

Devon by Dog Cart and Bicycle: The Folk Song Collaboration of Sabine Baring-Gould and Cecil Sharp, 1904–17

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The name of Cecil Sharp and his position as a collector of and advocate for folk song is well known to a large section of the public, and the centenary of his first folk song collecting was marked by a number of events and publications in August 2003. That of Sabine Baring-Gould is, generally, less familiar, at least as a collector of folk songs, although many people might know of him as the author of the hymn ‘Onward, Christian Soldiers’ or through his other work as novelist, antiquarian, hagiographer, and travel writer. Sharp was twenty-five years younger than Baring-Gould and began his song collecting fifteen years after Baring-Gould had started the main phase of his own work. Sharp initially sought out Baring-Gould for advice, and this led to a close collaborative relationship between 1904 and 1907. The two men met a number of times and, it is clear, had a respect for one another which was maintained, through visits and through correspondence, over several further years. Working together, they established many of the working practices for the song collectors who followed them, and had a profound influence on folk song collecting in England during the first half of the twentieth century. Their collaboration has not previously been studied in any detail, and this article seeks to explore and explain their relationship, making use of letters and papers from their manuscripts as well as other published and unpublished sources.

‘Mr. Cecil Sharpe [*sic*] said it was through Mr. Baring-Gould that he first came into folk song. He had found, as a school master, that folk song was the only music he could teach the raw boy, and he first used the songs discovered by Mr. Baring-Gould, and then began to collect for himself.’¹

Sabine Baring-Gould

It will be, perhaps, as well to give a brief sketch of the life of Sabine Baring-Gould (Figure 1). To begin with, it would be useful to deal with the pronunciation of his first name. Members of the family confirm that it is pronounced ‘Say-bin’, and that he was named after his uncle, Sir Edward Sabine, the Arctic explorer. Sabine Baring-Gould was born in Exeter on 24 January 1834, the first child of Captain Edward Baring-Gould, who had retired from the army of the East India Company after an accident. Captain Baring-Gould could not settle to the life of a country gentleman and took his family travelling around Europe for most of the years until Sabine was seventeen. As a result, his education was picked up from a ragtag assortment of schools and tutors. This turned out better

than might have been expected, for he developed a talent for languages and a natural curiosity that was to lead him down many unexpected paths.

His interest in archaeology was sparked at the age of sixteen by the discovery of a Roman villa near Pau in south-west France, where the family was staying. Baring-Gould organized workmen to carry out a dig and paid them out of his own pocket. An account of his find, with a plan and drawings of the mosaics, was published by the *Illustrated London News*.² His meticulous paintings of the mosaics and plan of the villa can be seen among his papers in the Devon Record Office.³ In the following year he had his first paper published in the journal *Archaeologia*, describing an ancient camp that he had discovered when the Baring-Gould family were staying at Bayonne.⁴ His father wanted him to become an engineer, but the mathematics was not within his grasp. Indeed, he would later come to rely on his curate, or even one of the housemaids, to do his



Figure 1

Sabine Baring-Gould, from a photograph by W. & D. Downey, London, 1893

Author's collection

addition. Instead, he studied classics at Clare Hall, Cambridge, the same college that Cecil Sharp was to attend more than a quarter of a century later, and graduated with a pass degree. By this stage his romantic nature, and his mother's influence, had drawn him towards the rituals of Anglo-Catholicism, but his father would not allow him, as the eldest son, to enter the Church. After a brief period of rebellion when he taught without pay in London until he ran out of money, Baring-Gould reached an agreement with his father that teaching would be an acceptable occupation, and he spent seven years at St John's College in Hurstpierpoint, Sussex. There he developed his interest in Norse literature and undertook the great adventure of his life when he made a pioneering visit to Iceland, which he wrote up as his first major book, *Iceland – Its Scenes and Sagas*.⁵

