and interests of the Society, [he] is no longer Librarian to the said Society, and the Treasurer is hereby authorised to pay his Salary up to March next.[110]

By preferring to publish, rather than to keep his prestigious position, Marshall was choosing popular politics over club culture.

These writers' songs demonstrate involvement with the popular community, and its culture and politics. Two from late 1804, John Shield's 'Blackett's Field' and the uncredited 'Kiver Awa'', attack the drilling of local volunteers in the most personal terms.[111] Both ridicule 'Dixon', who appears to have been the drillmaster. Shield also lampoons Ridley, the commander, in a series of absurd questions. Shield pursues a favourite theme – that the soldiers would rather be drinking in 'Heaton's cellars' (a public house) than marching – and peppers his song with references to daily life and local topography. The unknown writer of 'Kiver Awa' adopts a different rhetorical strategy, engaging with the high patriotism of volunteers' own songs, subverting the imagery through hyperbole and the bathetic undercut that

ends each verse: the repetition of Dixon's incessant shout: ' "Kiver awa', kiver awa', kiver awa' " '.

This interaction is further illustrated by 'Delia's Answer': a direct, loyalist riposte to Shield's ironic 'O No, My Love, No', discussed in Chapter 2.[112] Its writer rephrases Shield's lines to accuse the song's subject 'Colin' of cowardice, suggesting that his real duty is to serve his country, not to stay with his love. In so doing, they appear to have missed Shield's point: the knowing subversion of heroic expectation is the basis of the song's humour. But it indicates that at least some of these songs exerted a tangible influence in Newcastle life. Charles Purvis' 'The Bards of the Tyne', a witty sally impugning the talents of the collective of writers, was printed in the *Tyne Mercury*, described by Harker as a 'progressive bourgeois' paper, as were ripostes by Shield and Selkirk.[113] This mannered spat suggests a certain exclusivity, even self-indulgence. Yet Purvis was an ex-schoolmaster and something of a wheeler-dealer, occupying a disreputable plebeian social status.[114] Moreover, the initial printing of songs in newspapers (the *Mercury* carried several) did not preclude a broader afterlife in garlands or oral repertoires.

Elsewhere, we find these writers democratising and coarsening their humour. The first Bob Cranky song, 'Bob Cranky's Adieu', was set to the tune of Charles Dibdin the Elder's 'The Soldier's Adieu'. Its chief irony lay in the contrast between the broad Geordie dialect of the new lyric and the grandiosity of the original tune. Yet that tune required a classically trained voice and piano accompaniment to do it justice, restricting the joke to a drawing room milieu. Though Marshall could and did publish Dibdin's original lyrics in a garland, he had no means of publicising the demanding, distinctive tune.[115] Yet when John Selkirk revisited the persona of Cranky in 'Bob Cranky's 'Size Sunday', he kept the name and dialect but changed the form: the verses are structured as a limerick, and Selkirk had them set to a new tune by an otherwise unknown Gatesheader, Thomas Train.[116] The art music reference was abandoned, and Bob Cranky entered local tradition with subsequent songs following the new, more accessible setting.

Similarly, when Thompson wrote his anti-establishment 'Mr Mayor' in the wake of Trafalgar, he employed the tropes of bawdy vernacular song.[117] Its opening couplet situates the song in local popular culture:

> Pal Fargie is my name Mr. Mayor Mr. M
> And Sandgate is my Hame Mr. Mayor

Pal Fargie was a local prostitute; Sandgate was the main haunt of the keelmen.[118] References to 'C[un]t', and how Gatesheaders will 'F[uc]k and fight like deels [devils]', neither necessitate a popular audience nor preclude a polite one: after-dinner singing in elite clubs could be equally bawdy. Yet its preoccupations with the scarcity of bread and beer, and the dismissal of

the waits, demonstrate an engagement with workers' concerns, not those of prosperous merchants:

It's lang upon my Soul Mr. Mayor Mr. M
Since we saw a halpenny rowl Mr. Mayor [halfpenny roll]
A – wish the Millars a wi the Corn Merchants in a raw
Were in the devels claw Mr. Mayor –

A gud Beer's grown unco scarse Mr. Mayor Mr. M [awful scarce]
It's like farden wow se warsh Mr. Mayor [farthing water so thin]
...
And gies Beer that'l taste wor Gobs Mr. Mayor [that'll whet our throats]

Yance on your worship's day Mr. Mayor Mr. M [Once]
The wates did sweetly play Mr. Mayor
But hinny dat mi skin when ye have a Greasy chin
Ye shouts give us Beer & Gin Mr. Mayor

Given the incendiary nature of 'Mr Mayor', it is unsurprising that it is known only in the manuscript form preserved by Bell; a print edition was unlikely. We have already noted the resolution of 17 December 1792 to bring 'to legal punishment all persons concerned in seditious publications'.[119] Fortunately, a large part of Bell's manuscript collection remains extant. Why then, if these singer-songwriters were liberal and anti-establishment, are there no manuscript songs about Napoleon himself? Is this not precisely the environment in which we might expect an unpublished song or two in his praise? One plausible explanation is that this silence masks a difference of opinion between Bell and Marshall. Bell's sympathies were Painite and Spencean: his bookshop included 'six of Paine's works, and Joseph Clarke's *Freeman's Pocket Companion*', as well as Spence's *Pig's Meat*.[120] As such, he is unlikely to have shared Marshall's enthusiasm for the French emperor, whom many, including Spence, saw as a betrayer of the revolution, the hero turned despot.[121] This difference between the friends' stances was mirrored in their approach to song and print. Marshall, the Bonapartist and ephemeral printer, shared the common man's warm, less partisan regard for the figure of Napoleon as manifested in many later popular songs. Bell, the hard radical and antiquarian bookseller, may have been as sceptical of Napoleon's actions as he was of the merits of the broadsides that celebrated them.[122] Thus no consensus would have prevailed in their circle, rendering Napoleon a subject for lively debate rather than for communal song.

It should not be imagined that all participants in this song culture were wholly opposed to the war. The firm of Angus published 'Bonaparte and Talleyrand' and 'Boney in England', two metropolitan loyalist broadsides attacking Napoleon, as well as a garland called 'Britannia's Defenders', though when compared to the extent of their other publications, this

contribution is still notable for its meagreness: Angus was no Pitts or Jennings.[123] Nor did this prevent Angus from printing broadsides critical of the establishment. The spectrum of patriotism was a broad one. Seemingly contradictory positions could be held by the same individual, such as opposition to the press gang and support of the navy: a victory was always preferable for sailors' relatives, as the winning side sustained far fewer casualties. And though loyalist rhetoric may have attempted to impose a 'for us or against us' binary upon subjects, this dichotomy seldom manifested itself in practice. As we have observed, Thomas Thompson could both hold his volunteer's commission as a captain, and pen scurrilous verses attacking the mayor, the press gang, and the wartime economy.[124] John Scriven's songs lampooned the volunteers, but this did not prevent his singing Cecil Pitt's 'The Newcastle Signs', a comic patriotic sally against the French threat, on stage at the Theatre Royal in 1806, presumably for a suitable fee.[125]

Two songs reflect this nuanced stance. George Cameron's 'The Pitman's Revenge Against Buonaparte' does not appear to have originated within the songwriters' circle: Cameron was a volunteer sergeant and hairdresser with no known connection to others in this chapter, and who worked by the Cloth Market.[126] He performed his song in the Three Indian Kings public house on Quayside in 1804. Since many amateur writers worked on Quayside, it is plausible that, when his manuscript 'was afterwards borrowed by a comrade, who, unknown to the author, got it printed', the approach to Marshall (who printed it) was made through his wider circle.[127] The song constitutes a more convincing appeal to duty and heroism than most loyalist productions, centring on a dispute between 'Cowardly Willy Dunn' and 'loyal Tom'. The developing conversation articulates many genuine grievances of the volunteers, such as annoyance at drillmasters:

> Did ever mortals see sic brutes,
> To order me to lift my kutes? [boots/feet]
> And smash the fool, he stands and talks,
> How can he learn me to walk,
> That's walk'd this forty year, man?

Cameron sends up Tom's wilder boasts as 'a joke': the loyal soldier's claims appear intentionally hyperbolic.

> As fast as I could thraw a coal,
> I'd tumble them a' down the hole,
> And close her in aboon, man.
> . . .
> Ay Bonaparte's sel I'd take,
> And throw him in the burning heap,
> And with great speed I'd roast him deed

So far, the song reads like most of the satirical compositions detailed above. Yet the cynical Willy is shown up, and the braggart Tom implicitly endorsed, in the final verse:

> Enough of this has shure been said,
> Cry'd Cowardly Willy Dunn, man;
> For should the Frenchmen come this way,
> We'd be ready for to run, man.
> Gad smash you for a fool, says Tom,
> For if I could not use my gun,
> I'd take my pick, I'd hew them down,
> And run and cry through a' the town,
> God save great George our king, man.

Overall there is a degree of ambivalence, yet the moral burden is that, however absurd, the brave and loyal volunteers are the better men. There is no animosity towards the French or Napoleon – Tom's threats are comic, not xenophobic – and the humanised, colloquial tone, written and sung by an insider, serves as a more convincing stimulus than an anodyne London broadside.

Cameron's song articulates a highly local vernacular patriotism, suitable for a Tyneside pub. James Stawpert's 'Trafalgar's Battle' stands at one remove to this, occupying an uneasy space between Cameron's localism and the nationalist discourse printed at London.[128] Stawpert was a brewer's clerk working on Quayside, and was around thirty at the time of Trafalgar.[129] He would have had regular contact with other songwriters, especially John Selkirk, also a Quayside clerk. 'Trafalgar's Battle' is unique among Tyneside songs in appealing to 'Britons' and 'Englishmen', rather than invoking local identities. Verse three, however, moves from the national to the local:

> Tis COLLINGWOOD he, our Townsman & friend,
> May Heaven send Angels his life to attend,
> To guard him through dangers on Oceans great space,
> Returning in Peace may we all see his face.
> To bless him, caress him,
> In kind words address him,
> Ye Britons and *Sons* of the *Tyne*.

The fifth and final verse situates its rhetoric in a communal, convivial space, reconciling the dual focus on Nelson and Collingwood:

> Drink a health then my friends to the dear honour'd shade,
> Each widow, each wife, every matron, and maid,
> And though you lament for the loss of his blood,

Drink a health to our own, our brave COLLINGWOOD.
Who fought with that *great man*,
That bother'd the Frenchmen,
At Trafalgar's great battle, and died.

There is some confusion as the attention moves from Nelson to Collingwood, whose glory is vicarious, reflected by association with the 'great man' Nelson.

The song's greatest incongruity, as so often the case with loyalist material, was its tune: 'Chapter of Kings'. The lyric's meter bears superficial resemblance to the original, yet the stresses are all wrong, with the final, emphatic 'COLLINGWOOD' notably out of place: the melody at that point cannot support more than two syllables. Whilst its position at the close of the verse suggests prominence, in the tune it is unstressed, serving as a lead in to the chorus. The phrasings in the chorus itself, a swift series of notes ascending the scale, are also clumsy: 'Trafalgar' has to be contracted to two rushed syllables to reach the resolution in time. The original lyric also includes a 'bothered' in the chorus, yet it occurs in the first line, not the second: Stawpert misjudges his reference here. Beyond the clumsy execution, the choice is strange: 'Chapter of Kings' is a pert, comic melody, written to carry a light-hearted history of the monarchs of England from the Norman Conquest to the present day. The tune is neither celebratory nor melancholic: the best word to describe its effect might be 'flippant'.

Perhaps in part for these reasons, the song seems to have met with less success than Stawpert's other compositions. Marshall did not print the song, preferring a different 'Battle of Trafalgar'. Stawpert's rhetoric appears to have fallen between two positions, one local, one national. His song fits a developing pattern in Newcastle, whereby the invocation of local boy Collingwood did not preclude controversy. The creation of Collingwood Street, in 1807, was part of a ruthless programme of improvement that cut through the heart of the old town, whilst the colossal statue of the admiral that now overshadows the Tyne's mouth was not successfully completed until 1845.[130] Thus, though there were popular songwriters in Newcastle whose compositions advanced a loyalist stance, theirs was a minority voice, and it was more successful when, as in Cameron's case, it articulated a Geordie perspective, rather than attempting, as Stawpert did, to reconcile this position with nationalist rhetoric.

Stawpert may have grasped this, for he wrote a second song in the aftermath of Trafalgar: 'John Diggons'.[131] This was nearer in tone and reference to 'The Pitman's Revenge', avoiding the loftier references of 'Trafalgar's Battle': its narrator, Diggons, is given the persona of an honest fool, much like Cameron's loyal Tom, or Bob Cranky. Diggons, on learning that Nelson has died, vows to join Collingwood in order to avenge his death: here, Stawpert finds a narrative formula that eases the transition from Nelson

to Collingwood, and bolsters the song's call for patriotic action. This time, Stawpert took as his tune 'Roast Beef of Old England', a lusty drinking song well suited to the new lyric. Though Stawpert once again struggles with his meter – the first half of the chorus fails to scan – the overall match is far better than 'Trafalgar's Battle'.

In the event, Trafalgar met with a muted reception. The corporation voted for an address of congratulation to the king, and a 150-guinea plate for Collingwood. Yet it eschewed the illuminations customary for a naval victory, preferring to donate one hundred guineas to charity. The only public demonstration marked Nelson's funeral, not the victory: 'January 9, 1806, being the day appointed for the funeral of Lord Nelson at St. Paul's cathedral in London, the bells of St. Nicholas' and All Saints' churches in Newcastle rung muffled peals at intervals through the day.'[132] This dolorous, sensitive reaction for once matched the public mood. Following several false alarms of invasion, such as on 1 February 1804, martial enthusiasm dipped even among the volunteers.[133] An undated song, 'Beaumont's Light Horse' (presumably this was Thompson's regiment), which later appeared in Bell's *Rhymes*, tells the sorry tale of how their horses were sold, and that they were being sent overseas against their will as auxiliary infantrymen.[134] It also includes an enigmatically caustic verse, hinting perhaps at the troops' failure to quell an unspecified riot, suggested by the contrast between the 'folks' and the soldiery:

> We mounted our horses and rode through the town,
> We hid us in holes, and our guns we laid down:
> Now see the Newcastle folks drive away fears,
> And now see the brav'ry of their Volunteers.

The war effort was thus faltering in Newcastle by 1806. In popular culture, the main achievement of mobilisation had been to galvanise the city's satirical songwriters, whose liberal, antiauthoritarian perspective dominated Northumbrian popular song. In southern loyalist circles, the second phase of the Wars witnessed a turn from serious exhortations to broad humour, in attempts to contain the impact of Napoleon. The reverse was true in Newcastle's song culture, as playful mockery of the volunteers gave way to more heartfelt articulations of the privations of war.

Popular song and the war with Napoleon, 1806 to 1815

After the excitement and embarrassments of 1803 to 1805, the final decade of the Wars proved uneventful. Urban improvement from 1807, involving the demolition of much of the town centre to make way for Collingwood Street and other constructions, and abortive plans to abolish the Flesh Market, cannot have sat easily with the prevalent mood of hardship.[135]

The authorities were broadly sensitive to this, and the period was punctuated with highly visible philanthropic gestures. The Friendless Poor Society had been founded in 1797, and St Nicholas' Poorhouse in 1803. In 1807, the Newcastle Benevolent Society formed; in 1810, St Andrew's Poorhouse was enlarged; 1811 saw the foundation of the Friendly Society, and 1815 prompted the formation of the Society for Clothing Distressed Females.[136] This patrician acknowledgement of the impact of war provides a tangible backdrop to the numerous press gang songs of the area, constituting a form of dialogue with those bitter laments in attempting to deal with the drain on Newcastle's male workforce.

Other civic activities also deferred to a war weary populace, in line with an austere, circumspect, yet philanthropic attitude articulated more broadly in the national press.[137] 'The Jubilee . . . was celebrated in Newcastle on October 25, 1809, with public rejoicings and acts of enlightened benevolence. In lieu of an illumination, above £600 was subscribed for founding a public school on the improved plan of education. By another subscription, ten debtors were liberated from prison.'[138] Pious, non-partisan acts were preferred to profligate and potentially volatile illuminations. The now numerous charitable institutions treated their parishioners, members, or inmates to lavish dinners, often featuring beef, alcohol, and even portions of sugar to take away. Military display was limited to a sermon and ceremonial volleys, perhaps in recognition of the troops' unpopularity.[139] This contrasted with the previous year. Mackenzie writes that: 'At the period, great exertions were made to cherish the military ardour of the people. On Monday, June 4, all the troops in Newcastle marched to the Town Moor, to celebrate his majesty's birth-day.'[140]

This parade included a newly written song, the last hurrah of volunteer compositions, to the tune of 'Hearts of Oak', or as Bell put it, to the tune of 'Sons of the Tyne'.[141] In one respect, this song is of real interest, contrasting with the broader corpus of Northumbrian volunteer songs. Those, all particular to one regiment, emphasise their local prowess, focusing on rivalries between Gateshead, Sunderland, and Newcastle. The 1808 composition dedicates its second to fourth verses to detailing the different localities represented, taking pains to give them equal precedent; the author uses 'likewise' twice, and 'too' three times, in order to avoid suggesting a hierarchy. Gateshead, Sunderland, the Shields, and Hexham are all named alongside Newcastle, whilst Wallsend is included via an obvious pun: 'flank'd by the boys from the End of the Wall'. The song is a local version of pan-national loyalist songs typified by John Mayne's 'English, Scots, and Irishmen'.[142] The 1808 Newcastle song undercuts the ambition of these metropolitan broadsides, demonstrating that at a regional level, efforts were still required to ameliorate local divisions.

The reserved celebration of the 1809 jubilee, focusing on charity rather than display, suggests that the 1808 birthday celebrations were less than

wholly successful in cherishing 'the military ardour of the people'. It cannot have helped that there were no victories to celebrate. Only when the tide turned in the Peninsular, did Newcastle songs begin to acknowledge the triumph of British arms. One Marshall garland included 'The Victory of Barossa', and 'The Woodlark a new song book. Being a choice collection of the most celebrated new songs' included 'Battle of Vittoria'.[143] This suggests a willingness even by a Bonapartist to capitalise on Wellington's victories. However, his songbook 'The Thrush' comprised nineteen songs, numbers six to eleven of which were 'Death of Abercrombie. The death of Nelson. The Battle of Trafalgar. The Battle of Salamanca. The wounded hussar. The soldier's funeral'.[144] Here we see Marshall using repertoire to incorporate two famous victories within a narrative of death and tragedy.

Popular culture was not reduced to interpreting events from above and abroad. But neither was it thriving. Newcastle's ephemeral printers were plagued by setbacks. In 1810, Marshall opened his premises in the Old Flesh Market; in the same year, fire damage suspended his library.[145] Freemason printer David Bass went out of business in 1811.[146] Their ranks were swelled by the arrival of the Catnaches from Alnwick in 1808, yet the father and son business foundered, causing the family to relocate again to London in 1813 after a spell in debtor's prison for John, the father.[147] It is unclear how far these events reflect Marshall squeezing out his competition, rather than a decline in the overall market. Bell chose to publish his *Rhymes*, the culmination of years of research, in 1812, indicating that the songbook market, at least, was still healthy. Nor were printers the only sources of song: songs against the press gang circulated orally, whilst itinerants enriched the print market. In 1806, John Magee, ex-United Irishman, Bonapartist, and pedlar of ballads, chapbooks, and tracts, visited Newcastle twice: southbound from Glasgow, and by sea from London.[148] Thus productions from the capital as well as Scotland would have been made available, though given Magee's politics it is unlikely that he sold loyalist compositions. In 1810, beggar James Burn and his father also passed through, travelling north from London: the father, a veteran, had just been denied a pension from Horseguards, so he too is unlikely to have peddled loyalist material.[149] And in 1814, David Love returned to Newcastle, where he had formerly been imprisoned.[150] This time he 'called the town' with ephemera of his own, printed at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and obtained new stock from Marshall to carry south as far as Leeds. Love was firmly opposed to the war, and his visit can only have furthered Marshall's own agenda.

Marshall did not enjoy a monopoly on popular sentiment. In 1810, Newcastle got its own Religious Tract Society, 'for the purpose of diffusing religious knowledge and the promotion of morality'. It advertised that: ' "Hawkers' Tracts" are sold at prime cost to persons who will undertake to dispose of them. These tracts are suited to the capacities of ignorant persons, and are intended "to drive foolish ballads, tales, and stories, out of

circulation" '.[151] Thus the liberal, irreverent popular discourse of Newcastle acquired a new enemy. Yet the impact of this society appears to have been negligible. Mackenzie also describes how in 1811, a Society for the Suppression of Vice was founded, yet was widely condemned and swiftly dissolved.[152] The cleansing, moralising movement depicted in Francis Place's papers in relation to London failed on Tyneside. This strength of local cultural tradition was echoed at a bourgeois radical level. Between 1812 and 1818, a succession of 'Fox dinners' was held in Newcastle in memory of the late politician. Whig leader Lord Grey often spoke at these dinners. Yet the *Tyne Mercury* and *Newcastle Chronicle* criticised their complacency and focus on the past, condemning their irrelevance to the city's liberal-radical middling and artisan elements. Faced with this local frustration, the dinners ceased.[153] Moralising, government, and opposition voices alike failed to impose themselves in Newcastle.