In 1864 Baring-Gould's mother died and his father relented on the matter of his entering into the Church. He was ordained at Ripon and took up a curacy at Horbury in Yorkshire. The vicar, John Sharp, gave him the task of creating a ministry to the mill-workers and boatmen in Horbury Bridge. Having started with a chapel and schoolroom in a terraced cottage, Baring-Gould raised the funds to build a new chapel. It was while he was working in Horbury Bridge that 'Onward, Christian Soldiers' was first sung by the children of the village marching up to the main church for the Whit Sunday festival. Baring-Gould moved on to his own church at Dalton in north Yorkshire, partly for advancement but also to escape comment following his marriage to a teenage mill girl, Grace Taylor, whom he had met at Horbury. It was to be a long and happy marriage, producing fifteen children, but neither family came to the wedding. After a further spell in the isolation of Mersea Island in Essex, Baring-Gould finally returned to the family home at Lewtrenchard in west Devon in 1881, in order to take up the role of squire and parson of that small parish (Figure 2). There he proceeded to refurbish the house



Figure 2
Lewtrenchard House
Photograph by M. Graebe, 2004

Wales, and on Dartmoor as part of the Dartmoor Exploration Group of the Devonshire Association. As a result he found many friends in the learned societies of the region, and he is unique in having been president of both the Devonshire Association and the Royal Institution of Cornwall. It was with friends of this nature that he was dining in 1888 when the notion of collecting the folk songs of Devon and Cornwall was suggested to him by his host, Daniel Radford.⁷ It was not, however, a careless thought. Baring-Gould has described how he recorded the songs of the female servants when he was a boy and how, as a teenager, he had ridden around Dartmoor and heard the men sing their songs at the inns where he stayed. He had also heard and written down songs while he was in Iceland, and the first English folk song he collected and published was 'The Jovial, Reckless Lad' in 1866.⁸ This had been noted from some mill girls while he was living in Yorkshire. He also studied folklore while living in Horbury and had a number of articles published, and he made significant contributions in the form of footnotes and an appendix on 'Household Tales' to William Henderson's *Notes on the Folk Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*.⁹

Baring-Gould's reputation as a song collector rests on his published books of folk songs, *Songs and Ballads of the West/Songs of the West* and *A Garland of Country Song*.¹⁰ Like other collections of this period, these books were subject to heavy editing and over-arrangement to meet the requirements of the time and have been criticized accordingly. However, Baring-Gould was very honest about his mediation, which may have put him at a disadvantage when compared with other collectors who were not always so open about the changes they made. He deserves credit, though, for having lived up to his promise, which was made soon after he began collecting, that he would place a copy of his field collections in the public library at Plymouth for the benefit of future researchers.¹¹ In fact, few researchers seem to have undertaken serious study of the manuscripts since they were deposited, though a number of singers based in the West Country have visited Plymouth library and taken advantage of the opportunity to look at Baring-Gould's original manuscripts and extract songs from them. The most notable of these was the late Cyril Tawney, who lived in Plymouth and visited the library regularly in order to

and estate, the church, and the spiritual life of the people. This work was supported financially by a stream of books, novels, and magazine articles, on a huge range of topics. His lifetime total of publications exceeds one thousand two hundred.⁶

Baring-Gould settled into life at Lewtrenchard and, at last, succeeded in forming the social network that he had craved. He returned to the interest of his youth and became active in archaeology, doing pioneering work in Cornwall, in

study the manuscripts. In 1969, working with Bill Leader, he recorded an LP of songs, singing directly from the manuscripts, having set up the recording equipment in a room within the Plymouth library itself.¹² He also made attempts to find descendants of the old singers and talked to some, including Bill Fry, the son of Edmund Fry, one of Baring-Gould's favourite singers.¹³ Tawney, like others, believed that there must have been more manuscript material and that there were more songs than the 202 included in the Plymouth collection, which is now referred to as the Fair Copy manuscript. It was not until 1992 that a further large collection of manuscript books and papers was recognized among the books deposited by the Baring-Gould family in the library at Killerton House, near Exeter. Among many other treasures, this included the three handwritten volumes of what are now known to be Baring-Gould's personal fair copy of the songs and tunes that he collected, and which are now referred to as the Personal Copy manuscript.¹⁴

Working with other collectors

An aspect of Baring-Gould's life and work that has not been studied until the present is his relationship with his fellow song collectors at the turn of the nineteenth century and, particularly, the interaction with Cecil Sharp when he first set out to collect folk songs in Somerset and north Devon, an area adjoining that in which Baring-Gould had himself been active. Baring-Gould enjoyed entertaining guests at his home at Lewtrenchard (which is now a luxury hotel). He is reported to have been a generous host, a good conversationalist, and good company. Unfortunately no visitors' book survives, but various names from the worlds of literature and antiquarianism have come to us from different accounts. The visitors included many of his fellow collectors. The first was Lucy Broadwood, who stayed with Baring-Gould for several days in 1893 and spent her time there talking with him about folk song. She joined him on a couple of expeditions to collect songs, as well as walking and socializing with the Baring-Gould daughters and attending a concert of folk songs.¹⁵ George Gardiner collected a number of songs around Launceston in 1905 and was invited to Lewtrenchard to meet Baring-Gould and discuss what he had found.¹⁶ Frank Kidson corresponded with Baring-Gould and then visited Lewtrenchard in 1911 and wrote an article about his visit for the *Yorkshire Weekly Post*.¹⁷ Some of the songs associated with these visits are written up in Baring-Gould's Personal Copy manuscript, as are some songs received in correspondence from other collectors.

Although Lucy Broadwood included a detailed account in her diary of what she did while at Lewtrenchard, we do not get much of an idea of what it was like to be there (though it is clear that a good deal of talking went on). It is worth, therefore, quoting a few passages from Frank Kidson's article:

To ramble over Dartmoor with Baring-Gould (one gets into the habit of dropping the courtesy title 'Mr' before double-barrelled names) is a great privilege. It is a still greater one to spend a week as a welcome guest at Lew Trenchard, since the early years of the seventeenth century the ancestral home of the Gould family. For one who has so long recognised the sterling qualities that lie in the vast library which the pen of Mr Baring-Gould has contributed to English literature during the past fifty years, there are few more gratifying joys than to sit at his hospitable board and to watch the twinkling humour

that lights up his face, and that of Mrs Baring-Gould, in response to the badinage that passes round the table ... It is pleasant to have cosy evening chats with the novelist and antiquary, who combines with his literary position the offices of Lord of the Manor, Rector, Chairman of the Bench of Magistrates and Squire of large tracts of wood and meadow land, besides being kindly advisor and helper to all who seek his counsel. By the old chimney of grey Devonshire granite, in a halo of tobacco smoke, we interchange ideas of literature, politics, of current incidents, and I hear many romantic stories of the doings of the Goulds, the Sabines, and the Barings. Of himself and of his writings it is more difficult to make him talk, for his modesty is as great as his talents ... How his heart was warmed to the old Devonshire songs and their singers only those who have heard him talk on the subject can tell. If any man had sympathy with the old country labourer whose songs and traditions he has so lovingly preserved, surely Baring-Gould is the one. There is a touching tenderness when he speaks of the old singers, and tells of such a one, perhaps now dead, from whom he had obtained a particular song.

The old folk-songs of Devon have for him great sacredness, and it is pleasant to listen to his stories of his long rambles in search of them and of nights spent in lonely inns where he had gathered round the board those old men in whose memories they linger.