In contrast with the dour philanthropy of the war years, the General Peace of 1814 was received joyously. Even London papers made mention of Newcastle's 'splendid' illuminations.[154] The organisers pursued an overtly loyalist agenda, enraging the young Harriet Martineau:

> I remember the proclamation of peace in 1814, and our all going to see the illuminations; those abominable transparencies, among the rest, which represented Bonaparte (always in green coat, white breeches and boots) as carried to hell by devils, pitch-forked in the fiery lake by the same attendants, or haunted by the Duc d'Enghien. [155]

The legacy of this traditional loyalist iconography mocking Napoleon was one of strong criticism. John Selkirk immortalised the event in 'Bob Cranky's Leum'nation Neet', first published in the *Tyne Mercury* on 7 June 1814, but also receiving a broadside edition.[156] This entered the popular canon of Cranky songs, adhering to the now conventional tune and idiom. Selkirk subverts the 'Peace and Plenty' rhetoric of the illuminations by exposing instances of hypocrisy:

> A leg of meat sed, 'Doon aw's cummin!'
> But some chep aw seun fand was hummin;
> For aw stopp'd bit belaw,
> Haudin oot a lang paw,
> But mutton cam ne nearer Cranky.
>
> A cask on the Vicar's pump top, man,
> Markt 'Plenty an' Peace,' gard me stop, man:
> Thinks aw te me sel,
> Awse here get some yel,
> But only cau'd waiter gat Cranky.

[A leg of meat said 'Down I'm coming!'
But some chap I soon found was kidding;
For I stopped just below,
Holding out my hand so,
But the mutton came no nearer Cranky.

A cask on the Vicar's pump top, man,
Marked 'Plenty and Peace,' gave me pause, man:
Thinks I to myself,
I can here get some ale,
But only cold water got Cranky.]

Several verses stress the role of pitmen in the British success, suggesting they are those deserving of reward, not the late Pitt. One makes use of the Napoleonic imagery, privileging the miners over the navy:

Some had anchors of leet high hung up, [light]
To shew folk greet Bonny was deun up;
But, far as aw see, man,
As reet it wad be, man,
To leet up the pick o' Bob Cranky.

The vindictive portrayal of Napoleon is also cast in a negative light, Cranky's moral force deployed in denunciation:

Bonny, shav'd be a bear, was then shot, man;
And be au'd Nick weel thump'd in a pot, man;
But aw thowt a' the toon
Shuddent lick him when doon,
Tho' he'd a greet spite to Bob Cranky.

[Boney, (well, a shaved bear) was then shot, man;
And by Old Nick well thumped in a pot, man;
But I thought all the town
Shouldn't kick him when down,
Although he'd a great spite to Bob Cranky.]

Selkirk uses the Cranky persona to portray the sung response to the illuminations as one of popular discontent and disillusion. This became the event's legacy, enshrined in the collective memory of local song tradition. The song will have been all the more successful as its pessimistic predictions about prices and employment were immediately realised by the sharp economic downturn. Mackenzie records:

> The sudden reduction of the navy happening at the time of the arrival of the ships from the fisheries and other trades, a great body of seamen were at once thrown out of employment . . . On the 20th of September, they mustered 7000 men on Cullercoates sand, while their organisation and discipline rendered such meetings extremely dangerous. But on the 25th of October, the navy and military, aided by the civil power, dissolved the combination.[157]

This incident too was cast into song, in 'The Tyne Cossacks', published, inevitably, by Marshall.[158] The tone and tune are both comic, as in the event the assembled forces merely scuppered and sunk a number of boats, rather than committing Peterloo-like atrocities. But contempt for their actions is clear, whilst the appellation 'Cossacks' is at once a condemnation of their violence, and an ironic use of bathos: these would-be soldiers could not match the ferocity of the Russian horsemen. Marshall followed the song in his garland with a reprint of Mitford's 'The Local Militia-man', linking the incident to an earlier, equally absurd occasion.

The renewed use of humour as a weapon could not mask the grievances that developed in the later period of the Wars. Those songs that included unfettered, bitter, personal attacks circulated orally rather than in print: Bell recorded them, but left them unprinted. Many have been discussed in Chapter 3. Most – 'Oh The Weary Cutter', 'The Tarpaulin Jacket', 'I Wish the Wars Were Over', 'Here's the Tender Coming' – were anonymous; two pointed attacks on the crimpers Johnson Reed and Billy Kirton were penned by John Leonard in 1813.[159] Leonard, a joiner, was at one stage imprisoned for expressing liberal views on the Irish Question.[160] Opposition to the war and a radical stance on other matters often went together, yet it is remarkable how non-partisan the majority of these songs are: their engagement with ultimately political questions is phrased in terms of the human angle, rooted in personal and local issues, rather than addressing a wider debate. This popular preoccupation with quotidian issues dominated topical song culture during the Wars; this was to continue after their conclusion.

Newcastle and Napoleon after Waterloo

In turning to Mackenzie for the reception and celebration of Waterloo, we draw a complete blank: the campaign goes unmentioned. This silence is logical, given the muted reaction described in Chapter 4, when taken in conjunction with the city's general antipathy to the war. The post-Waterloo fallout, as evidenced by its intersection with song culture, also matches the pattern discerned in Chapter 4. Repeatedly, in songs of the late 1810s, Napoleon and Waterloo are employed to contrast the heroic efforts of Newcastle's labourers and sailors with the injustice of ensuing depression.

> But we settled the job when at WATERLOO
> And now we're come home, and have nothing to do.[161]

Thus ran two lines of 'The Tradesman's Complaint', printed by Marshall. Eerily similar is the opening couplet of William Mitford's 'The Wonderful Gutter':

> Since Boney was sent to that place owre the sea,
> We've had little to talk of, but far less to dee;[162]

Verses four to seven of 'Written at the Seaman's Stick', from October 1815, elaborate upon this fundamental complaint:

> Many were in prison laid, that escap'd the murdering shot,
> The wars are o'er, and they've come home, not a birth [berth] is to be got;
> Our services they've done with, we may go from whence we came;
> Their coffers they've enrich'd while we were on the main.
>
> In grateful thanks we must give praise unto our British tars,
> For the hardships they've endur'd through tempests, storms, and wars:
> They've braved many dangers, with courage and with spirit;
> Is this the reward they are to have for their daring merit?
>
> But, after all, let reason be lodg'd in every breast,
> For if the wars break out again, you know we'd do our best;
> There's many a ship of two hundred tons eight servants do keep,
> While many a brave fellow for a birth long may seek.
>
> The corner stones they should protect, that tars may get their right;
> The British flag we've maintain'd, in many a bloody fight:
> It's long since Bonny did intend in England for to land;
> He knew our heroes of the main would stop his warlike band.[163]

As Palmer comments in his annotation of 'The Seamen's Complaint', these songs accompanied a strike along the eastern seaboard, centring on the Tyne and Wear shipyards.[164] The song's subtitle is 'A New Song written by a Sailor who was present at the Battle of the Nile', lending the moral weight of a veteran to its grievance. The tune, Burns' 'A Man's a Man For a' That', had become one of the first iconic protest songs in the 1790s. Burns' influence was further reflected in 1820 by Thomas Thompson's 'Coaly Tyne' in support of Queen Caroline, printed by Marshall, set to 'Auld Lang Syne'.[165] Verses five to nine mark a subtle but steady progression, from commemorating the service of Tynesiders during the Wars, to mocking the volunteers by comparison, to homing in on one specific grievance: the conduct of the new king.

When Bonaparte the world did sway,
Dutch, Spanish did combine;
By sea and land proud bent their way,
The sons of coaly Tyne.

The sons of Tyne, in seas of blood,
Trafalgar's fight did join,
When led by dauntless Collingwood,
The hero of the Tyne.

With courage bold, and hearts so true,
Form'd in the British line;
With Wellington, at Waterloo,
Hard fought the sons of Tyne.

When peace, who would be Volunteers?
Or Hero Dandies fine?
Or sham Hussars, or Tirailleurs?
Disgrace to coaly Tyne.

Or who would be a Tyrant's Guard,
Or shield a libertine?
Let Tyrants meet their due reward,
Ye sons of coaly Tyne.

The song again demonstrates Thompson's proficiency at matching tune to lyric: a regular and memorable melody to anchor the verses' progression; a moderate tempo to render the lyrics comprehensible; a strong and simple ABAB rhyme scheme; and careful attention to stress and meter. The chorus, not given here, substituted 'coaly Tyne' for 'Auld Lang Syne', a happy case of phonetic fitness.

These uses of Napoleon to frame post-war hardship, by turns nostalgic and self-justifying, reflect the fact that Newcastle's workers were becoming more overtly politicised. Harker notes: 'John Buddle asserted that Thomas Wooler's radical paper, the *Black Dwarf*, was "to be found in the Hat Crown of almost every pitman you meet" on Tyneside before the end of 1819.'[166] Yet we should also be alive to powerful continuities in Newcastle's song culture. Even 'Coaly Tyne', in including a verse disparaging the volunteers as late as 1820, makes explicit the link between the post-Peterloo situation and that of 1803 to 1805, rather than distinguishing between distinct periods. Nor do the surviving wartime printers appear to have been hit by the post-war downturn. Marshall was among the first to publish one of the earliest and most successful songs of Napoleon's second exile, 'Isle of St Helena', under the variant title, 'Bonapa[r]te's Lamentation at the Island of St. Helena'.[167] It was not until 1821 that he could do justice to his feelings, with a 1,570-word obituary, printed on a single broadside: the dense wall of text made

no concessions to commercial appeal, its production and sale relying upon the aligned interests of Marshall and his readers.[168] This positive, practically hagiographic account of Napoleon's life dwells on his personal character as well as his deeds. Favourable comparisons to both Caesar and Cromwell might be imagined as bearing implications of tyranny, yet there is no suggestion of this in Marshall's text. Indeed, the only allusion to tyranny is turned to Napoleon's advantage:

> He was steady and faithful in his friendships, and not vindictive when it was in his power to be so with impunity; in this respect his character forms a grand contrast with that of the little despots of Europe, most of whom, particularly those of the Holy Alliance, owe their crowns to his clemency.

To Marshall, despots were 'the mean persons who were placed in high stations by the accident of birth'.

Marshall was willing to argue his point: 'If it be said that his elevation was to be attributed to the turbulent times in which he lived, it may be answered, that those turbulent times rendered it the more impossible for a man of small powers to raise himself.' Yet there is no argument against the events of the Black Legend, or even minor incidents such as the plundering of Malta. These do not feature at all. It is possible that this was mere bluffing on Marshall's part. But it seems more plausible that he was speaking from a position of strength: that the Black Legend, found predominantly in London broadsides, had never taken hold on Tyneside. Given the remarkable paucity of metropolitan propaganda printed by Marshall's rivals, this is among the most powerful evidence against the disconnect assumed by Gammon, and suggests that the wartime vilification of Napoleon was not only unsuccessful in some parts of Britain: it was even almost unknown.

This view is reinforced by a publication of Mackenzie's. So far, as a local historian and printer, Mackenzie has articulated a non-partisan polite perspective for a polite market. Therefore his own account of Napoleon's life is more surprising than Marshall's, until we appreciate that he later became a significant union activist.[169] Printed in 1816 for a low to middling market, the account is a far cry from the level, respectable tone of his polite publications:

> The following interesting narrative of events, in brilliancy, rapidity, and importance, eclipse all that is recorded in the history of man. The resumption of the imperial dignity, by Bonaparte, resembled more a scene in Eastern romance, than a real occurrence; while the second downfall of this wonderful man was equally sudden, astonishing, and complete.[170]

Mackenzie too focuses on Napoleon's humanity, describing him on Elba as 'a simple individual among individuals'.[171] He explicitly condemns the Allies' actions in exiling him: this was not evidence, as Semmel has it, of fair play on

the part of a gracious victor, but indignation from a genuine sympathiser.[172] Repeatedly, Mackenzie refers to 'the Emperor Napoleon', using the title interchangeably with 'Bonaparte'. His description of the Torbay incident portrays the crowd as overwhelmingly in Napoleon's favour, rather than mere sightseers.[173] Again, there is no sense of contestation of a controversial, even notorious figure: both Mackenzie and Marshall resemble men preaching to the choir. Nor does either rendering link Napoleon to current affairs: they are concerned with an intimate depiction of their subject alone.

This is the timeless Napoleon who survives throughout the century, outlasting the context of depression and reform. It is the figure found in two separate Northumbrian sword dances of the mid-Victorian period: in one, the character is accompanied by a simple tailor; in the other, Napoleon's son is incorporated into a canon of otherwise British military heroes; in both cases, this is a folkloric, not a political portrayal.[174] The continuity of this figure over time was facilitated by the strength of Newcastle's self-referential, tradition-loving song culture, manifested both orally and in the commercial habits of ephemeral printers. Marshall's choice of compilations helped to transpose the best topical songs of the Wars into a non-temporal tradition of tragedy and heroism: as observed above, one of his garlands consisted simply of the five songs, 'The Battle of Waterloo. The death of Nelson. Death of Abercrombie. The wounded hussar. The Battle of Trafalgar'.[175] This tradition was inherited by Fordyce, a printer of the 1820s who took over much of Marshall's stock. He reprinted an aforementioned songbook 'The Thrush', which had also included four of those five songs, along with 'The Battle of Salamanca'. Fordyce dropped this last song from his publication, in what appears to have been a refinement of the theme, as Salamanca was not a battle noted for tragedy.[176]

Fordyce also printed other Napoleonic ephemera such as 'Grand Conversation under the Rose' and a mystical pamphlet, 'Napoleon's Book of Fate'.[177] His later successor, the firm of Walker, operated in the 1860s, including in its output 'Deeds of Napoleon' and the 1814 song 'Napoleon's Farewell to Paris'.[178] Crucially, these were not the only songs perpetuated by republication: many local compositions concerning the invasion years were also continued. Bowmann's collection, *The Tyneside Songster*, mixed songs of Victorian Newcastle such as 'The Eagle Steam-packet' with what were now classics: 'Canny Newcassel' and 'The Baboon' by Thompson and Mitford, respectively, as well as Selkirk's 'Lord 'Size' and the horseracing song of 1814, 'XYZ'.[179] Songs of Napoleon endured in the same local tradition as other Tyneside songs, whether related to the Wars or not: this was the city's common cultural heritage, embracing Napoleon, Bob Cranky, and those who had participated in that culture. Most pleasingly of all, Bowmann's songbook bears on its cover an illustration accompanied by the caption: ' "For fiddling, [?], now who is there wor Blind Willie can beat?" ' This was a further stamp of purely civic patriotism, linking the songs to the context of local

performance. If Napoleon mattered in Newcastle, it was not as a malleable political figurehead, to be deployed solely in the face of post-war depression: it was as a well-defined character in his own right, part of a tradition of self-expression and identity that was rooted, not in the aftermath of Waterloo, but in the regeneration of Tyneside song culture that can be traced back to 1803.

Coda

Far from being denied a voice by a deluge of loyalist ephemera, the example of Newcastle indicates that anti-authoritarian song culture was stimulated by loyalist activity, a phenomenon that may well have occurred elsewhere. Popular singers and writers were not only reacting to the press gang and the crimpers, but to drilling and to volunteer song. 'Bob Cranky's Adieu' is most explicit in its parodying of Dibdin's 'Soldier's Adieu', an approach echoed at Manchester in 1814 by Michael Wilson's 'Soldier Jack' in parody of Dibdin's 'Soldier Dick'.[1] Rather than articulating an innovative radical agenda inspired by the Revolution, genuinely popular non-loyalist song culture was primarily reactive, engaging with existing events and discourse. This was the case both during and after the Wars: many later songs of Napoleon were responding to a sentimental situation, not advancing a contemporary argument. This active yet reflective role, so typical of the traditions of popular song, was distinct from attempts to 'interfere' with popular culture, from James Plumptre to Thomas Spence.

This is not to deny that subaltern song was intrinsically political. Colley writes: 'Being a patriot was a way of claiming the right to participate in British political life, and ultimately a means of demanding a much broader access to citizenship.'[2] By the same token, to articulate a protest in song was to claim a voice and a right to be heard.[3] Popular song sought to engage with the body politic. Yet consider the grievances expressed: oppressive taxation; recruitment by force or by guile; the shameful retribution meted out to both Napoleon and Marshal Ney; the subjugation of Ireland. None of these required an Enlightenment, or a Revolution, before they could be articulated. Of English dialect songwriting, Stephen Dornan argues that 'the rejection of linguistic norms often entails a rejection of mainstream political assumptions. This correlation between dialect and oppositional politics underpins what I call "the vernacular aesthetic" '.[4] These songs needed not engage explicitly with politics: their vernacular, heterodox form was enough to generate subversion. This intransigent vernacular register has its parallel in Cobbett's later rhetoric, incorporating bacon and beer (not roast beef and

plum pudding, those weary loyalist staples) in his 'peasant vision' of protest.[5] We may recall the continuity of the Irish rebel song tradition, rooted in Jacobite and pre-Jacobite forms scarcely altered by the Enlightened rhetoric of United Irish productions, wherein any new discourse that entered the tradition did so, not by rewriting the conventions of the form, but by adapting thereto.[6] In all these aspects of popular culture, contemporary politics from below was couched in terms of tradition. Those seeking to manipulate popular song from above found the form resistant when they failed to take this into account.

It is hard to appreciate the importance of these cultural factors by reference to the texts of songs in isolation. Rather, they become evident by considering conditions of production and performance. Loyalist propagandists had the funds to carry out their campaign. In the south and in Wales, there was an abundance of important printers willing to assist, and a network of minor printers across the Isles. Yet their ideology of a notional, united Britain in arms was hard to impose upon a cultural medium whose performers were idiosyncratic and individualistic, whose traditions were anti-authoritarian, and whose values were either intensely personal or local, or so broad as to be universal. The national was the wrong level to express in songs unless they were hymns or odes, and treated as such in the space and occasion of their performance, not merely in the choosing of a tune. We tend to overestimate the power of the ode by imagining it anachronistically as anthem: via the Proms, the Victorian music hall, or conversely via the eighteenth-century polite masque. This was not the performative context of the loyalist broadside; the ode could not convince when sung solo on a street corner, and in the middling theatre, it was furiously contested. In this light, it is unsurprising that the figure of Napoleon fared better in a truly popular context than that of Britannia. The former was *sympatico*, a rounded individual; the latter was remote, the icon of an inflexible state. Far from being a callous conqueror, the Napoleon that flourished in British song was a localised, flawed, but above all an attractive figure, fit subject for an irreverent popular culture that was challenged, stimulated, but never tamed, in the Wars that took his name.

Appendix

This appendix compiles relevant data on 382 songs, arranged alphabetically by title or first line where untitled, which are given a number by which they are referred to in the endnotes. Up to six categories of data are appended to each title, where known: tune; writer(s); date; whether the song circulated as a contemporary broadside or otherwise; a preferred (short-form) bibliographic reference; and their number in the Roud Index. Idiosyncrasies of spelling and formatting have been largely preserved in the titles. Pseudonymous writers have been included, as these pseudonyms are often expressive of the spirit of the song.

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
1	Admiral Nelson's pursuit of the French Fleet in the Mediterranean, September 1798	My Dog and My Gun	Anon	1799	Pamphlet	Tye, *Loyal Songster*, 16–17	–
2	All Been Fish in de Frenchman's Net	Unknown	Anon	1814	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 51	–
3	Anagram. Buonaparte in Elba	None	Anon	1814	*Morning Chronicle*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 323	–
4	Ashes of Napoleon	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1860	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.40(87)	–
5	The Baboon	Unknown	Anon	1803–1805	Unknown	Thompson et al., *A Collection*, 69	–
6	'Baby, baby, naughty baby'	Unknown	Anon	Unknown	Unknown	Gutch and Peacock, vol. 5, 368–384	20649
7	Ballad of the Labouring Man	Unknown	Anon	1816	Unknown	Emsley and Walvin, *Artisans*, 57	–
8	The Ballad Singer	The Ballad Singer	R. Spofforth	1807	Pamphlet	Spofforth, *The Twelfth Cake*, 14–15	–
9	The Ballad Singer, A New Song	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1800	Broadside	*The Ballad Singer, A New Song*	–
10	The Ballad Singer's Duett	Unknown	Anon	Unknown	Broadside	Madden 2:932	–
11	The Bantry Girls' Lament	The Bantry Girls' Lament	Anon	*c.* 1809–1814	Unknown	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 135	2999
12	Barrosa	Unknown	Anon, 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers	1809	Unknown	Winstock, *Songs & Music*, 126–127	2182

13	Battle of Corunna	Battle of the Nile	Anon	1809	Broadside	Madden 5:356	0
14	The Battle of Salamanca	Unknown	Anon	1812	Broadside	Madden 6:801	–
15	The Battle of Salamanca (II)	Unknown	Anon	1812	Broadside	Bod. Johnson Ballads 1977Ar	–
16	The Battle of Talavera	Unknown	William Tucker	1809	Periodical	*Universal Magazine*, 12 (September 1809): 224–225	–
17	The Battle of the Baltic	Unknown	Thomas Campbell	1798–1809	Book	Campbell, *Gertrude*, 107–112	–
18	The Battle of the Nile	Battle of the Nile	Anon	1805–1806	Unknown	Ashton, *Real Sailor-Songs*, 11	950
19	The Battle of Waterloo	Unknown	Samuel Wheeler (trumpeter)	1815	Broadside	Madden 1:28	1132
20	The Battle of Waterloo (II)	Unknown	Anon	1815	Broadside	Madden 5:615	5824
21	The Battle of Waterloo (III)	Unknown	Anon	1815	Unknown	Dallas, *The Cruel Wars*, 203	1922
22	The Battle of Waterloo (IV)	The Plains of Waterloo	Anon	*c.* 1816	Unknown	Hendricks, 'The Battle', 21–24	5825
23	Beaumont's Light Horse	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1806–1814	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 85	–
24	The Bee	Unknown	Samuel Bamford	1814–1815	Pamphlet	Bamford, *Homely Rhymes*, 188	–
25	The Beggar Boy	Unknown	Thomas Inskip	*c.* 1800	Book	*Myrtle and Vine*, vol. 4, 27–28	–
26	The Beggar Boy (II)	None	Jane Taylor	1804	Book	Taylor, *Memoirs*, 295	–
27	The Beggar Girl	Unknown	Mr Cherry	*c.* 1800	Book	*Myrtle and Vine*, vol. 3, 170–171	1304

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
28	The Berkshire farmer's thoughts on invasion. A song	Liberty Hall	Anon	*c.* 1803	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.10(103)	–
29	Billy Kirton	Unknown	John Leonard	1813	Broadside	Harker, *Songs,* 4–5	8976
30	Blackett's Field	John Anderson My Jo	John Shield	1803	Pamphlet, book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 12–13	–
31	Bob Cranky's Account of the Ascent of Mr Sadler's Balloon, from Newcastle, September 1st, 1815	Unknown	Anon	1815	Pamphlet	Harker, *Songs*, 91	–
32	Bob Cranky's Adieu	The Soldier's Adieu	Anon	*c.* 1803	Broadside	Stokoe, *Songs and Ballads*, 93	3148
33	Bob Cranky's Leum'nation Neet	Bob Cranky	John Selkirk	1814	*Tyne Mercury*, Pamphlet	Thompson et al., *A Collection*, 28	–
34	The Bombarding of Paris; or, Boney's Last Blow	Unknown	J. Parkerson, Jun.	1815	Broadside	Bod. Harding B25(245)	–
35	Bonaparte	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1803	Pamphlet	*The Yorkshire Irishman*, 6–8	–
36	Bonaparte (II)	Madam Fig's Gala	Mr Lawler	1811	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.39(197)	349?