Following the relationship with Sharp

In tracing the course of the working relationship between Sabine Baring-Gould and Cecil Sharp it is possible to follow a number of threads. The backbone of this study is the small collection of twelve letters exchanged between 1904 and 1917 (see Appendix 1).¹⁸ All but one of these was written by Baring-Gould. Although the number of letters is relatively small, when considered in the context of the lives of the two men and the contemporary activity of others, particularly those associated with the Folk-Song Society, it is possible to understand a great deal from them. It is also possible to establish, within a few days, the dates of the visits Sharp made to Lewtrenchard from his manuscript collections, which identify what he collected and where.¹⁹ Unfortunately, Baring-Gould's only known journal does not contain any entries for the period when he was actively collecting songs and it ends before he met Sharp.²⁰ The third volume of his autobiography, covering the last third of his life, was written but was destroyed a few years after Baring-Gould's death.²¹

Sabine Baring-Gould and Cecil Sharp edited two folk song collections together: the revised *Songs of the West*, in 1905, and *English Folk-Songs for Schools*, in 1906.²² Each also refers to the other in his own writings, and there is further material in the Baring-Gould manuscripts and other contemporary sources that helps piece together their story. One such source is Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell, who knew both Sharp and Baring-Gould well. Wyatt-Edgell sent Baring-Gould songs that she had collected around her home at Cowley Place, north of Exeter, in the 1890s, when she was in her twenties and was a friend of his daughters. Baring-Gould put her in touch with Lucy Broadwood, with whom she corresponded, and then, a few years later, with Cecil Sharp, who stayed with her on a number of occasions. When Sharp's biography was being prepared she wrote some letters containing reminiscences of her times with Sharp and Baring-Gould, and these are held in the Cecil Sharp manuscript collection.²³

Cecil Sharp had returned to England from Australia in 1892 and settled in London,

where he married Constance Birch in the following year. It is not known whether, at this time, he attended any of Baring-Gould's public lectures on folk song in London.²⁴ Sharp was to become more familiar with folk song through his quest for interesting material for his pupils to sing at Ludgrove School. A result of this interest was Sharp's *A Book of British Song for Home and School*, published in May 1902, in which he used twelve songs from Baring-Gould's published collections, with appropriate acknowledgement.²⁵ We can, therefore, be reasonably certain that the first contact between the two men would have been in connection with this book, though no correspondence relating to it has been discovered to date. An illuminating quote, made in the note to the song 'Jordan' (no. 33), is that 'the song required rewriting, and this has been very cleverly done by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould'.²⁶ At the time, Sharp's book came in for some criticism regarding the suitability of the material because it included songs about drinking and the pursuit of loose women.

On 22 August 1903, Cecil Sharp is said to have heard his first 'live' folk singer, John England, sing 'The Seeds of Love', while Sharp was staying with his friend Charles Marson at Hambridge in Somerset, where England was working in the garden. By the end of his stay with Marson, Sharp had noted forty songs from a dozen singers. This was the start of his work as a folk song collector, which was to occupy his holidays from teaching for several more years. In an interview published in the *Morning Post* on 18 January 1904, Sharp talks about his second collecting trip, made during the Christmas holidays in December 1903 and January 1904, when he again stayed first with Marson at Hambridge and then went on to the Revd Alex De Gex at Meshaw in north Devon. De Gex had attended the lecture on folk song that Sharp had given in London on 26 November 1903 and had been so impressed that he had written to the *Morning Post*, as a result of which Sharp then visited him and collected a number of songs in the area.²⁷

Sharp had hoped to visit Baring-Gould on this trip but the meeting did not take place, as the letter received by Sharp and dated 26 January 1904 makes clear (Figure 3). Here Baring-Gould apologizes that their meeting had not proved possible owing to a set of

Figure 3
Letter from Baring-Gould to Sharp,
26 January 1904
Courtesy of Vaughan Williams
Memorial Library

Jas Trenchard
71. Devon
26 Jan 1904

Dear Mr. Sharp

Thank you so much for the notice of your lecture & Mr. Leaden in the *Morning Post*. I am so grateful that at last the public is being wised to the fact that we have a body of fine traditional music. It is full & well worth to collect, & many old men are dead but are now.

It was most unfortunate that I could not see you & Mrs. in Devon. But as it chanced, I was called away by telegram to an uncle who was found dead in his bed & I had to be cutting to see to the funeral & arrange his affairs & soon after just home. If you had happened to come here, I should have had to wait to see that I was called away. So our coffee & wine affair all seemed this.