37	Bonaparte (III)	Unknown	L.C. Richmond	Pre 1834	Unknown	Huntington, *Songs*, 209–211	1992
38	Bonaparte and Talyrand	Unknown	Anon	1803–1805	Broadside	Madden 6:122	–
39	Bonaparte's Bridge	This Is The House That Jack Built	Anon	1813	Broadside	Ashton, *English Caricature*, vol. 2, 163	–
40	Bonaparte's Coronation	Religion's a Politic Law	John Freeth	1805	Book	Horden, *John Freeth*, 203–204	–
41	Bonaparte's Disasters in Russia, A New Song, With a Striking Likeness of GENERAL Wellington	Green Grows the Rushes	Anon	1812	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.41(23/1)	–
42	Bonaparte's Escape From Russia, A New Song	Unknown	Anon	1813	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 25(246)	–
43	Bonaparte's Lamentation, or His Banishment to Elba Isle	Unknown	Anon	1814	Broadside	Bod. Johnson Ballads fol.198	–
44	Bonaparte's Mistake at Germany	Unknown	Anon	1813	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 25(247)	–
45	Boney and the Gay Lads of Paris Calculating for the Next Triumphal Entrance Into Moscow	Unknown	Anon	1813	Broadside	Ashton, *English Caricature*, vol. 2, 148	–
46	Boney Invaded, A New Song	Hearts of Oak	E. Humble	1813	Broadside	FARNE N0116601	–
47	Boney Wants a Baby	Unknown (Toora loo ra loo)	Anon	1810	Broadside	Madden 5:363	–

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No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
48	Boney Was a Warrior	Boney Was a Warrior	Anon	Post-1821	Unknown	Hugill, *Shanties,* 444–446	485
49	Boney's Adventures	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1815	Broadside	Bod. Harding B25(249)	–
50	Boney's Return From Elba, or The Devil among the Tailors	The Devil Among the Tailors	Anon	1815	Broadside	Ashton, *English Caricature,* vol. 2, 218	–
51	Boney's Return to Paris	All the World's at Paris	Anon	1815	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.32(64)	–
52	Boney's Degradation	Maggie Lawder	Anon	1813	Broadside	Madden 5:364	–
53	Boney's Disappointment	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1813	Broadside	Bod. Firth c.16(9)	–
54	Boney's last shift	Unknown	Anon	1813	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.41(25/1)	–
55	Boney's Total Defeat, and Wellington Triumphant	Roast Beef of Old England	J. Thompson	1815	Broadside	Bod. Harding B12(6)	577
56	The Bonny Bunch of Roses	The Bunch of Rushes, O!	Anon	1821–1832	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 204–205	664
57	The Bonny Geatsiders	Bob Cranky	John Shield	1805	Pamphlet, book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 29–31	8772
58	Bonny Light Horseman	Bonny Light Horseman	Anon	*c.* 1809–1814	Broadside, pamphlet	Moylan, *Age of Revolution,* 139	1185
59	Bony's Dethronement	Unknown	Anon	1815	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.33(191)	–

60	Britannia's Volunteers	The Newcastle Volunteers' Quick March	S.G. Kemble	1803–1805	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 15–16	–
61	Britons United	Unknown	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1799	Broadside, book	*Songs of the Late Charles Dibdin*, 119–121	–
62	Britons! To Arms!	Unknown	William Thomas Fitzgerald	1803	Broadside	Bod. 2376 a.1(6)	–
63	Britons, Awake!	Unknown	Joseph Mather	1794	Broadside	Mather, *The Songs*, 35	–
64	Bualadh Ros Mhic Thriúin	Unknown	Anon	1798	Unknown	Dunne, 'Subaltern Voices', 31	–
65	The *Buckinghamshire* Militia Ballad	A-Hunting We Will Go	Anon	*c.* 1803–1805	Broadside	Bod. Johnson Ballads 1527	–
66	The Bungling Tinkers! or, Congress of Blockheads!	Unknown	Anon	1815	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.5(206)	–
67	Buonaparte and Talleyrand; or The French invasion	Unknown	Anon	1803	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.10(143)	–
68	Buonaparte; A Song	Derry Down	Anon	*c.* 1803	Broadside	Huntington Library, ANALS 297305, no.8	–
69	Buonaparte's answer to John Bull's card, inviting him to England, with a few lines concerning his brothers, Taffy, Sawney, and Paddy	Here we go up, up, up	Anon	1803	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.10(112)	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
70	Buonaparte's Courtship and Marriage	Unknown	Anon	1810	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.41(23/2)	–
71	Buonaparte's Vagaries	Our Immortal Poet's Page	Anon	1814	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 45–46	–
72	'But see, the transports crowd the strand'	One and All	Col. Willyams, Royal Cornwall Rangers	1811	Manuscript	Hart, 'British Regimental Marches', 586	–
73	Cakes; or My Eye and Peggy Martin	Unknown	Anon	1806–1814	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 251	–
74	The Call of Honour	The Call of Honour	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1803	Book	Hogarth, *Songs*, 228	–
75	Canny Newcassel	Unknown	Thomas Thompson	*c.* 1812	Pamphlet	*Newcastle Songster*, part 1, 21–23	3060
76	Catch	Unknown	A	1808	*Morning Chronicle*	www.rc.umd.edu/editions/warpoetry/1808/1808_18.html	–
77	The Chapter of War	Unknown	John Collins	1803–1804	Book	Collins, *Scripscrapologia,* 88	–
78	Chester Lads For Ever	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1803–1805	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 287	–
79	A Choke-Pill For Human Pride; or, The History of Man, Compris'd in a Song	Unknown	John Collins	1803–1804	Book	Collins, *Scripscrapologia,* 74	–

80	The Christening of little Boney	Unknown	Anon	1810	Broadside	Madden 6:854	–
81	Coaly Tyne	Auld Lang Syne	Thomas Thompson	1820	Pamphlet	Thompson et al., *A Collection*, 18	–
82	Cocky and the Bull, or, the Downfall of Boney	Unknown	Anon	1815	Broadside	Bod. Harding B22(49)	–
83	Colliers of Wear & Tyne	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1800	Broadside	Palmer, *Working Songs*, 6	8966
84	The Collier's Pay Week	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1812	Pamphlet	*Newcastle Songster*, part 2, 17–23	9024
85	'Come, haste to Newcastle, ye sons of fair Freedom'	Sons of the Tyne (Hearts of Oak)	Unknown	1808	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 102–103	–
86	Corporal Casey	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1800–1815	Book	*Irish Musical Repository*, 135–137	–
87	The Corsican Drover	All the World's at Paris	Anon	1803	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 185–186	–
88	The Corsican Monster	Unknown	Thomas Evans	1803–1805	Broadside	Madden 5:53–54	–
89	The Corsican Tyrant	Unknown	C.X.F.	1814	Broadside	Bod. Johnson Ballads 1307	–
90	Country Joe; or, Down With Bonaparte	Unknown	John Scriven	1805–1806	Pamphlet	*Newcastle Songster* (1806), 9	–
91	Crazy Paul	Unknown	Anon	1800	Book	*Myrtle and Vine*, vol. 3, 157	–
92	Crippled Jack of Trafalgar	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1805–1806	Broadside	Madden 5:62	–
93	A Crocodile's Tears, or, The Sighs of Boney	Farewell to the Green Fields	L.R. Shilling	1814	Broadside	Bod. Harding B16(65b)	–

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No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
94	Crocodile's tears: or Bonaparte's lamentation. A new song	Bow, wow, wow	Anon	1803–1805	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.12(62)	–
95	Cuddy's Fair	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1800	Broadside	Harker, *Songs*, 137	8957
96	The cushion dance, or Paddy's description of the long trot	Unknown	Patrick Fitzpatrick	1813	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.41(25/2)	19195?
97	Daggerwood's Description of Bonaparte	Madam Fig's Gala	Anon	1814	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 234–235	–
98	Death of Parker	Unknown	Anon	Post-1797	Broadside	Palmer, *Thomas Ford's Ballads*, 106	1032
99	Deeds of Napoleon	Unknown	Anon	Post-1821	Broadside	Bod. Firth c.16(99)	2419
100	Delia's Answer	O No, My Love, No	Anon	*c.* 1805	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 34	–
101	The Devil's Own Darling	Unknown	Anon	1814	Broadside	Bod. Johnson Ballads fol.198	–
102	A DIALOGUE Between the Devil and Bonaparte in the Council Chamber at Paris	Derry Down	Anon	1804–1805	Broadside	Madden 5:74	–
103	Done Over	Bow, wow, wow	T. Best, the Well Known Angler	1805	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 190–191	–
104	A Dose for the Dons	Unknown	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1798/1804	Book	*Songs of the Late Charles Dibdin*, 107–108	–

105	Downfal [*sic*] of Bonaparte!!!	Unknown	Anon	1813	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 25(544)	–
106	Downfall of Buonaparte	Rule, Britannia!	Anon	1814	Broadside	Madden 2:1161	–
107	Drilling, or Warring Without Blows	Larry Grogan	John Freeth	1803–1805	Book	Freeth, *New Ballads*, 8	–
108	Dublin Sights	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1800–1815	Book	*Irish Musical Repository*, 261–265	–
109	A Dumpling for Buonaparte	Hearts of Oak	A Norwich Volunteer	1798	Broadside	Madden 2:1172	–
110	Duncan and Victory	Unknown	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1797	Book	*Songs of the Late Charles Dibdin*, 113	–
111	The Durham Volunteers	Anacreon in Heaven	Anon	1805	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 290–291	–
112	The Dying Dragoon	None	Samuel Bamford	*c.* 1815	Book	Bamford, *Homely Rhymes*, 192–193	–
113	The Earsdon Sword-Dancers' Song	Unknown	Anon	Post-1821	Unknown	Stokoe, *Songs and Ballads*, 155	610
114	The Egyptian Wedding	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1803	Broadside	Bod. 2806 c.18(98)	–
115	The Eighteenth of June	Thurot's Defeat (or) The Eighteenth of June	Anon	1815	Pamphlet	*The Famous Battle of Waterloo*, 2–4	2539
116	The Elba King	The Elfin King, or Alice Brand	A Friend of the Author	1814	Pamphlet	*Madison Agonistes*, 100–101	–
117	Elwina of Waterloo	Unknown	Anon	Post-1815	Broadside	Madden 7:62	1566

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
118	Encouragement for all to venture valiantly to the war against the French, in the name of the Lord God of the hosts of Israel, and not only in human Strength	Belisle March	Evan James	1810	Broadside	Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 293–297	–
119	English, Scots, and Irishmen. A Patriotic Address to the Inhabitants of the United Kingdom	King Robert Bruce's March	John Mayne	1803	Broadside	Klingberg and Hustvedt, 173–174	–
120	The Ex-Emperor in a Bottle	Unknown	Anon	1814–1815	Unknown	Ashton, *English Caricature*, vol. 2, 253	–
121	Fallen Boney	Unknown	Hugh McWilliam, a school-master	1814	Book (1816)	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 154	–
122	Fate of Faithful Nancy	Unknown	Thomas Ford	1808–1814	Broadside	Palmer, *Thomas Ford's Ballads*, 105	23928
123	Feelings of a Republican on the Fall of Bonaparte	None	P.B. Shelley	1814	Periodical	Rogers, *The Complete Poetical Works*, vol. 2, 10	–
124	A Fig for the Grand Buonaparte	Roast Beef of Old England	Anon	1803	Broadside	Huntington Library, ANALS 297305, no.17	–

125	The Fishermen Hung the Monkey, O!	The Tinker's Wedding	Ed Corvan	*c.* 1860s	Unknown	Corvan et al., *A Choice Collection*, 62–64	–
126	The Flowers of our Parish	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1803–1805	Book	Plumptre, *A Collection of Songs*, 23	–
127	For A'That and A'That	For A' That	Walter Scott	1814	Unknown	Kirk et al., *United Islands*, 6–7	–
128	Forestalling Done Over	Unknown	Anon	1815	Broadside	Bod. Harding B11(1242)	–
129	The French Invaders	Away to the Downs	John Freeth	1803	Book	Freeth, *New Ballads*, 9	–
130	The Fudge Family in Paris	None	Thomas Moore	1818	Pamphlet	Kent, *Poetical Works*, 307–330	–
131	The Galanti Show	Unknown	Anon	1814	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 72–74	–
132	General Moore	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1809	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 25(715)	–
133	Gen. Wellington	Green Grows the Rushes	Anon	1812	Broadside	Bod. Firth c. 14(376)	–
134	The Genius of Britain	Marseillaise	Anon	1803	Broadside	Bod. 2376 a.1(4)	–
135	The Ghost of a Scrag of Mutton	Unknown	Charles Dibdin the Younger	1809	Book, broadside	Bod. Harding B 10(4)	–
136	Glorious News, Wellington in France and Bonaparte out of Germany!!	Mrs Casey	Anon	1814	Broadside	Bod. Harding B25(743)	–
137	'Go and tell Napoleon, go'	Johnny Cope	Anon, 92nd Foot	1811	Unknown	Winstock, *Songs*, 139	–
138	God Save Great Thomas Paine	God save the King	Joseph Mather	1790s	Broadside	Mather, *The Songs*, 56–57	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
139	The Grand Conversation on Napoleon	The Grand Conversation Under the Rose	George Brown	Post-1832	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 207–208	1189
140	The Grand Conversation Under the Rose	The Grand Conversation Under the Rose	Anon	Post-1815	Broadside	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 150	21272
141	The Grave of Bonaparte	Unknown	Anon	Post-1821	Pamphlet	*Songs for the Million*, 8	7073
142	'Hail, hail! O Peace divine!'	God save the King	Anon	1801	Unknown	Southey, *Music-Making*, 155	–
143	Harlequin's Invasion	Unknown	Anon	1803	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.12(9)	–
144	Here's the Tender Coming	Here's the Tender Coming	Anon	*c.* 1803–1815	Pamphlet, book	Harker, *Songs*, 6	3174
145	The Hero of War	Unknown	Anon	Post-1821	Broadside	Bod. Firth b.26(292)	–
146	'Hide thee from earth's wide rage, a second Cain'	None	Robert Southey	1814	Periodical	Watson, *Romanticism*, 159	–
147	Hohenlinden	Unknown	Thomas Campbell	1800	Book	Campbell, *Gertrude*, 125–127	–
148	I Am Napoleon Bonaparte	Napoleon's Farewell to Paris	Anon	1815	Broadside	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 142	–
149	'I Say – Stop!!!'	None	J. Allin	1804	Broadside	Langford, *A Century*, vol. 2, 367	–

150	I Wish the Wars Were Over	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1803–1814	Unknown	Harker, *Songs,* 33	19108
151	Iberia's War Song	Rule, Britannia!	Francis Armstrong, Esq.	1813	Broadside	Bod. 2376 a.1(11)	–
152	Impromptu (Little Nap Horner)	None	Anon	1814	*General Evening Post*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 115	–
153	Introductory Lines on Joseph Buonaparte's Princely Visit to Spain!	None	Anon	1809	Pamphlet	Coxe, *The Exposé*, 15–16	–
154	The Invasion	The Invasion	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1799	Book	Hogarth, *Songs*, 191	–
155	Ireland Forever	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1800–1815	Book	*Irish Musical Repository,* 235	–
156	The Irish Pedlar	Unknown	C.F. Barret	*c.* 1800	Book	*Myrtle and Vine*, vol. 4, 51	–
157	Irregular Ode to the Ex-Empress Josephine, with an imaginary present of botanic plants	None	The Opposition Poets Tripartite	1814	*Morning Herald*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 87–88	–
158	Isle of St Helena	Isle of St Helena	Anon	*c.* 1815–1816	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 25(245)	349
159	Jenny's Complaint	Nancy's to the Greenwood Gane	Robert Anderson	*c.* 1805–1814	Book	Gilpin, *Songs and Ballads*, 333–334	2525
160	Jervis For Ever	Unknown	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1804	Book	*Songs of the Late Charles Dibdin*, 110	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
161	Joan O'Grinfilt	Joan O'Grinfilt	Joseph Lees & Joseph Coupe	1803–1805	Broadside	Palmer, *Rambling Soldier*, 33–34	1460
162	John Bull in a Rage at the Corn Laws	Unknown	Anon	1814	Broadside	Madden 5:423	–
163	John Bull in Alarm, or, Boney's Escape, and A Second Deliverance of Europe	'An old tune'	Anon	1815	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.5(208)	–
164	John Bull in Town; or, British Wool Forever	Unknown	Mr Emery	1809	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 10(27)	–
165	John Bull's Invitation to Bonaparte	A Cobler there was	Anon	1803	Broadside	Bob. Curzon b.10(120)	–
166	John Diggons	Roast Beef of Old England	James Stawpert	1805–1806	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 16–18	–
167	Johnson Reed	Unknown	John Leonard	1813	Broadside	Harker, *Songs*, 1–2	8977
168	Jonathan and the Lion	Unknown	Anon	1814	*The Champion*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 235–236	–
169	A King or a Consul?	Derry Down	Hannah More	1799	Broadside, book	More, *The Works*, vol. 2, 90–92	–
170	Kiver Awa'	Unknown	Anon	1804	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 14–15	9023
171	Lancashire Weavers' Lament	A-Hunting We Will Go	Anon	Post-1815	Unknown	Thompson, *The Making*, 299	–

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172	The Land in the Ocean	Unknown	Thomas Dibdin	*c.* 1805	Book	*Songs of the Late Charles Dibdin*, 230–231	–
173	Larry's Return to Erin	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1819	Broadside	Palmer, *Working Songs*, 297–298	–
174	Liberty and Equality, or Dermot's Delight	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1798–1804	Pamphlet	Murphy, 'The Ballad Singer', 92	–
175	Little Bess the Ballad Singer	Unknown	S.J. Arnold	*c.* 1805	Pamphlet	Arnold, *Little Bess the Ballad Singer*, 2–3	–
176	Little Boney A-cockhorse	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1803	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 188–189	–
177	The Local Militia	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1808–1809	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 192–193	–
178	The Local Militia-Man	Madam Fig's Gala	William Mitford	1803–1805	Unknown	Thompson et al., *A Collection*, 61	–
179	London Cries	By the Deep Nine	Anon	*c.* 1800	Book	*Myrtle and Vine*, vol. 1, 130–131	–
180	London Cries (II)	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1800	Book	*Myrtle and Vine*, vol. 4, 176–177	–
181	The Lord of Douro	The Green Immortal Shamrock	Anon	1814	Pamphlet	*Madison Agonistes*, 102–103	–
182	Lord Wellington and the Ministers	None	Thomas Moore	1813	Periodical	Kent, *Poetical Works*, 546	–
183	Lord Wellington for ever, huzza! A Favourite New Song	The Brags of Washington	Anon	1812	Broadside	Palmer, *Rambling Soldier*, 177–178	–
184	Louis Dix-huit [fragment]	Unknown	Anon	1816	Unknown	Alger, *Napoleon's British Visitors*, 83–84	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
185	The Loyal Hexham Volunteers, A New Song	Unknown	Jasper Potts	*c.* 1803–1805	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 228–229	–
186	Madam Boney the 2nd	The Bold Dragoon	Anon	1810–1811	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 194–195	–
187	Madison to Buonaparte	None	Anon	1814	Unknown	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 290–292	–
188	The March to Moscow	None	Robert Southey	1812–1813	*The Courier*	Watson, *Romanticism*, 156	–
189	Maria Louisa's Lamentation: The Green Linnet	Unknown	Anon	Post-1815	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 202–203	1619
190	A martial song for the gentlemen soldiers of the Hertfordshire militia	Lillibulero	Anon	*c.* 1803–1805	Broadside	Bod. Firth b.33(43)	–
191	The Marvellous Leap	The Irish hay-makers	John Freeth	*c.* 1805	Book	Freeth, *New Ballads*, 13	–
192	Master Boney's hearty welcome to England. 3rd ed., with alterations, revised and corrected	Derry Down	Anon	1803	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.10(136)	–
193	Matthew Murry's Escape to America	Unknown	Anon	1826	Pamphlet	*New Song Called the Shan Van Vough*, 3–5	–
194	Medley's Remarks on the Times	Unknown	Anon	1809	Broadside	Palmer, *Working Songs*, 290	–

195	Mirabile Dictu! Truth Told By A Frenchman! A Song	Unknown	John Collins	1803–1804	Book	Collins, *Scripscrapologia,* 172	–
196	Mr Mayor	Unknown	Thomas Thompson	1805–1806	Broadside	Harker, *Songs,* 31–32	8783
197	Music	Unknown	S. Webbe	1779	Unknown	Plumptre, *Letters*, 180	–
198	Mussel Mou'd Charlie	Highland Laddie	Anon	Post-1791	Book	*The Ballad Book*, ix-xiii	–
199	N.B. Bonaparte's Farewell to Paris	Miss Forbes's Farewell to Bamf	R.A.H.	1814	Broadside	Bod. Johnson Ballads fol.282	–
200	Na Franncaigh Bhanc/Teacht na bhFranncach go Cill Eala	Unknown	Anon	1798	Unknown	Hayes, *Last Invasion*, 244	–
201	Napoleon Bonaparte	Napoleon Bonaparte	Anon	Post-1840	Broadside	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 157	–
202	Napoleon Buonaparte's Exile to St Helena	Black-Ey'd Susan	Anon	1815	Broadside	Bod. Firth c.16(93)	–
203	Napoleon in Exile	None	R.C. Fair	1818	Periodical	*The Black Dwarf* 2 (1818): 782	–
204	Napoleon is the Boy for Kicking up a Row	Napoleon is the Boy for Kicking up a Row	Anon	*c.* 1830	Broadside	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 151	–
205	Napoleon Signing His Abdication	None	Anon	1814	Broadside	Ashton, *English Caricature*, vol. 2, 188	–
206	Napoleon the Brave	Unknown	Anon	Post-1821	Broadside	Bod. Firth c.12(225)	–
207	Napoleon's Dream	One Night Sad and Languid	Anon	Post-1821	Unknown	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 158	1538

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
208	Napoleon's Farewell	The Wounded Hussar	George Byron	1815	*Examiner*	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 159	–
209	Napoleon's Farewell to Paris	Napoleon's Farewell to Paris	Anon	1815	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 200–201	1626
210	Napoleon's Lamentation	Napoleon's Lamenta-tion	Anon	1814	Broadside	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 148	–
211	Napoleon's Retreat from Leipsig	Unknown	Anon	1813	Unknown	Ashton, *English Caricature*, vol. 2, 162	–
212	Napoleon's Soliloquy In the Island of St. Helena	None	Anon	1815	Periodical	*CWPR* 29 (4 November 1815): 154–155	–
213	Nappy's Napped	Unknown	Anon	1815	Broadside	Madden 5:652	–
214	Naval Victories	Naval Victories	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1799	Book	Hogarth, *Songs*, 197	–
215	Nelson's Glorious Victory at Trafalgar	Unknown	Anon	1805	Broadside	Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads*, 301	522
216	The New Bunch of Loughero	The Bunch of Rushes, O!	Anon	*c.* 1820	Unknown	Zimmermann, *Songs*, 188–189	–
217	The New Century, A New Song	Hearts of Oak	Anon	1800	Book	*Myrtle and Vine*, vol. 3, 146–147	–

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218	A New Constitutional Song. Conquer or Die	Hearts of Oak	J. Wilkins, a Blind Man	1803–1805	Broadside	Madden 3:1207	–
219	The New Granuwale	Gráinne Mhaol	Anon	Post-1815	Unknown	Zimmermann, *Songs*, 182–183	–
220	The New Humours of Bartholomew Fair	Unknown	Anon	1790s	Broadside	Madden 3:1226	–
221	New Hunting Song	A-Hunting We Will Go	Anon	1840	Unknown	Palmer, *A Touch*, 299	–
222	The New Keel Row	The New Keel Row	Thomas Thompson	*c.* 1814	Pamphlet	*Newcastle Songster*, part 1, 2–3	8949
223	A New Loyal Song on his Majesty's Entering the 50th Year of his Reign	Hearts of Oak	Anon	1809	Broadside	Madden 5:339	–
224	A New Song about the celebrated victories against the united fleets of France and Spain and the death of the peerless and successful commander, Lord Nelson	God save the King the Old Way	Robert Morris	1805	Broadside	Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 271–277	–
225	A New Song about the success which our soldiers had over Bonaparte and his army in France on the 16th, 17th and 18th of last June	Unknown	Thomas Jones	1815	Broadside	Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 333–339	–
226	A New Song called Little England	Unknown	Anon	1814	Broadside	Bod. Harding B25(1119)	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
227	A New Song on the retaking of Bonaparte, together with his sending to St Helena	Mentra Gwen	Ioan Daffyd	1815	Broadside	Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 319–322	–
228	A New Song on the successful attempt of destroying the French Fleet in Basque Roads on the 11th April 1809	Unknown	Anon	1809	Broadside	Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads*, 306	–
229	A New Song on the Triumphant Entry of the Allies into Paris; Being the Sure Prelude to Universal Peace!!!	Hearts of Oak	Anon	1814	Broadside	Madden 5:340	–
230	A New Song The Scale Is Turn'd	Unknown	Anon	1814	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 28(129)	–
231	A New Song, Called Little Boney in the Dumps, or, Brother Joe's March from Madrid	Just the Thing	William Cobbett	1808	Broadside	Madden 5:331	–
232	A New Song, called The Tradesman's Lamentation	Unknown	Anon	1790s	Broadside	Palmer, *Working Songs*, 290	–
233	A New Song, Called, British Valour in Portugal	Rule, Britannia!	William Cabe	1808	Broadside	Madden 5:329	–
234	A New Song, On the threaten'd INVASION	The Beggar Girl	Anon	*c.* 1803	Broadside	Madden 3:1385	–
235	Newcastle Election Song	Unknown	Anon	1812	Pamphlet	*Newcastle Songster*, part 1, 7–8	–

236	The Newcastle Signs	Unknown	Cecil Pitt	1806	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 62–63	–
237	Nichol the Newsmonger	The Night Before Larry was Stretch'd	Robert Anderson	1802	Book	Gilpin, *Songs and Ballads*, 310–312	–
238	No Continental War; Money and Men at Home	Near to a place call'd Dover in Kent	John Freeth	*c.* 1805	Book	Freeth, *New Ballads*, 20	–
239	Nongtongpaw	Nongtongpaw	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1796	Pamphlet	Dibdin, *Professional Life*, vol. 4, 37–39	–
240	The Northern Minstrel's Budget	Unknown	Henry Robson	*c.* 1800–1803	Unknown	Bruce and Stokoe, *Northumbrian*, 140–143	–
241	'Not a drum was heard;'	None	Charles Wolfe	1816	Book, broadside	Madden 24:232	13873
242	O cruel Pressgang	Unknown	Anon	Unknown	Broadside	Madden 4:1458	–
243	O No, My Love, No	Unknown	John Shield	*c.* 1803	*Newcastle Chronicle*	Thompson et al., *A Collection*, 105	23110
244	Ó, a bhean an tí	Unknown	Anon	1796	Unknown	Beiner, *Remembering*, 145	–
245	O'Shaughnessy Callaghan Mulrooney's Description of London	John Grouse and Mother Goose	Anon	1815	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 286–287	21416?
246	Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte	None	H.R.M.	1815	Periodical	*CWPR* 28 (30 September 1815): 414	–
247	Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte	None	George Byron	1814	Pamphlet	Byron, *Ode to Napoleon*	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
248	Odsbobbins! I'ze go for a Sodger	Unknown	Anon	1800–1814	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 135–136	–
249	Oh the Weary Cutter	The Wedding o' Blyth	Anon	1799–1815	Unknown	Harker, *Songs*, 5	8772
250	Old England For Ever!	Unknown	John Stagg	1805	Unknown	Gilpin, *Songs and Ballads*, 189–191	–
251	Old England's Strength and Stay	Unknown	John Collins	1803–1804	Book	Collins, *Scripscrapologia*, 68	–
252	The Old Grey Mare	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1816	Unknown	Hayes, 'Irish Links', 67–68	3039
253	'On board th' Undaunted he embark'd'	Unknown	Anon	1814	Unknown	Ashton, *English Caricature*, vol. 2, 206	–
254	On Napoleon's Flight from the Field of Battle	None	Anon	1814	*Morning Post*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 16	–
255	On Seeing in a List of New Music, *The Waterloo Waltz*	Unknown	R. Shorter	1817	Periodical	*Sherwin's Political Register* 1 (1817), 303–344	–
256	On the Late Jubilee	None	Anon	1814	*Morning Chronicle*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 300	–
257	On the Late Report of the Death of Buonaparte	None	R.B.G.	1814	*Morning Post*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 42	–
258	On the Reported Death of Buonaparte	None	T.S.M.	1814	Broadside	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 94–95	–
259	On the Threaten'd Invasion of France	None	Alfred N.	1815	Periodical	*CWPR* 27 (17 June 1815): 768	–

260	One Night Sad and Languid	One Night Sad and Languid	Anon	Post-1821	Unknown	Huntington, *Songs*, 215–216	1538
261	The Orphan Boy	None	John Thelwall	1793–1801	Pamphlet	*Nursery Rhymes for Children*, 3–8	–
262	The Orphan Boy (II)	Unknown	Thomas Thompson	1790s	Pamphlet	Southey, *Music-Making*, 156	–
263	Paddy Macshane's Seven Ages	Unknown	Anon	1800–1815	Book	*Irish Musical Repository*, 13–15	–
264	Paddy's Trip from Dublin	The Priest in his Boots	Anon	1803–1814	Book	*Irish Musical Repository*, 81–85	–
265	Patent Snuffers Exploded, or, A Hint to the Commissioners at Elba	Unknown	Anon	1814	*The Champion*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 268–270	–
266	The Patriot's Hymn	God save the King	Samuel Bamford	1815	Pamphlet	Bamford, *Homely Rhymes*, 47–48	–
267	Peace	Up and war them a'	Robert Anderson	1814	Book	FARNE H1701002	–
268	Peace on the Ocean	In the Midst of the Sea	Anon	1802	Pamphlet	Dobbs, *The Lisper*, 27–28	–
269	Peace, and England's Glory	Roast Beef of Old England	Anon	1814	Broadside	Bod. Firth c.16(8)	–
270	The Peacock, A Modern Satire, in Four Parts	Unknown	William Nicholson	1803–1814	Pamphlet	Nicholson, *Tales*, 80–91	–
271	The Pensioner's Complaint	Unknown	Anon	Post-1815	Pamphlet	*Teddy Roe!*, 5–6	1663
272	The Petition of Jammy's Hen	Unknown	Samuel Bamford	1814	Pamphlet	Bamford, *Homely Rhymes*, 169–170	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
273	The Pitman's Revenge Against Buonaparte	Unknown	George Cameron, Volunteer Sgt.	1804	Pamphlet, book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 37–38	9025
274	The Plains of Waterloo	Unknown	John Robertson, bugler, 92nd foot	1815	Unknown	Greig, *Folk-Song*, Issue LXXIX	1106?
275	The Plains of Waterloo (II)	The Plains of Waterloo (II)	Anon	*c.* 1815–1816	Broadside	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 145	960?
276	The Plains of Waterloo (III)	The Plains of Waterloo (III)	Anon	*c.* 1815–1816	Broadside	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 145	2853?
277	The Ploughman's Ditty: Being an answer to that foolish question, 'what have the poor to lose?'	He That Has the Best Wife	Hannah More	1803	*British Neptune*	Klingberg and Hustvedt, 188–190	–
278	The Politicians	Newcastle Fair	Anon	*c.* 1812	Pamphlet	*Newcastle Songster*, part 3, 9–10	–
279	Prince of Orange	Unknown	Anon	1813	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 25(1574)	563
280	The prophecy! Or Bonaparte killed at last by his own troops!	Unknown	Anon	1803	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.10(111)	–

281	Quiries for Quidnuncs	Unknown	I Ask	1814	Broadside	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 219–220	–
282	Raddle-Neck'd Tups	Unknown	Joseph Mather	1797	Broadside	Mather, *The Songs*, 46–49	–
283	Reinforcements for Lord Wellington	None	Thomas Moore	1813	Periodical	Kent, *Poetical Works*, 545	–
284	Remarks on the Times, &c.	None	David Love	*c.* 1803–1812	Pamphlet	Love, *A Few Remarks*	–
285	The Removal of Bonaparte's Ashes	Unknown	Anon	Post-1840	Broadside	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 157	–
286	The Retrospection	Unknown	Samuel Bamford	1815	Pamphlet	Bamford, *Homely Rhymes*, 211–213	–
287	A Rope's End for Bonaparte	Unknown	Mantz, Finsbury	1803–1805	Broadside	Madden 6:32	–
288	The Royal Eagle	The Blackbird	Anon	*c.* 1830	Unknown	Zimmermann, *Songs*, 186–187	–
289	Rule Britannia, from Sailing of Admiral Duncan and defeat of the Dutch fleet	Rule, Britannia!	Maidstone Concert Society	1797	*Kentish Chronicle*	*Kentish Chronicle* 1853 (27 October 1797): 2	–
290	Runaway Boney or The White Cockade	Unknown	Anon	1812	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 11(3367)	–
291	The Russian Bear	Unknown	Anon	1812	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 198–199	5826?
292	Sahagun	Unknown	Anon, 15th Hussars	1808–1809	Unknown	Winstock, *Songs*, 124	1660
293	The Sailors Wife	The Sailors Wife	R. Spofforth	1807	Pamphlet	Spofforth, *The Twelfth Cake*, 11	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
294	Saint Helena	Unknown	Samuel Bamford	1815–1817	Pamphlet	Bamford, *The Weaver Boy*, 8	–
295	Saint Monday; or, Scenes from Low-Life: A Poem	None	George Davis	1790	Pamphlet	Davis, *Saint Monday*	–
296	A Salt Eel for Mynheer	Unknown	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1797	Book	*Songs of the Late Charles Dibdin*, 114–115	–
297	The Sandgate Lassie's Lament	Unknown	Henry Robson	*c.* 1798–1814	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 301–302	3170
298	Sandy and Donald	The Lass o' Glenshee	Walter Watson	1815	Pamphlet, book	Greig, *Folk-Song*, Issue XCIV	2642
299	Santiana, or, The Plains of Mexico	Unknown	Anon	Post-1821	Unknown	Hugill, *Shanties,* 85	207
300	The Seamen's Complaint: A New Song written by a Sailor who was present at the Battle of the Nile	For a' That	Anon	1815	Broadside	Palmer, *Working Songs*, 149	–
301	The Shan Van Vough	Unknown	Anon	1826	Pamphlet	*New Song Called the Shan Van Vough*, 2–3	–
302	The Sights of London	Unknown	Anon	1814	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 138	–
303	Simon and Janet	Unknown	Anon	1803–1805	Unknown	Greig, *Folk-Song*, Issue XXV	5771
304	Sir John Moore	Unknown	Anon	1809	Broadside	Palmer, *Thomas Ford's Ballads*, 34	1979

305	Sketch of the Present Times	None	Anon	1799	*Dublin Evening Post*	*Dublin Evening Post* 7575 (21 February 1799): 2	–
306	The Soldier at Night	None	T	1809	Unknown	Hull, *The Poets*, 8	–
307	Soldier Jack	Soldier Dick	Michael Wilson	1814	Manuscript	Harland, *Songs*, 15–18	–
308	The Soldier's Death	Unknown	Anon	Post-1808	Unknown	Palmer, *Rambling Soldier*, 248	3848
309	The Soldier's Dream	The Wounded Hussar	Anon	1800–1815	Book	*English Minstrel*, 136–137	13899
310	The Soldiers' Wives Complaint	Unknown	Anon	1800–1814	Unknown	Palmer, *Rambling Soldier*, 250–251	–
311	A Song	Unknown	POP-GUN	1814	*Morning Chronicle*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 195	–
312	Song	To Anacreon in Heav'n	Anon	1798	Unknown	Bainbridge, *British Poetry*, 12	–
313	Song 9	Mrs Casey	Anon	1799	Pamphlet	Tye, *The Loyal Songster*, 18	–
314	The Song of Acre	The Song of Acre	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1803	Book	Hogarth, *Songs*, 277	–
315	A Song of encouragement for everyone to regard God as leader of the allies in France	King's Farewell	Ioan Daffyd	1815	Broadside	Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 325–331	–
316	A Song of praise to the militia of the twelve counties of Wales	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1807	Broadside	Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 279–283	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
317	A Song of praise to the volunteers of the three counties, namely Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire	Unknown	George Stephens	1799	Broadside	Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 241–245	–
318	A Song of thankful commemoration for the triumphant victory which we received recently over our enemies	God save the King	John Thomas	1805	Broadside	Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 265–269	–
319	Song on the New Affair of Copenhagen (Not Lord Nelson's)	Unknown	Anon	1808	*Morning Chronicle*	www.rc.umd.edu/editions/warpoetry/1808/1808_1.html	–
320	Song on the Prospect of Peace	Unknown	William Nicholson	1814	Book	Nicholson, *Tales*, 250–251	–
321	Sonnet (Written November, 1814,) to an old news room at Penzance	None	An Original Member	1814	Printed slip	Huntington Library, 434623	–
322	The Sons of the Tyne, or, British Volunteers	Hearts of Oak	Unknown	*c.* 1803	Book	Bell, *Rhymes*, 87–88	–
323	The Strutting Emperor	Unknown	Anon	1803–1805	Broadside	Madden 5:578	–
324	A Substantial Song, urging Britain to embrace its secular and religious privileges and to correct its faults	Unknown	J.P.	1804	Broadside	Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 259–263	–

325	Surrender of Paris	Unknown	J. Thompson	1815	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.33(190)	–
326	Swaggering Boney	Unknown	Anon	1815	Broadside	Madden 5:633	–
327	Table-Talk Scan Mag; or, what will Mrs Grundy say?	Unknown	Anon	1806–1814	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 178	–
328	The Tarpaulin Jacket	Unknown	Anon	1814	Unknown	Harker, *Songs*, 13–14	829
329	The Tear of Pity	The Wounded Hussar	A Poor Framework-knitter	1821	Broadside	Palmer, *Working Songs*, 304	–
330	'The fame of the brave shall no longer be sounded'	Unknown	Anon	Post-1807	Book	Hone, *Every-Day Book*, 40–41	–
331	'The R[egent] was told'	The Tight Little Island	Anon	1814	*The Champion*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 190–191	–
332	The Threatening of the whole continent against Bonaparte	Runaway Boney or The White Cockade	Anon	1813	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 11(2284)	–
333	The Three Parks: A New Trio	Unknown	Anon	1814	*The Champion*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 204	–
334	Times Past, Present, and to Come	None	Joseph Mitford	1814	Pamphlet, periodical	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814,* 35–38	–
335	To Sir Hudson Lowe	None	Thomas Moore	1816	Periodical	Kent, *Poetical Works*, 550	–
336	To the Emperors of Russia and Austria who eyed the battle of Austerlitz from the Heights whilst Buonaparte was active in the thickest of the fight	None	P.B. Shelley	1805	Pamphlet	Rogers, *The Complete Poetical Works*, vol. 1, 90–91	–

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No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
337	Trafalgar's Battle	Chapter of Kings	James Stawpert	1805	Broadside	FARNE N0101301	–
338	A Trip to Egypt, Nov. 1798	Hark hark away, away to the Downs	Anon	1799	Pamphlet	Tye, *Loyal Songster*, 21–23	–
339	A Trip to the Camp	A Trip to the Camp	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1803	Book	Hogarth, *Songs*, 229	–
340	The Triumph of Peace	The Sons of Albion	L.R. Shilling	1815	Broadside	Bod. Harding B11(3367)	–
341	The Triumphs of Russia – A Song	Unknown	Horatio Smith	1812	Periodical	Anderson, 'British Public Opinion', 416	–
342	True Courage	True Courage	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1798	Broadside, book	Bod. Firth b.25(527)	–
343	True Reformers	Unknown	Joseph Mather	1794	Broadside	Mather, *The Songs*, 37–38	–
344	The Twa Emperors, or, Sandy and Nap	Unknown	William Lillie of Inverugie	*c.* 1813	Unknown	Greig, *Folk-Song*, Issue LIII	2874
345	Tyne Cossacks	The Bold Dragoon	Anon	1814	Pamphlet	FARNE N0801101	–
346	Tyne Fair	Unknown	Anon	1814–1816	Pamphlet	*Budget; or Newcastle Songster for 1816*, 6	–
347	The Tyrant's Fall	Johnny Cope	Mrs Kennedy	1832	Broadside	Freshwater, *Sons of Scotia*, 18	–