I leave for the S. of Devon next week, & I could try to see you either on my way out or on my way home.

I remain
yours truly
S. Baring-Gould

domestic crises. He writes:

It was most unfortunate that I could not see you when in Devon. But as it chanced, I was called away by telegram to an uncle who was found dead in his bed, & I had to be away to see to the funeral & arrange his affairs & am only just home. If you had arranged to come here, I would have had to wire to you that I was called away. So our cook's illness after all saved this.

It is reasonable to assume that Sharp had contacted Baring-Gould at short notice and planned to talk to him about song collecting.

Probably the most important thing about this letter is its opening in which Baring-Gould writes: 'Thank you so much for the notice of your lecture and the leader in *Morning Post*. I am so grateful that at last the public is being roused to the fact that we have a body of fine traditional music. It is full late now to collect, all my old men are dead but one now.'²⁸ Sharp has marked this passage, and quoted it in the letter that he wrote to the *Morning Post* on 2 February 1904, where he took the Folk-Song Society to task for its lack of activity in recent years. Having talked about the urgency of the task of collecting, Sharp issued an ultimatum: 'the Folk Song Society should surely see that it must now either wake up, clean its slate, and start again on new and efficient lines, or else retire from the scene altogether that the field may be thrown open and occupied by a more effective organisation'. He ended his letter by quoting Baring-Gould's authoritative statement.²⁹

Lucy Broadwood and other members of the society recognized that Sharp had generated enough momentum to gather a new organization around him. While part of the reason for the poor performance of the society lay with the illness of its honorary secretary, Kate Lee, it was also a result of tensions between members of the committee, particularly between Kate Lee and Lucy Broadwood. Despite these tensions, however, Lucy Broadwood visited Kate Lee and they reached an agreement that led, shortly afterwards, to Broadwood taking over as honorary secretary and to Sharp being co-opted on to the committee. He appears to have persuaded some of his friends and colleagues, including Baring-Gould, to join the society at this time, presumably in order to support his case for increasing the emphasis on collecting and the use of folk songs in education. Baring-Gould was elected to membership on 13 October 1904, but was never active in the society and did not contribute directly to its journal, though there are frequent references to him. He remained a member of the society until 1910 but then appears to have dropped out, although there is no record of his resignation.³⁰ Neither did the journal carry an obituary for him.

Getting together

In an interview with the *Morning Post*, published on 18 January 1904, Sharp was asked if he had exhausted the store of songs to be found in north Devon. He replied:

'Exhausted! Why, I have scarcely tapped them. That part of Devonshire is a perfect mine of folk-song, and yet you must remember that it is in Devonshire that Mr Baring-Gould has done such splendid work, though he has not, I believe, attempted to work the northern part of the county. Here' said Mr Sharp, producing three stout folio volumes, 'are Mr Baring-Gould's manuscripts which, with rare generosity, he has placed at my disposal.

It shows what can be done by one man and it also shows what a slight impression one man can make on the mass of our traditional songs which every day are slipping into oblivion.³¹

There are two significant points about this passage. First, there is the extraordinarily generous loan to Sharp of what must be, from the description, the set of three volumes of Baring-Gould's Personal Copy manuscript. It appears that Sharp had possession of the manuscript for several weeks. Baring-Gould refers to the return of these volumes in his letter of 7 July. There is evidence that Sharp made an extensive study of the document. It was recently noticed that faint pencilled notes against some of the songs appear, from the handwriting and content, to have been made by Sharp.³² These notes do not show clearly in the microfiche edition. Secondly, the date of publication makes it clear that the interview took place in the first half of January 1904. Since such a loan is unlikely to have taken place without the two men having met face to face, it seems probable that they met at some point in late 1903 or early January 1904, probably in London. Research for his non-fiction books regularly took Baring-Gould to London, either to work in the British Museum or in transit to Europe to visit the places about which he intended to write. Baring-Gould closes his letter of 26 January 1904 saying, 'I leave for the S. of France next week, & I will try to see you either on my way out or on my way home.' In the first half of 1904 they agreed to work together on the revised *Songs of the West*, since in the next letter in the series, that of 7 July 1904, they had started discussions about songs for 'the new edition'. There is, though, no record of such a meeting, or of any meetings between them other than those that took place at Lewtrenchard.

Sharp visited Baring-Gould's home at Lewtrenchard on at least five occasions between August 1904 and April 1907, and during those visits Baring-Gould introduced him to some of the singers from whom he had collected ten years earlier. Examples of some of the songs collected on these occasions are given in Appendix 2. In the majority of cases the singers seem to have come to the house and sung their songs there. As was also the case when Broadwood and Gardiner visited, some of the songs were copied into Baring-Gould's Personal Copy manuscript. By this time, of course, he had published his main works and the Fair Copy manuscript of his songs was already lodged in Plymouth library.³³ The dates of Sharp's visits, and the individual songs (and dances) noted by Sharp during those visits, have been identified from Sharp's manuscripts. In addition, by looking at the dates of collection, it is possible to derive the approximate duration of each visit. These visits and the items Sharp collected while he was there are summarized in Table 1. This does not mean, of course, that these were the only occasions on which Sharp visited Baring-Gould at Lewtrenchard; Sharp was described by the family as a frequent visitor to the house.³⁴ There were probably other visits when no song collecting was carried out. For example, Baring-Gould wrote to George Gardiner on 17 April 1905 with some thoughts on songs that the latter had collected around Launceston and enclosed an additional sheet of notes on the songs by Sharp, suggesting that the two men had looked at them together at Lewtrenchard.³⁵

The set of twelve letters helps us fill out the picture. For example, in the letter of 16 July 1904, Baring-Gould wrote to Sharp saying that he would be 'Delighted to see you at any time in your holidays – only give me more than a day or two.' In a further

letter prior to the visit, he wrote: ‘There is an old man named Dingle near here I will get him to sing to you. But we have never used his tunes, either because we had them already or because he was not sure. However I have no doubt that he has others he has not sung to us and he may sing them to you.’ Baring-Gould goes on to propose that Sharp should visit Sourton, where, he says, there used to be some singers, and ends: ‘When shall you be here? I hope soon. I have a musical daughter (married) coming here the week Aug 6–13.’ Sharp may have been swayed by the promise of the musical daughter. We know that he was in Minehead collecting songs on 8 August 1904 and made a brief visit to Lewtrenchard shortly afterwards. On 12 August he and Baring-Gould met John Dingle and another singer, James Down, a labourer from Bratton Clovelly, at Baring-Gould’s house. They collected five songs from Dingle and three from Down, including a version of ‘The Bell-Ringing’. Sadly, Sharp noted only one stanza and Baring-Gould appears to have made no record of this song. The following day Sharp left Lewtrenchard and went on to Stoke Fleming, in south Devon, where his hostess was Miss Bertha Bidder, who had helped Baring-Gould collect songs in that area in the 1890s, and whom Baring-Gould had already introduced to Lucy Broadwood. He collected three songs there before heading back to Somerset.³⁶

Baring-Gould had, as he said in his letter, met John Dingle before. The Personal Copy manuscript contains seven of Dingle’s songs that were collected in the company of



Figure 4

The hall at Lewtrenchard, c.1895, from ‘The Author of “Onward, Christian Soldiers” at Home’, *The Young Man*, 9 (September 1895), 292