348	The Tyrant's Fate	None	Anon	1814	*Morning Chronicle*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 109	–
349	Untitled aisling [fragment]	Unknown	Ó Súilleabháin	*c.* 1798	Unknown	Kirk et al., *United Islands*, 119–120	–
350	Up with the Orange and down with the French	Unknown	Anon	1813	Broadside	Bod. Johnson Ballads 1977Ar	–
351	Upstart Emperors	Push About the Jorum	John Freeth	1804	Book	Freeth, *New Ballads*, 12	–
352	VALENTINE *From John Bull's Daughter to Bonaparte*	None	Anon	1800	Book	*The Herald of Love*, 28–29	–
353	The Visit Returned	None	Anon	1814	*Morning Post*	*Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814*, 30–32	–
354	A Visit to Bonaparte in Plymouth Sound	None	A Lady	1815	Unknown	Ashton, *English Caricature*, vol. 2, 244	–
355	Vittoria! Or King Joe's Last Gun	Unknown	Anon	1813	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.41(25/1)	–
356	Vive la Peste	Vive la Peste	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1804	Book	Hogarth, *Songs*, 244	–
357	A Voice to Europe, Asia, Africa, America, all the world over!	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1808–1811	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.12(68)	–
358	The Volunteer; a song, written by order of the Stanmore association	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1803	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.10(145)	–
359	Waterloo	None	Samuel Bamford	1815–1817	Pamphlet	Bamford, *The Weaver Boy*, 10–11	–
360	Waterloo (II)	None	Thomas Dibdin	1830–1837	Unknown	*Songs of the Late Charles Dibdin*, 251–253	–

(Continued)

No.	Title (or 'first line' if untitled)	Tune	Writer(s)	Date	Known Broadside?	Preferred Source	Roud
361	Waterloo Times – A New Song	Unknown	Anon	1815	Broadside	Palmer, *Working Songs*, 291	–
362	We Must All To Drill	Margery Topping	John Scriven	1806	Pamphlet	*Newcastle Songster* (1806), 5–6	–
363	The Wedding o' Blyth [fragment]	The Wedding o' Blyth	Anon	*c.* 1798–1805	Unknown	Bruce and Stokoe, 163	–
364	A Welcome to the French	A Welcome to the French	Charles Dibdin the Elder	1803	Book	Hogarth, *Songs*, 230	–
365	'We're told that the French to invade us intend'	Unknown	Anon	1803	Unknown	Lisle, *'Long, Long Ago'*, 72–73	–
366	What d'ye think of the new Spanish war	Unknown	Anon	*c.* 1811	Broadside	Bod. Firth c.16(14)	–
367	'What's to be done to save the State?'	None	Y.N.S.	1803	*Gentleman's Magazine*	*Gentleman's Magazine* 72 (August 1803): 764	–
368	The White Flag, or, Boney's Abdication	Derry Down	Hucknell	1814	Broadside	Bod. Curzon b.5(144)	–
369	The White Flag; or, Boney Done Over	Derry Down	Anon	1814	Book, broadside	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 204–205	–
370	'Who says the Age of Song is o'er'	None	Thomas Moore	1814	Book	Dowden, *Letters*, vol. 1, 313	–
371	Who's Afraid	Unknown	Anon	1807	Broadside	Bod. Harding B 25(2045)	–

372	Winlanton Hopping	Unknown	John Leonard	1813	Broadside	Palmer, *Working Songs*, 345	–
373	With Wellington We'll Go	A-Hunting We Will Go	Anon	Post-1815	Broadside	Dallas, *The Cruel Wars*, 204	–
374	The Wonderful Gutter	Unknown	William Mitford	Post-1815	Unknown	Thompson et al., *A Collection*, 54	–
375	The Wonderful Wonders of Town	Unknown	Anon	1814	Book	*Oliver's Complete Collection*, 175–177	–
376	The Wounded Beggar	Unknown	Mary Robinson	*c.* 1800	Book	*Myrtle and Vine*, vol. 3, 15	–
377	The Wounded Hussar	The Wounded Hussar	Thomas Campbell	*c.* 1798	Broadside, book	Campbell, *The Pleasures*, 127–129	2699
378	Written at the Seaman's Stick	Belfast Shoemaker	T.R.V.	1815	Pamphlet	*Gateshead Cabinet*, 5–6	–
379	Ye Mariners of England, A Naval Ode	Unknown	Thomas Campbell	1805–1809	Book	Campbell, *Gertrude*, 101–103	–
380	Ye Sons of Old Ireland	Ye Sons of Old Ireland	Anon	Post-1815	Unknown	Moylan, *Age of Revolution*, 151	2357
381	Young Edward Slain at Waterloo	Garland of Love	Thomas Wilson	*c.* 1815	Broadside	Harland, *Songs*, 29–31	–
382	The Young King of Rome	The Conjurer	Anon	1811	Broadside	Holloway and Black, vol. 2, 196	–

Notes

Introduction

1. Not, I should point out, a fault of the British Museum's commendably even-handed exhibition as a whole. See Tim Clayton and Sheila O'Connell, *Bonaparte and the British: Prints and Satire in the Age of Napoleon* (2015).
2. I am drawing here on ideas of collective memory and official history discussed in the introduction to Alan Forrest et al. (eds), *War Memories: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Modern European Culture* (Basingstoke, 2012), 16–17; ideas that will be developed further in Chapter 4. I do not wish to insist on any sort of rigid oral/print binary, however, when it comes to song.
3. Jeffrey N. Cox, *Romanticism in the Shadow of War: Literary Culture in the Napoleonic War Years* (Cambridge, 2014), 160; Mary Favret, *War at a Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton, 2010), 14.
4. Kate Horgan, *The Politics of Songs in Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1723–1795* (2014), 3.
5. Robert Walser, 'Popular Music Analysis: Ten Apothegms and Four Instances', in Allan Moore (ed.), *Analysing Popular Music* (Cambridge, 2003), 16–38, 22.
6. 'To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing.' Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Hanover, N.H., 1998), 9.
7. E.g. Katherine Hambridge, 'Staging Singing in the Theater of War (Berlin, 1805)', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68 (2015): 39–98.
8. As proposed in Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (Revised edn, Yale, 2009).
9. Jane F. Fulcher (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music* (Oxford, 2011), 6–7.
10. John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford, 2006), 15.
11. In the British context, a brief selection might include, among others: Alun Howkins and C.I. Dyck, ' "The Time's Alteration": Popular Ballads, Rural Radicalism and William Cobbett', *History Workshop* 23 (1987): 20–38; C.I. Dyck, *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture* (Cambridge, 1992); James Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790–1850* (Oxford, 1994); Nicholas Rogers, *Crowds, Culture, and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford, 1998).
12. Roy Porter, cited by John Brewer in David Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution* (1989), 9.
13. Roy Palmer, *The Sound of History: Songs and Social Comment* (Oxford, 1988); Katy Barclay, 'Composing the Self: Gender, Subjectivity and Scottish Balladry', *Cultural and Social History* 7 (2010): 337–353; Marcello Sorce Keller, 'Why Is Music so Ideological, and Why Do Totalitarian States Take It so Seriously? A Personal View from History and the Social Sciences', *Journal of Musicological Research* 26 (2007): 91–122; Michael Bywater, 'Performing Spaces: Street Music and Public

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Territory', *Twentieth-Century Music* 3 (2007): 97–120. The comment comes from David Hopkin, *Voices of the People in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 2012).

14. Robert Darnton, *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (2010).
15. Rosa Salzberg and Massimo Rospocher, 'Street Singers in Italian Renaissance Urban Culture and Communication', *Cultural and Social History* 9 (2012): 9–26; Colin Neilands, 'Irish Broadside Ballads: Performers and Performances', *Folk Music Journal* 6 (1991): 209–222; Bernard Ó Madagáin, 'Functions of Irish Song in the Nineteenth Century', *Béaloideas* 53 (1985): 130–216.
16. In all fairness, these are often reviews or introductions, e.g. Philip Connell and Nigel Leask (eds), *Romanticism and Popular Culture in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2009), 18, 29; Andrew Noble's introduction in John Kirk et al. (eds), *United Islands? The Language of Resistance* (2012), 3, 20; or Michael S.C. Smith, 'Review Article: The French Revolution, British Cultural Politics, and Recent Scholarship across the Disciplines', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 63 (2000): 407–428. One full-length article that fails to deliver is Kate Bowan and Paul Pickering, ' "Songs for the Millions": Chartist Music and Popular Aural Tradition', *Labour History Review* 74 (2009): 44–63.
17. Helen Burke, 'The Revolutionary Prelude: The Dublin Stage in the Late 1770s and Early 1780s', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22 (1998): 7–18.
18. Michael T. Davis, ' "An Evening of Pleasure Rather than Business": Songs, Subversion and Radical Sub-Culture in the 1790s', *Journal for the Study of British Cultures* 12 (2005): 119.
19. Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010).
20. Mark Booth, *The Experience of Songs* (New Haven, 1981).
21. Ibid., 5.
22. E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (Revised edn, 1991), 145, 444, 611, 616, 782, 787–788.
23. Ibid., 497, 663–664.
24. Ibid., 443.
25. Hopkin, *Voices*, especially the introduction.
26. Alan Lomax, *Folk Song Style and Culture* (Washington, 1968), 275.
27. E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (1991), 9.
28. Colley, *Britons*, 310–311. The song, by George Cameron, is Appendix no. 273.
29. Ibid., 309.
30. Matthew Johnson, 'Muffling Inclusiveness: Some Notes towards an Archaeology of the British', in Susan Lawrence (ed.), *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of identity in Great Britain and Its Colonies 1600–1945* (2003), 17–30, 21.
31. Thompson, *The Making*, 917.
32. Catriona Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2013), 3, 4, 163, 6–7. See also the arguments in J.E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793–1815* (Oxford, 1997); Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748–1815* (2000); Jennifer Mori, 'Languages of Loyalism: Patriotism, Nationhood and the State in the 1790s', *English Historical Review* 118 (2003): 33–58.
33. Kennedy, *Narratives*, 7–9.
34. Colley, *Britons*, xix, xxvi.
35. Many Protestant Britons even volunteered to serve in the Spanish forces. See Graciela Iglesias Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon: Volunteering under the Spanish Flag in the Peninsular War* (2013).

36. Katrina Navickas, *Loyalism and Radicalism in Lancashire, 1798–1815* (Oxford, 2009), 10–11.
37. Oskar Cox Jensen, 'The *Travels* of John Magee: Tracing the Geographies of Britain's Itinerant Print-Sellers, 1789–1815', *Journal of Cultural and Social History* 11 (2014): 195–216.
38. J.G.A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands* (Cambridge, 2006), 29.
39. Johnson, 'Muffling Inclusiveness', 18.
40. Thompson, *The Making*, 12–13.
41. Colley, *Britons*, 8.
42. Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (Yale, 2004), 7.
43. Ibid., 43–44.
44. Ibid., 227.
45. Ibid., 228.
46. Ibid., 44.
47. Ibid., 2.
48. Christina Parolin, *Radical Spaces: Venues of Popular Politics in London, 1790-c.1845* (Canberra, 2010), esp. 9–10.
49. Esp. 'Coming Home: The Public Spaces of Romantic War', *Studies in Romanticism* 33 (1994): 539–548; 'Everyday War', *ELH* 72 (2005): 605–633; *War at a Distance*.
50. E.g. (among others) Alan Forrest et al. (eds), *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790–1820* (Basingstoke, 2009).
51. Jenny Uglow, *In These Times: Living in Britain through Napoleon's Wars, 1793–1815* (2014).
52. Mark Philp, 'Vulgar Conservatism', *English Historical Review* 110 (1995): 65.
53. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), xiii.
54. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols (1755), vol. 2, 201.
55. George Gregory, *A Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, 2 vols (1806), vol. 1, 197.
56. Horgan, *The Politics of Song*, 5.
57. Ibid., 5.
58. Roy Palmer (ed.), *The Rambling Soldier* (2nd edn, Gloucester, 1985), 177–178; Idem (ed.), *A Touch on the Times: Songs of Social Change, 1770–1914* (Harmondsworth, 1974), 299.
59. *Paddy's Resource, Being a Select Collection of Original and Modern Patriotic Songs* (New York, 1798).
60. Appendix no. 138.
61. Samuel Bamford, *Passages in the Life of a Radical* (1841, repr. Oxford, 1984), 237.
62. See Thompson, *The Making*, 22, where 'popular' is preferred to 'working-class'.
63. Tim Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', in Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c.1500–1850* (Basingstoke, 1995), 1–27.
64. See Chapter 1.
65. Harris, 'Problematising', 10. Note that it is necessary for Harris to maintain the paradigm in order to subject it to critique.
66. Pierce Egan, *Life in London, or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, Esq.* (2nd edn, *c.*1870).
67. Dave Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong', 1700 to the Present Day* (Milton Keynes, 1985), xii. See also Michael Pickering, 'The Study of Vernacular Song in England', *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 33 (1988): 95–104.
68. Harris, 'Problematising', 23.

69. See Cox Jensen, 'The *Travels*'.
70. Marsh, *Music and Society*, x.

1 'A Hacknied Tune'? Song Culture in Napoleonic Britain

1. John Horden, 'Freeth, John (1731–1808)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37433> (14 August 2013).
2. *Birmingham Gazette* (3 October 1808), cited in John A. Langford (ed.), *A Century of Birmingham Life: Or, a Chronicle of Local Events, from 1741 to 1841*, 2 vols (2nd edn, Birmingham, 1870), vol. 2, 277.
3. John Horden, *John Freeth (1731–1808): Political Ballad-Writer and Innkeeper* (Oxford, 1993), 1, 7–8, 14; John Freeth, *A Touch on the Times* (Birmingham, 1803); Idem, *New Ballads, to Old Familiar Tunes* (Birmingham, 1805).
4. With apologies for the transparent reference to Michel de Certeau, whose work here is of obvious significance.
5. Clement Greenberg, 'Modernist Painting', in Idem, *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, 4 vols (Chicago, 1993), vol. 4, 85–93, 86. I am, however, barely dipping a toe in media specificity here, as media theory is itself beyond my proper area of competence.
6. Philp, 'Vulgar Conservatism', 52.
7. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984), esp. 56, 60.
8. John Morfitt, *The British Tocsin: Or, the War with France Justified* (Birmingham, 1803), 1.
9. 'G.F.M.', *European Magazine*, 71 (May 1817): 434.
10. 'C.R.-S.', *Scourge, or, Literary, Theatrical, and Miscellaneous Magazine* (*Scourge*), 7 (May 1814): 378–379.
11. William West, *Fifty Years' Recollections of an Old Bookseller* (Cork, 1835), 68.
12. John Caulfield, *Blackguardiana: Or, a Dictionary of Rogues* (*c.*1793), 54.
13. John Tye, *The Loyal Songster* (Birmingham, 1799), i.
14. Cited (and erroneously attributed to Hannah More) in Robin Ganev, *Songs of Protest, Songs of Love* (Manchester, 2009), 205.
15. Walter Watson, *Poems and Songs, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (Glasgow, 1853), xx.
16. Bamford, *Passages*, 123.
17. Samuel Bamford, *The Weaver Boy: Or, Miscellaneous Poetry* (Manchester, 1819), 7.
18. William Thom, *Rhymes and Recollections of a Hand-Loom Weaver* (2nd edn, 1845), 16.
19. Ibid. 13–14, 15.
20. For two especially lucid examples, see James Hogg, *The Mountain Bard, Consisting of Legendary Ballads and Tales* (Edinburgh, 1821), xii–xvii; John W. Tibble and Anne Tibble (eds), *The Prose of John Clare* (1951), 30.
21. 'A Song of praise to the volunteers of the three counties', Appendix no. 317.
22. 'A song of encouragement', Appendix no. 315.
23. See Chapter 4.
24. Charles Dibdin, *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin, Written by Himself*, 4 vols (1803), vol. 1, xxi–xxii.
25. Anthony Bennett, 'Sources of Popular Song in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Problems and Methods of Research', *Popular Music* 2 (1982): 69–89, 77–78.

26. Andrew Rouse, *The Remunerated Vernacular Singer: From Medieval England to the Post-War Revival* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005), 28.
27. Langford, *A Century*, vol. 2, 290.
28. E.g. James Plumptre, *A Collection of Songs Moral, Sentimental, Instructive, and Amusing* (1806), 29; Robert Anderson, *The Poetical Works of Robert Anderson*, 2 vols (Carlisle, 1820), vol. 2, xxv; Thomas Holcroft, *Memoirs of the Late Thomas Holcroft, Written by Himself*, 3 vols (1816), vol. 1, 280–281.
29. John Cartwright, *England's Aegis; or, the Military Energies of the Constitution*, 2 vols (3rd edn, 1806), 83.
30. However, Ian Russell insists on a comic dimension in 'Parody and Performance', in Michael Pickering and Tony Green (eds), *Everyday Culture: Popular Song and the Vernacular Milieu* (Milton Keynes, 1987), 70–104. See also Simon Dentith, *Parody* (2000), and Alison Morgan, ' "God Save Our Queen!" Percy Bysshe Shelley and Radical Appropriations of the British National Anthem', *Romanticism* 20 (2014): 60–72, 63–64.
31. See Vic Gammon, 'Problems of Method in the Historical Study of Popular Music', in David Horn and Philip Tagg (eds), *Popular Music Perspectives* (Göteborg & Exeter, 1982), 16–31, 24; Mark Philp, *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797–1815* (Aldershot, 2006), 173, 175; Kevin Whelan, 'The United Irishmen, the Enlightenment and Popular Culture', in David Dickson et al. (eds), *The United Irishmen: Republicanism, Radicalism and Rebellion* (Dublin, 1993), 269–296, 283.
32. Alan Lomax, *Folk Song Style and Culture* (Washington, 1968), 275.
33. See also Booth, *The Experience*, 7–12, 133–134.
34. There is a fascinating theoretical exploration of this last point in Victor Zuckerkandl, *Man the Musician* (Princeton, 1976), 21–30, 40; it is discussed in Booth, *The Experience*, 14–20, and we will return to it in subsequent chapters. See also George Boswell, 'Reciprocal Controls Exerted by Ballad Texts and Tunes', *The Journal of American Folklore* 80 (1967): 169–174.
35. Cited in e.g. Palmer, *The Sound of History*, 16–17.
36. John Harland (ed.), *The Songs of the Wilsons: With a Memoir of the Family, and Several Additional Songs Never before Published* (Manchester, n.d.) 6–7.
37. Gerald Porter, 'Cobblers All: Occupation as Identity and Cultural Message', *Folk Music Journal* 7 (1995): 43–61, 43; Lomax, *Folk Song*, 275.
38. Booth, *The Experience*, 13.
39. Cited in Roger Elbourne, *Music and Tradition in Early Industrial Lancashire, 1780–1840* (Woodbridge, 1980), 29.
40. Biographical details of John Bell may be found in P. Isaac, 'Bell, Thomas (1785–1860)', *ODNB,* <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2028> (14 August 2013).
41. The best recent work is Darnton, *Poetry and the Police*.
42. Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'Popular Song, Readers and Language: Printed Anthologies in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, 1780–1820', in John Kirk, Michael Brown, and Andrew Noble (eds), *Cultures of Radicalism in Britain and Ireland* (2013), 129–144, 135. See also Niall Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750–1850* (1997), 165.
43. OED, 'publisher, *n.*' 2a and 2b, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/154076> (14 February 2013).
44. James Asperne, *European Magazine*, 44 (1803): 455.
45. Leslie Shepard, *John Pitts, Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London, 1765–1844* (1969); Idem, *The History of Street Literature* (Newton Abbot, 1973); Charles Hindley, *The History of the Catnach Press* (1887); Idem, *The Life of Old Jemmy Catnach, Printer* (1878, repr. Penzance, 1965).

46. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 41.
47. Asperne, *European Magazine*, 44 (1803): 455.
48. Shepard, *John Pitts*, 46; Stella Cottrell, 'English Views of France and the French, 1789–1815', D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1990), 309.
49. Roy Palmer (ed.), *Birmingham Ballads* (Birmingham, 1979); Ffion Mair Jones, *Welsh Ballads of the French Revolution, 1793–1815* (Cardiff, 2012); Marion Löffler, *Welsh Responses to the French Revolution: Press & Public Discourse, 1789–1802* (Cardiff, 2012).
50. D.P.B. Eccleston, *A Sketch of the Character of Gen. Bonaparte* (Lancaster, 1802), frontispiece.
51. 'N.B. Bonaparte's Farewell to Paris', Appendix no. 199.
52. Palmer, *The Sound of History*, 13. Russell's post-1815 output includes numerous pro-Napoleonic songs: mustrad.org.uk/articles/birming3.htm (18 July 2013).
53. Joseph Mather, *The Songs of Joseph Mather* (Sheffield, 1862), xxii. See also Horgan, *The Politics*, Chapter 4.
54. Whelan, 'The United Irishmen', 276.
55. Robert Bell, *A Description of the Condition and Manners as Well as of the Moral and Political Character, Education, &c. of the Peasantry of Ireland* (1804), 41 *fn*; John Moulden, 'Ballads and Ballad Singers: Samuel Lover's Tour of Dublin in 1830', in David Atkinson and Steve Roud (eds), *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and North America: The Interface between Print and Oral Traditions* (Farnham, 2014), 127–146, 130.
56. Thomas Bartlett (ed.), *Revolutionary Dublin, 1795–1801: The Letters of Francis Higgins to Dublin Castle* (Dublin, 2004), esp. 154, 159–170, 181; see also *Report of the Trial of the King versus Hurdy Gurdy* (Dublin, 1794).
57. E.g. Thomas Evans, who produced multiple editions of his own 'The Corsican Monster', Appendix no. 88.
58. *The Life of Old Jemmy Catnach*, 8.
59. Roger Elbourne, 'A Mirror of Man?' Traditional Music as a Reflection of Society', *The Journal of American Folklore* 89 (1976): 463–468, 467.
60. John Collins, *Scripscrapologia: Or, Collin's Doggerel Dish of all Sorts* (Birmingham, 1804), vii; 'Boney Invaded, a New Song', Appendix no. 46.
61. David Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience, of David Love. Written by Himself* (3rd edn, Nottingham, 1824), 65–66, 73, 76. J. Sambrook, 'Love, David (1750–1827)', *OBND*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17039> (14 August 2013). See also Michael Harris, 'A Few Shillings for Small Books: The Experiences of a Flying Stationer in the 18th Century', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550–1850* (Winchester, 1990), 83–108.
62. Contrast Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols (2nd edn, New York, 1968), vol. 1, 220 and *The Life of Old Jemmy Catnach*, 11, with George Speaight (ed.), *Professional and Literary Memoirs of Charles Dibdin the Younger* (1956), 47 and Frances M. Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks in Newcastle upon Tyne University Library* (Newcastle, 1969), 6, 12. John Clare gives a sad account of a less notable printer, J.B. Henson, and his slide into bankruptcy, cited in George Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition* (1983), 40.
63. Cited in Frank J. Klingberg and Sigurd B. Hustvedt (eds), *The Warning Drum. The British Home Front Faces Napoleon: Broadsides of 1803* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1944), 214.
64. Rouse, *The Remunerated*, 10.