Frederick Bussell in April 1894, and another noted in March 1895. It is probable that Dingle would have walked over from his house in Coryton, the parish immediately to the south of Lewtrenchard. We know from Baring-Gould's descriptions that a number of his singers made their way up to the house, probably rather nervously, and would be invited to sit on the old oak settle beside the fire in the main hall with a small table beside them with something to drink – hot spiced wine in the winter. Baring-Gould would sit in his chair opposite and chat with the men about their lives and their songs and encourage them to sing. If Frederick Bussell or Henry Fleetwood Sheppard were on hand, they would note the tunes while Baring-Gould took down the words. If he was on his own, then Baring-Gould would use his old square piano to help him get the tune right. A photograph taken in the 1890s of the hall at Lewtrenchard shows the settle in its place by the fire (Figure 4). The arrangement of the house would not have changed significantly by the time of Sharp's visits and the procedure for collecting would have been very similar, except that it is likely that Sharp took the lead once the introductions were out of the way. The settle that is currently in the house is clearly the one shown in the old photograph and it is pleasant to be able to sit on it and to think of its previous occupants (Figure 5).

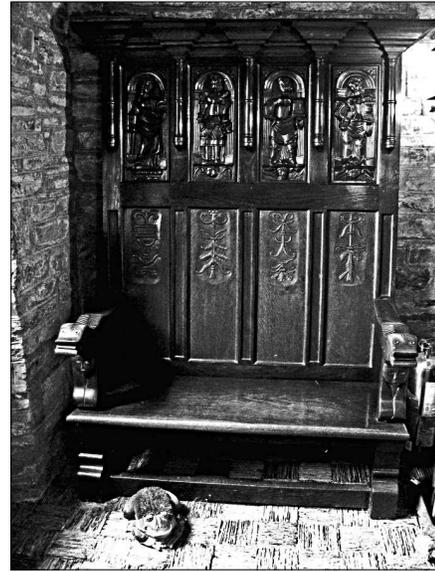


Figure 5

The settle at Lewtrenchard
Photograph by M. Graebe, 2006

Sharp's next visit was at the end of December 1904 and this time he took the opportunity to visit John Dingle and his wife Elizabeth in their home at Eastcott in Coryton parish, a short distance, though a steep climb up and down, from Lewtrenchard. Sharp might, of course, have chosen to take his bicycle on the longer but more level ride along two sides of the triangle. Dingle was a farm labourer, probably on Eastcott Farm, and he and his wife were both in their mid-seventies and had been born in west Devon. On this visit he collected one song each from the Dingles: 'Limadie' from John, and 'True Lover's Farewell' from Elizabeth. He also met another singer, Mrs Perkins (who has thus far eluded identification), from whom he heard a version of 'Forty Long Miles' and noted the tune but no words. On this visit, or perhaps on the next one, Sharp photographed the old couple standing by a farm gate (Figure 6).³⁷