65. E.g. *On the use and Abuse of Charity* (Edinburgh and London, 1819), 10, or *The Labourer's Friend and Handicraft's Chronicle* (1821) for an Irish perspective.
66. See Ian McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (Cambridge, 1988).
67. Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (1995), 67.
68. Shepard, *John Pitts,* 129, 136; 'Jumping Joan', facsimile in Hindley, *The History of the Catnach Press*, 155–157.
69. Tibble and Tibble, *The Prose*, 49–50.
70. Speaight, *Professional and Literary Memoirs*, 47.
71. *The Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols (1810), vol. 5, 430.
72. Simon Bainbridge, *British Poetry*, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Visions of Conflict* (Oxford, 2003), 9–10.
73. Harker, *Fakesong*, esp. 26–27, 37.
74. Vic Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600–1900* (Aldershot, 2008), 8.
75. Appendix no. 232. Roy Palmer, *Working Songs: Industrial Ballads and Poems from Britain and Ireland, 1780s–1980s* (Todmorden, 2010), 290.
76. *The Wounded Hussar* (Belfast, n.d.).
77. Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*, 43.
78. Georgina Born, 'Listening, Mediation, Event: Anthropological and Sociological Perspectives', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135 (2010): 79–89, 88.
79. Cox Jensen, 'The *Travels*'.
80. John Magee, *Some Account of the Travels of John Magee* (Paisley, 1826); Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience*.
81. Langford, *A Century*, vol. 2, 269–277; *The Ballad Book [a Collection, Preceded by a Life of Charles Lesly]* (Edinburgh, 1827); 'Gulielmus Dubliniensis Humoriensis', *Memoir of the Great Original Zozimus (Michael Moran)* (2nd edn, Dublin, 1976); Edward Corvan, *A Choice Collection of Tyneside Songs* (Newcastle, 1863), 136–138, 140–142; Mather, *The Songs*; Watson, *Poems and Songs*; Harland, *The Songs of the Wilsons*; John Thomas Smith, *Vagabondiana* (1817), 27–29, 33, 36, 45–46.
82. The perils of over-reading early working-class autobiography are elucidated in John Burnett (ed.), *Useful Toil: Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s* (Harmondsworth, 1984), 11–12.
83. Playbills reveal that 'Ballad-Singer' was even a stock role in pantomimes, e.g. notice reproduced in *European Magazine* 45 (January 1804): 58.
84. Harry Thomas Dickinson, *Caricatures and the Constitution, 1760–1832* (Cambridge, 1986), 14–15.
85. Appendix no. 27.
86. *London Magazine* 4 (October 1821): 405–406; Charles Johnstone, *Chrysal: Or, the Adventures of a Guinea*, 3 vols (*c.*1797), vol. 2, 7–11.
87. Appendix no. 10.
88. Mather, *The Songs*, vii, viii, ix.
89. *London Magazine* 4 (September 1821): 269.
90. *Theatre, or, Dramatic and Literary Mirror* 2/16 (24 July 1819): 23.
91. *The Ballad Book*, iii–iv; Gulielmus, *Memoir*, 3; Douglas Jerrold, 'The Ballad Singer', in *Heads of the People: Being Portraits of the English*, 2 vols (1840), vol. 2, 289–297, 289. See also H. Shields, 'Moran, Michael [Zozimus] (*c.*1794–1846)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37780> (14 August 2013).
92. Samuel Lover, *National Magazine* 1 (August 1830): 193–204, 194.

93. David Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk* (2nd edn, East Linton, 1997), 211.
94. William Hone, *The Every-Day Book; or, the Guide to the Year* (1825), 204.
95. Richard Whately, *Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Bonaparte* (1985).
96. Ibid. 25.
97. Ibid. 35.
98. Egan, *Life in London*, xiii.
99. Ibid. 55.
100. Deborah Kennedy, 'Englishwomen and Napoleon Bonaparte', in Waltraud Maierhofer, Gertrud M. Rösch, and Caroline Bland (eds), *Women against Napoleon: Historical and Fictional Responses to His Rise and Legacy* (Frankfurt, 2007), 39–55, 40.
101. Eccleston, *A Sketch*, 18, inside cover, 4.
102. John Richard Watson, *Romanticism and War: A Study of British Romantic Period Writers and the Napoleonic Wars* (Basingstoke, 2003), 32.
103. Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1800), 56.
104. William Wordsworth, *The Prelude* (New York, 1850), 178–179.
105. J. M. Bartlett, 'The Soldier's Return', *Lady's Monthly Museum* 6 (September 1817): 154.
106. *Examiner* 457 (29 September 1816): 623.
107. *Exchange Herald* (31 August 1826), cited in Elbourne, 'A Mirror of Man?', 467–468; Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on Indigence* (1806), 41.
108. See also Tim Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (2004), 65.
109. *Scourge* 7 (May 1814): 378–379.
110. James Hall, *Tour through Ireland: Particularly the Interior & Least Known Parts*, 2 vols (1813), vol. 2, 266; *Belfast Monthly Magazine* 4 (May 1810), 321; Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), 195; *Patriot* 6 (2 October 1819): 93–94; *Weekly Entertainer* 42 (8 August 1803): 103.
111. E.g. *First Report of the Liverpool Religious Tract Society, MDCCCXV* (Liverpool, 1815), 8.
112. Palmer, *Birmingham Ballads*, 4.
113. *Report from Committee on the State of Mendicity in the Metropolis* (1815).
114. Ibid. 5.
115. Ibid. e.g. 26, 41, 58, 60, 65, 67.
116. Ibid. 67.
117. Ibid. 52, 59, 67.
118. Ibid. 8, 17.
119. Bernard Falk, *Thomas Rowlandson: His Life and Art, A Documentary Record*, (1949), facing 197; BM no. 1871,0429.725. Dozens of similar images are extant.
120. Gammon, 'Problems of Method', 22.
121. Cited e.g. in Gammon, 'The Grand Conversation: Napoleon and British Popular Balladry', *RSA Journal* 137 (1989): 665–674, 667.
122. Katrina Navickas, 'Moors, Fields, and Popular Protest in South Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1800–1848', *Northern History* 46 (2009): 93–111; Rogers, 'Crowds', 233–264; Bamford, *Passages*, 147.
123. Porter, 'Cobblers All', 54, 44.
124. See below. Epstein in particular notes the subversive reclamation of controlled public spaces through the ritualised rejection of 'God save the King' and other overtly symbolic actions. Epstein, *Radical Expression*, 149–152.
125. Neilands, 'Irish Broadside Ballads', 210.

126. Lover, *National Magazine* 1 (August 1830): 195.
127. Mather, *The Songs*, viii.
128. *Press* 40 (30 December 1797): 1.
129. Thomas Rowlandson, *Rowlandson's Characteristic Sketches of the Lower Orders* (*c.*1820), plates 19, 31, 41, 46, 52.
130. *Weekly Entertainer* 48 (4 April 1808): 261; 'The Collier's Pay Week', Appendix no. 84.
131. George Davis, 'Saint Monday; or, Scenes from Low-Life: A Poem' (Birmingham, 1790), 11; George Cruikshank, 'Tom and Jerry "Masquerading it" among the cadgers in the "black slums," in the Holy Land', print (1821), BM no. 1864,0611.408.
132. John Golby and A. William Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England, 1750–1900* (1984), 37; *Belfast Monthly Magazine* 4 (May 1810): 321.
133. Henry Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair* (1973), 477. For further evidence of the subversive political tone of fairs, see ibid. 456, 459, 461.
134. Benjamin Heller, 'The "Mene Peuple" and the Polite Spectator: The Individual in the Crowd at Eighteenth-Century London Fairs', *Past & Present* 208 (2010): 131–157, esp. 153.
135. Mary Lisle, *'Long, Long Ago:' An Autobiography* (1856), 38–39.
136. George Parker, *A View of Society and Manners in High and Low Life*, 2 vols (1791) vol. 2, 58–59.
137. Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience*, 102–104.
138. Appendix no. 284.
139. Gulielmus, *Memoir*, 24.
140. James Fenton (ed.), *The Songs of Tomàs Ruadh O'Sullivan, The Iveragh Poet* (Dublin, 1914), 12, 9, 18.
141. *The Ballad Book*, iii.
142. *A Collection of Addresses, Songs, Squibs, &c. Published at Liverpool* (Isleman, 1807), 83.
143. Harland, *The Songs of the Wilsons*, 23–25.
144. Mather, *The Songs*, ix.
145. Appendix no. 282, 'Britons Awake' (63), 'True Reformers' (343), Appendix no. 138.
146. Magee, *Some Account*, 30.
147. Ibid. 19–20, 31, 34.
148. Ibid. 38, 37, 12.
149. Löffler, *Welsh Responses*, 29.
150. Mather, *The Songs*, viii.
151. See Rogers, 'Crowds', 236–237; John Bohstedt, *Riots and Community Politics in England and Wales, 1790–1810* (Harvard, 1983), 8; Golby and Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd*, 37.
152. Appendix no. 362.
153. Smith, *Vagabondiana*, 33.
154. Neilands, 'Irish Broadside Ballads', 219–220; Francis Cunningham Woods, 'A Consideration of the Various Types of Songs Popular in England during the Eighteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 23rd session (1896–7): 37–55, 40; Ó Madagáin, 'Functions', 183.
155. Ó Madagáin, 'Functions', 151–152.
156. Jerrold, 'The Ballad Singer', 289.

157. POB, t17990911-67.
158. POB, t18020918-128.
159. POB, t18091101-45.
160. POB, t18100411-48.
161. POB, t18130407-115.
162. POB, t18191027-6.
163. E.g. Robert Collison, *The Story of Street Literature: Forerunner of the Popular Press* (1973), 2; Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origin and Meaning* (1962), 5.
164. Olivia Smith, *The Politics of Language, 1791–1819* (Oxford, 1984), 96.
165. Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'The Irish Rogues', in James Donnelly and Kerby Miller (eds), *Irish Popular Culture, 1650–1850* (Dublin, 1998), 78.
166. Julia Briggs et al. (eds), *Popular Children's Literature in Britain* (Aldershot, 2008), 4–5.
167. Lomax, *Folk Song*, 275; A.L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (1969), 273–275; Shepard, *The History of Street Literature*, 126.
168. Pickering and Green, *Everyday Culture*, 3.
169. Edward Lee, *Music of the People: A Study of Popular Music in Great Britain* (1970), 70.
170. Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator* (2009), 2.
171. Bohstedt, *Riots*, 6.
172. Shepard, *The History of Street Literature*, 125.
173. John Nicol, *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner* (1937), 209–210.
174. Joseph Butwin, 'Democracy and Popular Culture Before Reform', *Browning Institute Studies* 17 (1989): 1–21, 4.
175. Christopher Hibbert (ed.), *A Soldier of the Seventy-First: The Journal of a Soldier in the Peninsular War* (Moreton-in-Marsh, 1996), 66. Also cited in Roy Palmer, *The Rambling Soldier* (2nd edn, Gloucester, 1985), 4.
176. Hibbert, *A Soldier*, 66.
177. Ibid. 66–67.
178. Richard Cronin, 'Walter Scott and Anti-Gallican Minstrelsy', *English Literary History* 66 (1999): 863–883, 865.
179. Thomas Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper. Written by Himself* (3rd edn, 1872), 22–23.
180. Ann Kussmaul (ed.), *The Autobiography of Joseph Mayett of Quainton (1783–1839)* (Cambridge, 1986), 23.
181. Ibid. 70.
182. 'Fitz-Albion', *Fitz-Albion's letters to the Rt. Hon. William Pitt* (1803), 8.
183. Lisle, *'Long, Long Ago'*, 80.
184. Eric Robinson (ed.), *The Early Poems of John Clare, 1804–1822*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1989), vol. 2, 727–728.
185. Sorce Keller, 'Why Is Music so Ideological', 113.
186. Whelan, 'The United Irishmen', 283.
187. Davis, 'An Evening of Pleasure', 118.
188. Edgar Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown*, 2 vols (1970), vol. 1, 102; Herbert J.C. Grierson (ed.), *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 3 vols (1932), vol. 1, 30.
189. Whelan, 'The United Irishmen', 283.
190. Mark Pottle, 'Loyalty and Patriotism in Nottingham, 1792–1816', D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1988), 59.

191. Thomas A. Ward, *Peeps into the Past* (Sheffield, 1909), 196. 'Mobility' as opposed to 'nobility': OED, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/120495?rskey= qS8rj8&result= 2#eid> (31 July 2013).
192. Thompson, *The Making*, 808.
193. See Philp, 'Vulgar Conservatism', 66.

2 'Threats of the *Carmagnols*': Contesting the Nation, 1797–1805

1. Alan Peat (ed.), '*The Most Dismal Times' William Rowbottom's Diary Part I 1787–1799* (Oldham, 1996), 83, 84.
2. Appendix no. 244.
3. George Denis Zimmermann, *Songs of Irish Rebellion: Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs, 1780–1900* (Dublin, 1967). Guy Beiner discusses 'the lingering messianic reverence accorded to Napoleon Bonaparte in Irish folklore, which was manifested particularly in song and ballad tradition', in Guy Beiner, *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory* (Wisconsin, 2007), 145. Both Kevin Whelan and Breandan Ó Buachalla address the topic in Thomas Bartlett et al. (eds), *1798: A Bicentenary Perspective* (Dublin, 2003). See Terry Moylan (ed.), *The Age of Revolution in the Irish Song Tradition, 1776 to 1815* (Dublin, 2000), for repertoire beyond 1798.
4. Beiner, *Remembering*, 147; Appendix no. 200.
5. Appendix no. 349.
6. Beiner, *Remembering*, 145–146.
7. Appendix no. 64.
8. Appendix no. 174.
9. Maura Cronin, 'Broadside Literature and Popular Political Opinion in Munster, 1800–1820', in Kirk, *Cultures of Radicalism*, 145–157, 150.
10. Ibid. 152.
11. Brendan Ó Buachalla, 'From Jacobite to Jacobin', in Bartlett, *1798*, 75–96, 95.
12. Ibid. 76. See also ibid. 76–80, and Vincent Morley, 'Homology, Analogy and the Perception of Irish Radicalism' in Kirk, *United Islands*, 109–123, 122–123.
13. *Satirist* 8 (May 1808): 241.
14. Appendix no. 18.
15. Appendix no. 1.
16. Appendix no. 217.
17. Appendix no. 109.
18. Appendix no. 314.
19. Appendix no. 304.
20. See Chapter 1.
21. *Bonaparte's Reverie: A Poetical Romance*, (2nd edn, 1800), vii.
22. Ibid. 11.
23. Appendix no. 352.
24. Appendix no. 169.
25. E.g. Thomas Rowlandson, *The Contrast 1793, Which Is Best?* Bod. Curzon b.14(70).
26. S. J. Skedd, 'More, Hannah (1745–1833)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19179> (4 March 2015).
27. Appendix no. 169. There are five extant Bod. versions, e.g. Curzon b10(102).

28. 'The Riot', Bod. Johnson Ballads fol. 185; William Hone, *The Reformists' Register and Weekly Commentary* (1817), 391–392.
29. Frank L. Harrison, 'Music, Poetry and Polity in the Age of Swift', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 1 (1986): 37–63, 49.
30. E.g. BL Scores G295 o (12) [1780].
31. 'A new song. Entitled Master Billy Pitt's budget; or a touch on the times', Bod. G.A. Warw. b.1 (735) (1785); 'The Powder Tax. A new song', Bod. Douce Prints S 9(p.161) (*c*.1795).
32. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 54–56.
33. Sarah Trimmer, *The Two Farmers* (5th edn, 1808), 114–115.
34. Booth, *The Experience of Songs*, 18.
35. Ibid. 104.
36. Three shillings and sixpence. Bod. Curzon b.10(102).
37. See Cox Jensen, 'The *Travels*'.
38. Langford, *A Century*, vol. 2, 379.
39. John Dobbs, *The Lisper. Songs, &c. Addressed to the Friends of Peace* (Birmingham, 1802).
40. Ibid. 9–12, 13–26.
41. Appendix no. 268.
42. John Goldsworth Alger, *Napoleon's British Visitors and Captives 1801–1815* (Westminster, 1904); R.R.M. Sée, *Masquerier and His Circle* (1922)' Alan Halliday, 'English Artists and Visitors to Paris during the Peace of Amiens' D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1983); Maierhofer, *Women Against Napoleon*.
43. Horace Smith (ed.), *Memoirs, Letters, and Comic Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, of the late James Smith, Esq*., 2 vols (1840) vol. 1, 295–298.
44. G. Carnall, 'Campbell, Thomas (1777–1844)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4534> (14 August 2013); Appendix nos. 376, 308, 147. Two garlands published by John Marshall at Newcastle, one untitled, one called *The Thrush*, include 'The Wounded Hussar', and are examined in Chapter 3. See Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*, 43, 75.
45. Eccleston, *A Sketch*.
46. Ibid. 2.
47. Ibid. frontispiece.
48. Appendix no. 87; Bod. Harding B 17(62b). Dated in John Holloway and Joan Black (eds), *Later English Broadside Ballads*, 2 vols (1975), vol. 2, 185–186.
49. See Chapter 4. I am borrowing 'knowingness' from Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge, 1998), 132.
50. Many, as seen below, were offered for sale by the hundred. William St Clair's widely accepted estimate is that a minimum print run at this time was between two and four thousand copies: William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2004), 340.
51. Extract from a list of stock of John Ginger, a London printer, in Klingberg and Hustvedt, *The Warning Drum*, 215.
52. Mark Rawlinson, 'Invasion! Coleridge, the defence of Britain and the cultivation of the public's fear', in Philip Shaw (ed.), *Romantic Wars: Studies in Culture and Conflict, 1793–1822* (Aldershot, 2000), 110–137, 131.
53. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 41–42; Shepard, *John Pitts*, 31; Idem, *The History*, 125.
54. For the best single authority, see Cottrell, 'English Views'.
55. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 50.
56. Appendix no. 176.

57. Appendix no. 88.
58. Charles Phillips, *An Historical Character of Napoleon* (5th edn, 1817), 3. Quoted but uncited in Cottrell, 'English Views', 206.
59. Simon Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (Cambridge, 1995), 1.
60. Klingberg and Hustvedt, *The Warning Drum*, 68–99; 72–73; 138–142; 118–119.
61. Thompson, *The Making*, 497–498.
62. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 44–45.
63. Hugh Cunningham, 'The Language of Patriotism, 1750–1914', *History Workshop* 12 (1981): 8–33, 15.
64. Maurizio Viroli, *For Love of Country: An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1995), 101–103.
65. Sir John Moore to Home Office, 17 February 1804, PRO HO/50/396. Cited in Richard Glover, *Britain at Bay: Defence against Bonaparte, 1803–14* (New York, 1973), 161.
66. See Chapter 3.
67. Cottrell, 'English Views', 6; Semmel, *Napoleon*, 44, 54, 56.
68. Klingberg and Hustvedt, *The Warning Drum*, 101–103, 70–71 and 215, 136–137, 188–190 (Appendix no. 277).
69. Paul Tankard (ed.), *Facts and Inventions: Selections from the Journalism of James Boswell* (Yale, 2014), 256.
70. Barrell, *The Spirit*, 210–246, esp. 237, 241.
71. Appendix no. 119; Bod. Harding B22 (324).
72. These date back to at least the mid-seventeenth century, when R. Burton of London published both 'Cupids cure: or, An answer to Cupids cruelty' (Bod. Douce Ballads 1(47a)), and 'The merry countrey maids answer to the countrey lovers conquest' (Bod. Wood E 25(124)).
73. Booth, *The Experience of Songs*, 15.
74. Ibid. 17.
75. Anne Stott, *Hannah More: The First Victorian* (Oxford, 2003), Susan Staves, 'Church of England Clergy and Women Writers', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 65 (2002): 81–103; Harriest Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750–1810* (Chicago, 2000); Idem, 'Bluestocking Feminism', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 65 (2002): 59–80; Idem, 'Hannah More and Conservative Feminism', in Jennie Batchelor and Cora Kaplan (eds), *British Women's Writing in the Long Eighteenth Century: Authorship, Politics and History* (Basingstoke, 2005), 158–170.
76. Plumptre, *A Collection*, 12.
77. See e.g. 'The Flowers of Our Parish', Appendix no. 126.
78. Howkins and Dyck, ' "The Time's Alteration" ', 28, 26.
79. *Satirist* 8 (May 1808): 242.
80. Dibdin, *The Professional Life*, vol. 3, 272.
81. Dibdin, *The Professional Life*, vol. 1, xxiii–xxiv.
82. *European Magazine* 51 (1807): 109.
83. See also Anthony Bennett, 'Broadsides on the Trial of Queen Caroline: A Glimpse at Popular Song in 1820', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 107 (1980–1981): 71–85, 77.
84. *Satirist* 8 (May 1808): 241.
85. Hannah More, *The Two Shoemakers. In Six Parts* (n.d.), 88.
86. Trimmer, *The Two Farmers*, 14.
87. Plumptre, *A Collection*, 5, 12.
88. *Songs of the Late Charles Dibdin; with a Memoir* (3rd edn, 1852), xxviii.

89. Rawlinson, 'Invasion!', 124.
90. Appendix nos. 314, 364.
91. *British War-Songs* nos. 1–8 may be found in BL Scores G.376 (2).
92. Appendix no. 356.
93. Appendix nos. 104, 110, 295.
94. Dibdin, *The Professional Life*, vol. 4, 37–39.
95. Speaight, *Professional & Literary Memoirs*, 51.
96. Ibid. 65.
97. Ibid. 87.
98. Klingberg and Hustvedt, *The Warning Drum*, vi.
99. Appendix no. 35.
100. Cronin, 'Broadside Literature', 147.
101. Ibid. 156, 154.
102. Appendix no. 159. See T.H.H. Caine, 'Anderson, Robert (1770–1833)', rev. D. Finkelstein, *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/498> (14 August 2013).
103. See Chapter 1.
104. Ian Newman, 'Edmund Burke in the Tavern', *European Romantic Review* 24 (2013): 125–148, 125, 131.
105. Langford, *A Century*, vol. 2, 274.
106. Appendix no. 40.
107. Appendix nos. 191, 351.
108. Appendix no. 238.
109. Appendix no. 129.
110. Appendix no. 129.
111. Langford, *A Century*, vol. 2, 267.
112. T.R. Griffiths, 'Collins, John (1742–1808)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5946> (14 August 2013).
113. Appendix no. 251.
114. Appendix no. 195.
115. John Holland Rose and Alexander Meyrick Broadley, *Dumouriez and the Defence of England against Napoleon* (1909), 370–371.
116. Colley, *Britons*, 292.
117. Ibid. 299.
118. 'The Baboon', Appendix no. 5.
119. Appendix no. 125.
120. Corvan, *A Choice*, 62.
121. See also an anecdote of 1804 in Eric Gillett (ed.), *Elizabeth Ham, by Herself 1783–1820* (1945), 64–65.
122. Harland, *The Songs of the Wilsons*, 27.
123. Samuel Robinson, *Reminiscences of Wigtonshire* (Wigtown, 1995), 26.
124. Ibid. 27.
125. Navickas, *Loyalism*, 116.
126. Roy Palmer, 'Mather, Joseph (1737–1804)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39747> (15 August 2013).
127. F.K. Donnelly and J.L. Baxter, 'Sheffield and the English Revolutionary Tradition, 1791–1820', *International Review of Social History* 20 (1975): 398–423, 405–406.
128. Alan Brooke and Lesley Kipling, *Liberty or Death: Radicals, Republicans and Luddites, c.1793–1823* (Honley, 1993), 8.
129. POB, t17960511-1.

130. David Jones, *Before Rebecca: Popular Protests in Wales, 1793–1835* (1973), 28, 33. This narrative of protest is entirely absent from the song evidence represented in Jones, *Welsh Ballads*.
131. Löffler, *Welsh Responses*, 29. H.M. Davies, 'Evans, Thomas [Tomos Glyn Cothi] (1764–1833)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.co.uk/view/article/8984> (15 August 2013).
132. Jones, *Welsh Ballads*.
133. Thompson, *The Making*, 923.
134. Clive Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars, 1793–1815* (1979); Idem, 'The Social Impact of the French Wars', in Harry Thomas Dickinson (ed.), *Britain and the French Revolution 1789–1815* (1989), 211–228; Cookson, *The British Armed Nation*; Colley, *Britons*, 294–325; Idem, 'Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750–1830', *Past & Present* 113 (1986): 97–117. See also Pamela Horn, *The Rural World, 1750–1830: Social Change in the English Countryside* (1980), 61–65; Pottle, 'Loyalty and Patriotism', vi, 155, 171; Glover, *Britain at Bay,* 134; K. Watson, 'Bonfires, Bells and Bayonets: British Popular Memory and the Napoleonic Wars', in Bernard Taithe and Tim Thornton (eds), *War: Identities in Conflict, 1300–2000* (Stroud, 1998), 95–112, 102.
135. Emsley, 'The Social Impact', 219; Colley, *Britons*, 308, xxvi, 311.
136. Colley, *Britons*, 294, 298, 305; Horn, *The Rural World*, 63.
137. Horn, *The Rural World*, 65.
138. Ibid. 64; Glover, *Britain at Bay*, 134.
139. Horn, *The Rural World*, 61.
140. Colley, *Britons*, 314.
141. Watson, 'Bonfires', 102.
142. John Stephen, *The Dangers of the Country, by the Author of War in Disguise* (1807), 145.
143. Kussmaul, *The Autobiography*, 23.
144. Ibid. 23.
145. Robert Butler, *Narrative of the Life and Travels of Serjeant B——, Written by Himself* (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1826), 16.
146. Ibid. 18.
147. Ibid. 24.
148. Southey, *Music-Making*, 153.
149. Emsley, 'The Social Impact', 223; Colley, *Britons*, 323–325; Idem, 'Whose Nation?' 114–115.
150. Pottle, 'Loyalty and Patriotism', 155.
151. Thomas Carter, *Memoirs of a Working Man* (1845), 18, 87–88.
152. Lisle, *'Long, Long Ago'*, 82, 78.
153. Gillett, *Elizabeth Ham*, 62.
154. Appendix no. 270.
155. Appendix no. 282 and below.
156. Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott*, vol. 1, 160.
157. Ward, *Peeps*, 169.
158. Tibble and Tibble, *The Prose*, 49–50.
159. Appendix no. 196.
160. Appendix no. 57.
161. Appendix no. 78.
162. Appendix no. 177.
163. Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 241–245.

164. Appendix no. 362.
165. Appendix no. 90.
166. Appendix no. 303.
167. Appendix nos. 32, 161.
168. See also Chapter 5.
169. Appendix no. 243. The original 'No, My Love, No' premiered at Drury Lane in 1800. Its composer boasted that 'it was the most popular song of the day; it was not only to be found on every piano-forte, but also to be heard in every street, for it was a great favourite with the ballad singers.' Certainly it was successful enough to use for a northern parody three years later. Herbert van Thal (ed.), *Solo Recital: The Reminiscences of Michael Kelly* (1972), 168.
170. Appendix no. 282.
171. Appendix no. 30.

3 'That the War Might Cease': Awaiting and Making News, 1806–1813

1. Mark Philp, 'Politics and Memory: Nelson and Trafalgar in Popular Song', in David Cannadine (ed.), *Trafalgar in History: A Battle and Its Afterlife* (Basingstoke, 2006), 93–120.
2. Ibid. One excellent example among many is John Marshall's post-war garland, consisting of 'The Battle of Waterloo. The death of Nelson. Death of Abercrombie. The wounded hussar. The Battle of Trafalgar.' See Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*, 43.
3. Linda Colley, 'The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation 1760–1820', *Past & Present* 102 (1984): 94–129; Oskar Cox Jensen, '"Strategies of Condescension": Taming John Bull through the Inversion of Spaces, 1809–14': *Journal of the Oxford University History Society* 8 (2012), <sites.google.com/site/jouhsinfo/issue-8-hilary-2011> (29 February 2012).
4. 'Song on the New Affair of Copenhagen (Not Lord Nelson's)', Appendix no. 319, depicts the English as 'sly as a thief'. 'Catch', Appendix no. 76, on Cintra, uses the form of a sung catch to embroil, in turn, Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the ministers responsible.
5. Mary-Ann Constantine and Elizabeth Edwards, '"Bard of Liberty": Iolo Morganwg, Wales and Radical Song', in Kirk, *United Islands*, 63–76, 64.
6. Figures derived from search function at Bod.
7. Sadly, until the collection's microfilm is properly catalogued and digitised, this remains impossible to reference appropriately.
8. Appendix no. 164. The beehive was a contemporary metaphor used by economists for the industrious British nation. See *A Clear, Fair, and Candid Investigation of the Population, Commerce, and Agriculture of This Kingdom* (1810), 57, or George Edwards, *A General Appeal* (York, 1815), 33.
9. Appendix no. 135.
10. John J. Smith (ed.), *The Cambridge Portfolio*, 2 vols (1840), vol. 2, 521–523.
11. *The Collected Letters of the Wordsworths*, 8 vols (Charlottesville, 2002), vol. 2, 486.
12. Maura Murphy, 'The Ballad Singer and the Role of the Seditious Ballad in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Dublin Castle's View', *Ulster Folklife* 25 (1979): 79–102, 80.

13. Gearoid Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the Famine, 1798–1848* (Dublin, 1972), 66.
14. Gillett, *Elizabeth Ham*, 102. Of all the Napier clan, this was William, who would write the classic, even-handed *History of the War in the Peninsular*.
15. Kevin Binfield (ed.), *Writings of the Luddites* (Baltimore, 2004), 210.
16. Katrina Navickas, 'The Search for "General Ludd": the Mythology of Luddism', *Social History* 30 (2005): 281–295, 293.
17. *Nottingham Gazette*, 1/49 (3 December 1813): 3.
18. Ward, *Peeps*, 192.
19. Ibid. 192.
20. Carter, *Memoirs*, 89–90.
21. Ibid. 170.
22. William Coxe, *The Exposé; or, Napoleon Buonaparte Unmasked* (1809), 9.
23. Ibid. 10.
24. Ibid. 90.
25. Ibid. 9.
26. Ibid. 15–16 (Appendix no. 153).
27. Appendix no. 231.
28. Alexander Maclaren, *Empress and No Empress; or, Mr. Bonny's Wedding: A Farce, with Songs* (1810).
29. E.g. William Elmes, 'The Gallic magi led by the Imperial comet' (1811), BM no. 1868,0808.7985, or 'The Imperial nursery or news from the army' (1811), BM no. 1868,0808.12625.
30. Henri Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic* trans. Cloudesley Brereton and Fred Rothwell (1911), 52.
31. Ibid. 177.
32. Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (1995), 67, 67–69.
33. Ibid. 69.
34. Appendix no. 47.
35. Appendix no. 186.
36. For visual parallels, see Belinda Beaton, 'The Cult of the First Duke of Wellington' D. Phil. thesis, 2 vols (University of Oxford, 2007), 30–40, or Cottrell, 'English Views', 216–217.
37. Appendix no. 97.
38. Appendix no. 382.
39. Bergson, *Laughter*, 156.
40. Appendix no. 80.
41. See e.g. John Poole, *Othello-Travestie: In Three Acts* (1813), 83–88; *The Spirit of the Public Journals for 1814* (1815), 104–105, 108–109; Appendix no. 157.
42. Bergson, *Laughter*, 194–195.
43. Philippe Kaenel, 'The Image of Napoleon: Conformity and Deformity', in Michel Guilosan et al. (eds), *Napoleon I in the Mirror of Caricature* (Zurich, 1998), 29–73, 41.
44. Appendix no. 291.
45. Appendix no. 52.
46. Appendix no. 45. 'Miss Platoffs wedding' is a reference to the rumour that Platoff, the Cossack commander, had offered his daughter's hand and a substantial dowry to the man who brought him Napoleon's head. See William Elmes, 'A tit-bit for a Cossack or the Platoff prize – for the head of Buonaparte' (1813), BM no. 1872,1012.5028.

47. 'Runaway Boney, or, The White Cockade', Appendix no. 290, has several excisions by a Bonapartist.
48. Appendix no. 39.
49. The parallel has also been drawn in Ian Haywood, *Romanticism and Caricature* (Cambridge, 2013), 79.
50. Appendix no. 344.
51. Lewis Winstock, *Songs & Music of the Redcoats: A History of the War Music of the British Army 1642–1902* (1970).
52. 'Go and tell Napoleon, go' (Appendix no. 137); 'Barrosa' (12); Sahagun' (292).
53. Laurence Montroussier-Favre, 'Remembering the Other: The Peninsular War in the Autobiographical Accounts of British and French Soldiers', in Forrest, *War Memories*, 59–76, 66.
54. Appendix no. 233.
55. Appendix no. 13.
56. Appendix no. 241.
57. J. Edwards, 'Wolfe, Charles (1791–1823)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29831> (3 December 2012).
58. Appendix no. 132.
59. Philip Shaw, *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (Farnham, 2013), 152.
60. Appendix no. 16.
61. Marius Kwint, 'Astley's Amphitheatre and the Early Circus in England, 1768–1830' D. Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1994), 305; Appendix no. 14.
62. Appendix no. 183.
63. Bainbridge, *British Poetry*, esp. 148.
64. Appendix no. 235.
65. Appendix no. 46.
66. Whately, *Historic Doubts*, 15.
67. Magee, *Some Account*, 32; Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience*, 16, 38.
68. Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience*, 66.
69. Rowlandson, *Characteristic Sketches*, plate 46; Lawler, 'Bonaparte in Paris!', 11–12.
70. Carter, *Memoirs,* 89–90.
71. Ibid. 144.
72. Ibid. 186.
73. Ibid. 170–171.
74. Shaw, *Suffering*, 143.
75. Thompson, *The Making*, 461–466, 781–790
76. Robert Anderson, 'The Village Gang', in Sidney Gilpin (ed.), *The Songs and Ballads of Cumberland* (1866), 345.
77. Nicol, *The Life,* 208.
78. Robinson, *Reminiscences,* 39.
79. See also Favret, *War at a Distance*, 62.
80. James D. Burn, *The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy* (1855), 31.
81. For three views of ballads' news-bearing function in this period, see Caroline Jackson-Houlston, ' "You Heroes of the Day": Ephemeral Verse Responses to the Peace of Amiens and the Napoleonic Wars, 1802–1804', in Philp, *Resisting Napoleon*, 184–191, 186; Shepard, *John Pitts*, 47; A.L. Lloyd, cited in Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad*, 29.
82. *Birmingham Gazette* (3 October 1808).

83. George Horne, *Sixteen Sermons on Various Subjects and Occasions* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1795), 305.
84. Cooper, *The Life*, 24.
85. Pottle, 'Loyalty', 96.
86. E.g. Thompson, *The Making*, 470; Lloyd, *Folk Song*, 255, 269.
87. Appendix no. 293.
88. Appendix no. 261. See N. Roe, 'Thelwall, John (1764–1834), *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27167> (15 August 2013).
89. This 1790s composition was constantly in print over the following decades. Appendix no. 377.
90. Spofforth's other 'little ballads' included attacks on taxation and monarchy as an institution. Reginald Spofforth, *The Twelfth Cake* (1807), 6–7, 10.
91. Appendix no. 306.
92. Appendix no. 309.
93. 'O Cruel Pressgang', Appendix no. 242.
94. 'Oh the Weary Cutter', Appendix no. 249.
95. Appendix nos. 328, 150; Appendix no. 222.
96. Appendix no. 144.
97. Appendix no. 167.
98. Appendix no. 310.
99. Appendix no. 284.
100. Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience*, 86.
101. Appendix no. 248.
102. Appendix nos. 182, 283.
103. Appendix no. 122.
104. For the wider song tradition of women in battle, see Dianne Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry* (Cambridge, 1989).
105. Appendix no. 308.
106. See Chapter 4.
107. Appendix no. 11.
108. Appendix no. 58. Many versions are extant. Bod. alone has fourteen broadside variants. Moylan gives the song an English, not Irish, origin. Two variants in the following footnote were printed at Liverpool, a melting pot of Anglo-Irish song.
109. Bod. Harding B 28(165), Harding B 25(260), Firth c.14(182).
110. See Dugaw, *Warrior Women*.
111. Mary Favret, 'Coming Home: The Public Spaces of Romantic War', *Studies in Romanticism* 33 (1994): 539–548, 539.
112. Shaw, *Waterloo*, 22.
113. Catriona Kennedy in particular has done much to advance our appreciation of this. See esp. *Narratives*, and 'From the Ballroom to the Battlefield: British Women and Waterloo', in Forrest, *Soldiers*, 137–156, 142.
114. Mary Fairclough, *The Romantic Crowd: Sympathy, Controversy and Print Culture* (Cambridge, 2013), 214, 214–220.
115. Favret, *War at a Distance*, 46–47.
116. Favret, 'Coming Home', 547; Idem, *War at a Distance*, 20.
117. Favret, *War at a Distance*, 14.
118. Maria Edgeworth, *The Ballad Singer: Or, Memoirs of the Bristol Family: A Most Interesting Novel in Four Volumes*, 4 vols (1814), vol. 1, 89–90.
119. John Donaldson, *Recollections of an Eventful Life Chiefly Passed in the Army* (2nd edn, Glasgow, 1825), 68.

120. Burn, *Autobiography*, 31.
121. Mary Favret, 'Everyday War', *ELH* 72 (2005): 605–633, 623.
122. Kaenel, 'The Image', 71. Clare Pettitt is currently completing a monograph that discusses 'seriality', another concept that bears strongly on this issue.
123. Ibid. 71.
124. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Letter from M. Rousseau, of Geneva, to M. D'Alembert, of Paris* (1754), 25.
125. Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, 61; Philp, 'Vulgar Conservatism', 64.
126. Rousseau, *A Letter*, 18.
127. POB, t18061203-17.
128. Cooper, *The Life*, 17.
129. Harriet Martineau, *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, 2 vols (New edn, 1983), vol. 1, 79.
130. Gillett, *Elizabeth Ham*, 188.
131. Ibid. 62.
132. Ibid. 41.
133. Lisle, *'Long, Long Ago'*, 67–68.
134. Cooper, *The Life*, 18.
135. Lisle, *'Long, Long Ago',* 76.
136. Kennedy, 'From the Ballroom', 146.
137. Cooper, *The Life*, 35–36.
138. Martineau, *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, vol. 1, 80.
139. Kathryn Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain, 1815–1867* (Oxford, 2009), esp. 174.
140. Gillett, *Elizabeth Ham*, 43–44, 102, 194.
141. Ibid. 64–65.
142. Lisle, *'Long, Long Ago',* 79, 85–86.
143. William Gardiner, *Music and Friends: or, Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante*, 2 vols (1838), vol. 1, 227.

4 'Now Boney's Awa'': Triumph, Tragedy, and the Legend Established, 1814–1822

1. Appendix no. 136.
2. 'Buonaparte's Vagaries' (Appendix no. 71) and 'All Been Fish in de Frenchman's Net' (2).
3. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 149–152.
4. Appendix no. 326.
5. 'Feelings of a Republican on the Fall of Bonaparte', Appendix no. 123.
6. Appendix no. 146.
7. Appendix no. 247, fifth stanza.
8. For an overview, see Rogers, *Crowds*.
9. Thomas Preston, *The Jubilee of George the Third* (1887), li; Penelope Corfield, *Vauxhall and the Invention of the Urban Pleasure Gardens* (2008), 37.
10. Stuart Semmel, 'Radicals, Loyalists, and the Royal Jubilee of 1809', *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007): 543–569, 554; Idem, 'British Radicals and "Legitimacy": Napoleon in the Mirror of History', *Past & Present* 167 (2000): 140–175; Emma Griffin, *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660–1830* (Oxford, 2005), 94; Colley, 'The Apotheosis'; Malcolm Chase, 'From

Millennium to Anniversary: The Concept of Jubilee in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England', *Past & Present* 129 (1990): 132–147.
11. Nicholas Rogers, 'Crowds and Political Festival in Georgian England', in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500–1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), 233–264, 234.
12. Cox Jensen, ' "Strategies" '; Pierre Bourdieu, 'Social Space and Symbolic Power', *Sociological Theory* 7 (1989), 14–25, esp. 16.
13. Rogers, 'Crowds', 255.
14. *A Narrative of the Grand Festival, at Yarmouth, on Tuesday, the 19th of April, 1814* (Yarmouth, 1814), 14.
15. Appendix no. 229.
16. Appendix nos. 368, 369.
17. Appendix no. 269.
18. Appendix no. 106.
19. *A Narrative of the Grand Festival,* 17.
20. Ibid. 6, 8.
21. Appendix no. 226.
22. *Gedge's Bury Post*, cited in *Monthly Magazine* 37 (June 1814): 480.
23. Appendix no. 320.
24. Appendix no. 267.
25. Appendix no. 375.
26. Among Lawler's poems of 1814, all of which ran through numerous editions, are 'Lilliputian Navy!! The R—t's Fleet; or, John Bull at The Serpentine', 'More Kings!', 'The P—e's Jubilee; or R—l Revels!!, The R—t's Fair, or, Grand Galante-Show!!', 'The R—l Brood; or, an Illustrious Hen and her Pretty Chickens', 'The R—l Showman, or the R—t's Gala'.
27. Appendix no. 272.
28. Appendix no. 33.
29. Appendix no. 307.
30. Eneas Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Town and Country of Newcastle*, 2 vols (Newcastle, 1827), vol. 1, 78.
31. Appendix no. 345.
32. *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* 26 (23 July 1814): 101.
33. Appendix no. 101.
34. Appendix no. 121.
35. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 171–173, Jill Hamilton, *Marengo: The Myth of Napoleon's Horse* (2000), 195.
36. Alger, *Napoleon's British Visitors*, 302.
37. Ibid. 301, 297, 273–296; Hugh Fortescue, *Memorandum of Two Conversations between the Emperor Napoleon and Hugh Fortescue* (2nd edn, 1823); J.M. Thompson, 'Napoleon's Journey to Elba in 1814 Part II. By Sea', *American Historical Review* 55 (1950): 301–320; Neil Campbell, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba* (1869).
38. 'On board th' Undaunted he embark'd', Appendix no. 253.
39. Appendix no. 93.
40. Appendix nos. 210, 199. Ironically, the latter is the only case where we know the entire tune, but few of the words.
41. Thomas Moore to Lady Donegal, 27 March 1815, in W.S. Dowden, *The Letters of Thomas Moore*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1964), vol. 1, 355–356.
42. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 159.

43. Cited in Watson, *Romanticism*, 159.
44. Appendix no. 286.
45. 'The Fudge Family in Paris', Appendix no. 130.
46. Charles Lawler, 'The German Sausages; or the Devil to Pay at Congress!' (1815); Idem, 'Bonaparte in Paris! Or, the Flight of the Bourbons!' (1815), 3.
47. Ibid. 22.
48. Ibid. 14–15.
49. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 2; William Hone, *Buonapartephobia. The Origin of Dr. Slop's Name* (9th edn, 1820).
50. Appendix no. 51. See Chapter 2 for the original discussion.
51. Richard Findlater, *Joe Grimaldi, His Life and Theatre* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1978), 183.
52. Bod. Harding B 10(46).
53. Bod. Harding B 28(209).
54. Carter, *Memoirs*, 183.
55. See the final section of this chapter for further consideration of this aspect.
56. Appendix nos. 163, 66.
57. For contemporary perceptions, see Mary Favret, 'Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination', *Studies in Romanticism* 43 (2004): 479–482, and Stuart Semmel, 'Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting, and Memory after Waterloo', *Representations* 69 (2000): 9–37.
58. Variants include Appendix nos. 19, 21, 22, 275; the latter is Appendix no. 373.
59. 'The Battle of Waterloo', Appendix no. 19, excerpt of verses 2–3.
60. Appendix no. 22.
61. Appendix no. 298; Watson, *Poems and Songs*, xiii, 17–19. My thanks to Emily Lyle for informing me of Watson's authorship.
62. Appendix no. 55.
63. Appendix no. 20.
64. Appendix no. 115. I am indebted to Peter Wood for bringing the Falkirk garland to my attention. See also Ralph Vaughan Williams, 'Songs Collected From Sussex', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 2 (1906): 184–209, 193.
65. Philip Shaw, 'Leigh Hunt and the aesthetics of post-war liberalism', in Idem, *Romantic Wars*, 185–207, 188.
66. Martineau, *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, vol. 1, 80.
67. *Gentleman's Magazine* (January 1816): 73; *Augustan Review* 2 (1816): 295–296; *New Annual Register* (January 1816): 5; *Weekly Entertainer* 56 (1816): 153.
68. *Examiner* 421 (1816): 43.
69. *The Duke's Coat; or, the Night after Waterloo* (1815), v–vi.
70. Appendix no. 213.
71. Appendix no. 255.
72. Appendix no. 266.
73. Appendix nos. 227, 225.
74. Appendix no. 208; Shaw, *Waterloo*, 169.
75. Dowden, *The Letters*, vol. 1, 378.
76. Appendix no. 359.
77. Appendix nos. 117, 381, 275–276.
78. A similar observation may be found in Lloyd, *Folk Song*, 274–275.
79. Shaw, *Waterloo*, 1.
80. Ibid. 1.
81. Appendix no. 347.

82. Appendix nos. 372, 221.
83. Appendix no. 171.
84. Cited in Vic Gammon, 'The Grand Conversation: Napoleon and British Popular Balladry', *RSA Journal* 137 (1989): 665–674, 669, from Frank Kidson, 'Appended Note', *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 2 (1906): 188.
85. Respectively, 'Larry's Return to Erin' (Appendix no. 173), 'Ye Sons of Old Ireland' (380), 'Napoleon Is the Boy for Kicking Up a Row' (204); 'Written at the Seaman's Stick' (378); 'Waterloo Times – A New Song' (361); 'Ballad of the Labouring Man' (7).
86. 'Written at the Seaman's Stick', verse seven.
87. 'Ye Sons of Old Ireland', verse two.
88. See Chapter 2.
89. Thompson, *The Making,* 331; Palmer, *The Sound of History,* 298, Gerald Porter, *The English Occupational Song* (Umeå, 1992), 125–126.
90. Gammon, 'The Grand Conversation', 665, 670.
91. Ibid. 673.
92. Semmel, *Napoleon*, 18.
93. Ibid. 171–173.
94. Ibid. 171–173; Hamilton, *Marengo*, 195.
95. Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Legend of Napoleon* (2004), 63–64; Alger, *Napoleon's British Visitors*, 83–84.
96. E.g. Bod. Harding B15(245a).
97. Appendix nos. 140, 56; Frank Kidson et al., 'Yorkshire Tunes', *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 2 (1906): 278.
98. A glance through any major collection such as the Madden or the Bodleian's will bear this out.
99. Gammon, 'The Grand Conversation', 666, citing Maurice Hutt, *Napoleon* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972), 170–171.
100. Appendix no. 140.
101. Karl Dallas, *The Cruel Wars: 100 Soldiers' Songs from Agincourt to Ulster* (1972), 137.
102. These include 'Ashes of Napoleon' (Appendix no. 4), 'Bonaparte' (37), 'Boney Was a Warrior' (48), 'Deeds of Napoleon' (99), 'The Earsdon Sword-Dancers' Song' (113), 'The Grand Conversation on Napoleon' (139), 'The Grave of Bonaparte' (141), 'The Hero of War' (145), 'Isle of St Helena' (158), 'Maria Louisa's Lamentation: The Green Linnet' (189), 'Napoleon Bonaparte' (201), 'Napoleon Buonaparte's Exile to St. Helena' (202), 'Napoleon the Brave' (206), 'Napoleon's Farewell to Paris' (209), ' "One Night Sad and Languid" ' (260), 'The Removal of Bonaparte's Ashes' (285), 'Saint Helena' (294), and 'Santiana, or, the Plains of Mexico' (299).
103. Appendix no. 294.
104. Appendix no. 212.
105. Appendix no. 158. This variant is from Moylan, *The Age of Revolution*, 159.
106. Mary Favret, 'War in the Air', *Modern Language Quarterly* 65 (2004): 531–559, 535; 536–537, 551.
107. Ibid. 537, 546.
108. Ibid. 552.
109. Ibid. 558.
110. Ibid. 557.
111. Ibid. 558–559.

112. See above.
113. Appendix no. 113.
114. Appendix no. 294.
115. Appendix no. 285.
116. Appendix no. 48.
117. Carter, *Memoirs*, 27–28, 30, 32, 40–41.
118. Cooper, *The Life*, 24.
119. Hogg, *The Mountain Bard*, viii; Tibble and Tibble, *The Prose*, 19; William Cobbett, 'Letter to Alderman Wood, on the Subject of Teaching the Children of the Poor to Read', 8 December 1813, cited in Paul Keen (ed.), *Revolutions in Romantic Literature: An Anthology of Print Culture, 1780–1832* (Ontario, 2004), 27.
120. Whately, *Historic Doubts*, 30–33.
121. Gammon, *Desire*, 8.
122. Atkinson, *The English Traditional Ballad*, 11.
123. Southey, *Music-Making*, 155; Bamford, e.g. *Homely Rhymes* or *The Weaver Boy*.
124. Cooper, *The Life*, 10.
125. Theresa Kelly observes that, even in making a pygmy of Napoleon, caricaturists were implicitly acknowledging his immense stature: 'By these turns of image and text, the figure of Napoleon could serve as a representative for the aspirations and rhetoric of the unrepresented.' Theresa M. Kelly, 'J.M.W. Turner, Napoleonic Caricature, and Romantic Allegory', *English Literary History* 58 (1991): 351–382, 377.
126. Cited in Watson, *Romanticism*, 2.
127. Cottrell, 'English Views', 220.
128. I am thinking here especially of the work of Karl Bell in his *The Magical Imagination: Magic and Modernity in Urban England, 1780–1914* (Cambridge, 2012).
129. Gammon, 'The Grand Conversation', 671.
130. The assertion varies in form, with Marshal Grouchy, Marshal Ney, or 'the tricks of Blücher' (the Prussian commander) identified as the Judas figure, with the English state generally doing the bribing. The claim appears in 'Napoleon Bonaparte', 'The Removal Of Bonaparte's Ashes', later versions of 'Isle of St Helena', and 'The Grand Conversation on Napoleon', as well as several songs of Waterloo itself.
131. 'Napoleon Bonaparte', verse three, 'The Removal of Bonaparte's Ashes', verse three.
132. Appendix no. 189. Compare with e.g. 'The Plains of Waterloo (II)', Appendix no. 275.
133. Appendix no. 202. Martin Graebe first alerted me to the implied tune of this song.

5 'Canny Newcassel': A Case Study, 1797–1822

1. Whilst the standard definition of 'canny' also existed in Northumbrian dialect, its primary meaning was 'Agreeable to the eyes… In the north of England (in some parts pronounced *conny*) a general epithet of approbation or satisfaction, as in "Canny Newcastle" ' – OED, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/27143?redirectedFrom=canny#eid> (8 May 2013).
2. Chorus of 'Canny Newcassel', Appendix no. 75.

3. Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*, 6; Thomas Crawford, *Society and the Lyric: A Study of the Song Culture of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), 5–6; Harker, *Allan's*, x.
4. Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), 324; *The Picture of Newcastle Upon Tyne* (Newcastle, 1807), 110; Peter Brett, 'Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground', *History* 81 (1996): 527–552, 537.
5. Harker, *Fakesong*, 52. Also John Bell (ed.), *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, (2nd edn, Newcastle, 1971).
6. E.g. Harker, *Allan's*; Corvan, *A Choice Collection*; Thomas Thompson et al., *A Collection of Songs, Comical, Satirical, and Descriptive* (Newcastle, 1827).
7. Thomas R. Knox, 'Popular Politics and Provincial Radicalism: Newcastle upon Tyne, 1769–1785', *Albion* 11 (1979): 224–241.
8. Robert S. Watson, *The History of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1793–1896* (1897), 25.
9. To take but two examples: 'A Collection of Broadsides', BL 1875.d.13, includes Scots dialect songs such as 'Will ye gang to the North Highlands wi' me'. Iconic press gang song 'Here's the Tender Coming' (Appendix no. 144) was later published in Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine* (Palmer, *The Sound of History*, 283). See also Cox Jensen, 'The *Travels*' for a further articulation of this argument.
10. Wilson, *The Sense*, 288, 369.
11. Ibid. 289.
12. Ibid. 291–292.
13. Ibid. 320–323.
14. Ibid. 300–302.
15. Ibid. 296–297.
16. Ibid. 315.
17. Ibid. 324.
18. *The Picture of Newcastle*.
19. Ibid. advertisement (preceding paginated section).
20. Ibid. 7.
21. Ibid. 7.
22. Wilson, *The Sense*, 297.
23. *The Picture of Newcastle*, 4.
24. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 2, 718.
25. *Whitehead's Newcastle and Gateshead Director, for 1790* (Newcastle, 1790), 49–55.
26. *The Picture of Newcastle*, 39–41.
27. Ibid. 50.
28. Ibid. 48.
29. Ibid. 71.
30. Ibid. 28.
31. Jenny Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?* (New York, 1996), 279.
32. *The Picture of Newcastle*, 26.
33. Ibid. 15–17, 14, 12.
34. See references to e.g. St. Paul's Churchyard, London, in *Examiner* 457 (1816): 623; Parker, *A View of Society*, vol. 2, 58–59, and *Director* 2 (1807): 101; and Dublin streets in Lover, *National Magazine* 1 (1830): 195.
35. Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience*, 102.
36. Ibid. 103.

37. Dave Harker, 'The Making of the Tyneside Concert Hall', *Popular Music* 1 (1981): 26–56, 31.
38. *The Picture of Newcastle*, 48.
39. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 1, 69.
40. Ibid. vol. 1, 70.
41. Ibid. vol. 1, 70.
42. 'The Alarm (or Lord Fauconberg's March)' and 'The Patriot Volunteers (or Loyalty Display'd), in Bell, *Rhymes*, 309–310.
43. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 1, 72.
44. Ibid. vol. 1, 72.
45. Burchell, *Polite*, 276.
46. Ibid. 279.
47. Ibid. 23.
48. Southey, *Music-Making*, 12, 156. A. Bell, 'Mackenzie, Eneas (1777–1832)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17576> (14 August 2013).
49. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 2, 591.
50. Southey, *Music-Making*, 63–65.
51. Ibid. 152–153.
52. Cited ibid. 155–156.
53. Ibid. 61.
54. Ibid. 5–6.
55. Ibid. 66–67, 71.
56. Ibid. 62, 195.
57. Ibid. 195.
58. *Newcastle Courant* (8 December 1781).
59. Appendix no. 83.
60. John C. Bruce and John Stokoe (eds), *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* (Newcastle, 1882), 125.
61. John Thompson, *A New, Improved, and Authentic Life of James Allan* (Newcastle, 1828).
62. *Whitehead's Director*, 61, 94.
63. Bod. 2806 c.18(83); Appendix no. 98.
64. E.g. George Angus, *A Collection of New Songs* (Newcastle, n.d.), and holdings in Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*.
65. Appendix no. 240.
66. Eneas Mackenzie, *An Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive View of the County of Northumberland* (2nd edn, Newcastle, 1825), 140.
67. Ibid. 200, 203.
68. H.M. Wood, *St Nicholas Newcastle Vol. VIII: Burials, 1791–1812*, Newcastle City Library Archive (Newcastle, 1913), 10, 15, 27, 33.
69. Corvan, *A Choice Collection*, 136.
70. Ibid. 136; Harker, 'The Making', 31.
71. This local tradition is elaborated at <www.blackieboy.co.uk/blackieboy-history> (14 May 2013). For an academic account of Swarley's club, and the involvement of Spence and Bewick, see Jenny Uglow, *Nature's Engraver: A Life of Thomas Bewick* (2006), 118.
72. Watson, *The History*, 15, 18–19.
73. Ibid. 25.
74. <www.blackieboy.co.uk/blackieboy-history> (14 May 2013).
75. Appendix no. 84.

76. Harker, 'The Original', 65.
77. John Leonard, 'Winlanton Hopping' (Appendix no. 372); James Stawpert, 'Newcastle Fair', in Harker, *Allan's*, 100–102; 'Tyne Fair' (Appendix no. 346).
78. *The Budget: Or Newcastle Songster for 1816* (Newcastle, 1816), 2–3; Corvan, *A Choice Collection*, 15, 77, 136–138, 140–142, 150–151.
79. Bruce and Stokoe, *Northumbrian Minstrelsy*, 119.
80. See below.
81. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 1, 73.
82. Southey, *Music-Making*, 153–154.
83. Ibid. 158.
84. Ibid. 155.
85. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 1, 74.
86. Vicinus, *Broadsides*, 11.
87. Corvan, *A Choice Collection*, 138.
88. Harker, *Allan's*, 58, 82–83.
89. Ibid. 64, 102.
90. Ibid. 84.
91. Ibid. 100, 106–107.
92. Ibid. 106–107; Bell, *Rhymes*, 328.
93. Harker, 'The Original', 49.
94. Harker, *Allan's*, 132–134.
95. Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*, 11; Vicinus, *Broadsides*, 10.
96. Harker, 'The Original', 64.
97. Harker, *Allan's*, 128–129.
98. Harker, *Fakesong*, 51–52.
99. Harker, 'The Original', 70; Robert Colls, *The Collier's Rant: Song and Culture in the Industrial Village* (1977), 22, 25.
100. Harker, 'The Original', 65, 73–74.
101. 'The Sandgate Lassie's Lament' (Appendix no. 297). Contrast with 'Oh the Weary Cutter' (249), 'The Tarpaulin Jacket' (328), 'I Wish the Wars Were Over' (150).
102. Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*, 12; Vicinus, *Broadsides,* 10.
103. Appendix no. 178.
104. Richard Welford, *Early Printing in Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Newcastle, 1895), 18–19. White also founded the *Newcastle Courant*.
105. Harker, 'The Original', 74; see also e.g. *The Newcastle Songster, or, Tyne Minstrel* (Newcastle, 1806), priced at 6d.
106. Joseph Ritson (ed.), *Northern Garlands* (1810), v. Ritson writes, 'A county garland is one of those minor publications scarcely considered worthy the attention of a county editor; and from the motley basket of an itinerary mendicant, the reader is alone supplied with such an entertainment'. See also Tibble and Tibble, *The Prose*, 19, for the popular context of the garland tradition.
107. Harker, *Fakesong*, 26–27, 37; Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*, 32–44.
108. Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks,* 10; *The Picture of Newcastle*, 12.
109. Vicinus, *The Industrial Muse*, 14, and below.
110. Watson, *The History*, 26–27.
111. Appendix nos. 30, 170.
112. Appendix no. 100.
113. Harker, *Allan's*, 61; Idem, 'The Original', 71.
114. Harker, *Allan's*, 61.
115. *A Garland of New Songs* (Newcastle, *c.*1810), 7.

116. Bell, *Rhymes*, 25.
117. Appendix no. 196.
118. *The Picture of Newcastle*, 15–16.
119. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 1, 70.
120. Harker, *Songs*, xiii.
121. For Spence's view, see Thomas Spence, *Spence's Songs* (1807 and 1812), 2, 18, 20.
122. Harker, *Fakesong*, 52, for Bell's lack of faith in ephemera.
123. Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*, 32, 37, and throughout for overall output.
124. 'Mr Mayor' (Appendix no. 196); 'The New Keel Row' (222), verse eight.
125. Appendix no. 236.
126. Appendix no. 273; Harker, *Allan's*, 102.
127. Ibid. 102–103.
128. Appendix no. 337.
129. Harker, *Allan's*, 100.
130. *The Picture of Newcastle,* 14; <www.northumbria.info/Pages/collingwood.html> (22 May 2013).
131. Appendix no. 166.
132. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 1, 75.
133. Ibid. vol. 1, 75.
134. Appendix no. 23.
135. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 1, 12, 14.
136. See ibid. vol. 2 throughout for details.
137. Semmel, 'Radicals', 543–569.
138. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 1, 77.
139. Ibid. vol. 1, 77.
140. Ibid. vol. 1, 76.
141. Appendix no. 85.
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144. Ibid. 75.
145. Ibid. 12.
146. Ibid. 10.
147. Hindley, *The History*, 33–38.
148. Magee, *Some Account*, 3–5.
149. Burn, *The Autobiography*, 24.
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154. *Monthly Magazine* 37 (June 1814): 471.
155. Martineau, *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, vol. 1, 79.
156. Appendix no. 33. Thompson, *A Collection*, 28 speculates at an 1815 dating; this is corrected in Harker, 'The Original', 71.
157. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account*, vol. 1, 78.
158. Appendix no. 345.
159. Appendix nos. 249, 328, 150, 144; 167, 29.
160. Notes to FARNE, N0107901.
161. Palmer, *The Sound of History*, 298.
162. Appendix no. 374.
163. Appendix no. 378.

164. Appendix no. 300.
165. Appendix no. 81.
166. Dave Harker (ed.), *Songs and Verse of the North-East Pitmen c.1780–1844* (Gateshead, 1999), 6.
167. Appendix no. 158.
168. In 'A Collection of Broadsides', BL 1875.d.13.
169. Bell, 'Mackenzie', *ODNB*.
170. Eneas Mackenzie, *An Account of the Most Striking and Wonderful Events in the life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (Newcastle, 1816), 2.
171. Ibid. 3.
172. Ibid. 6.
173. Ibid. 107–108.
174. 'A Northumbrian Sword Dance', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 1 (1933): 111–112; 'The Earsdon Sword-Dancers' Song', Appendix no. 113.
175. Thomson, *Newcastle Chapbooks*, 43.
176. Ibid. 75.
177. Ibid. 59, 62.
178. Ibid. 73, 28.
179. *The Tyneside Songster, a Collection of Comic & Descriptive Songs, Chiefly in the Newcastle Dialect* (Newcastle, n.d.), in Tyne & Wear Archives Microfilm, MF290:DX891/7.

Coda

1. Appendix nos. 32, 307.
2. Colley, *Britons*, 5.
3. Recollect Thompson's observation: 'one characteristic paradox of the century: we have a *rebellious* traditional culture'. Thompson, *Customs*, 9.
4. R. Stephen Dornan, 'Radical Politics and Dialect in the British Archipelago', in Kirk, *United Islands*, 169–179, 173.
5. Howkins and Dyck, ' "The Time's Alteration" ', 28.
6. E.g. Ó Buachalla, 'From Jacobite to Jacobin', 76–80, 95–96; Whelan, 'The United Irishmen', 272–275, 296; Radvan Markus, ' "Níl an Focal Sin Againn": Orality, Literacy, and Accounts of the 1798 Rebellion', *New Hibernia Review* 14 (2010): 112–126, 116–117; Morley, 'Homology,' 109–123. But see also Catriona Kennedy, ' "A gallant nation": Chivalric Masculinity and Irish Nationalism in the 1790s', in Matthew McCormack (ed.), *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke, 2007), 73–92, 74–75, who attributes greater effectiveness to United Irish influences.

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