In September 1905, Sharp visited Lewtrenchard again and went over

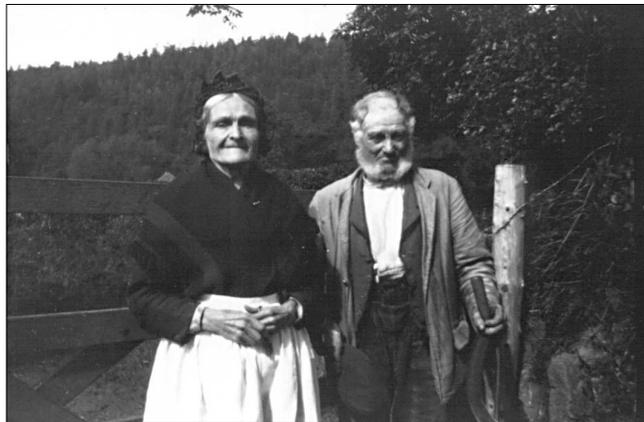


Figure 6

John and Elizabeth Dingle

Courtesy of Vaughan Williams Memorial Library

to see John Dingle for a third meeting, collecting another three songs from him: 'New Mown Hay' (a version of 'The Baffled Knight'), 'The Saddler', and 'The Lark in the Morn'. After returning to Lewtrenchard later in the day, he and Baring-Gould were joined by John Woodridge, known as 'Ginger Jack', who was one of the first singers to have been invited to Lewtrenchard in 1888 to sing his songs.³⁸ He was a much younger man than most of the other singers and was only thirty-eight when he first visited Lewtrenchard to sing. At that time Woodridge worked as an assistant to John Ellis, the blacksmith at Wollacott Moor, on the northern edge of Lew Down. As a blacksmith, Baring-Gould rated him barely fit to blow the bellows, and it is not, perhaps, surprising that he became unemployed in the late 1890s and appeared in court on more than one occasion charged with deserting his wife and children in order to take casual work. Nonetheless, he was clearly liked by Baring-Gould and they met a number of times. Woodridge had learned some of his songs from his father while living with him in Somerset, some from his grandmother when he was sent to live with her, and a further set of songs while on his travels before he settled in Devon. He was continually learning new songs; for example, when he was navvying on the railway, where he picked up a number of songs, many of them Irish. Baring-Gould says that Woodridge could remember a tune after hearing it once and a song after hearing it twice, and more than sixty of his songs are recorded in the manuscripts. At this meeting with Sharp he sang five songs: 'The Rout Is Out', 'As I Walked Out', 'Little Mary, my Bride', 'Lad Rendal', and 'Cold Blows the Wind', though Sharp only noted words for the first two.

Sharp's fourth confirmed visit to Lewtrenchard was on 1 September 1906, when he collected just one item. This was not a song but a traditional broom dance, from Harry Frize of Lewdown.³⁹ This must have been a very short visit, since Sharp was collecting in Somerset on 30 August and again on 3 September. His last recorded visit to Lewtrenchard was from 11 to 13 April 1907, when he noted a number of country dances and another broom dance, from William Ford. Ford was a sixty-two-year-old blacksmith living at Upton Pyne, near Exeter, where he did odd jobs for Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell. In a letter written some years later, Wyatt-Edgell explains that Baring-Gould had invited Ford to come to Lewtrenchard to teach country dances. Sharp was staying with the Wyatt-Edgells at Cowley Place and took advantage of the opportunity to go over to Lewtrenchard and collect Ford's dances there. Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell says of Ford:

He had been a dancer and a player of the concertina for dance music all his life. No one, I should think, could be more difficult to collect from. He played as if he was inventing the tune as he went along and he never could explain anything as it all came more or less naturally to him. Mr Sharp mentions him in the preface to *Country Dance Book* which contains his dance.⁴⁰

Sharp noted the tunes and movements for five dances from Ford and published them in Part I of *The Country Dance Book*, where he also acknowledged in the preface technical advice he had received from Ford.⁴¹ He also recorded his indebtedness to Baring-Gould and Wyatt-Edgell (among others) for helping him to find and note the dances.

It is interesting to speculate about Baring-Gould's influence on Sharp in respect of dance collecting. Baring-Gould himself had collected dance tunes, notably from William Andrew of Sheepstor, and had a good understanding of the mechanics of how the dances

were performed.⁴² His increasingly elaborate stage shows, which toured England in the 1890s, included country dances as well as songs. His grandson, Bickford Dickinson, reports that Baring-Gould encouraged his daughters to teach folk dances in the village, and that Joan Baring-Gould 'taught traditional dancing in the parish for several years prior to her marriage in 1907'.⁴³ After having seen morris dancing at Headington in 1899, Sharp did not make further progress with his work on dance until 1906, when, as a result of his meeting with Mary Neal in September 1905, he started actively to collect morris dances. The dances collected at Lewtrenchard are probably the first country dances that Sharp noted, indicating that Baring-Gould had some influence on, and involvement with, Sharp's future activity in respect of dance as well as song.

Devonshire Association, Princetown, July 1905

There were at least two occasions upon which Sharp and Baring-Gould appeared in public on the same platform. The first, and best documented, was the annual meeting of the Devonshire Association at Princetown in 1905, where, on the evening of 19 July, Sharp delivered a talk on 'The Musical Value of Devonshire Folk Airs'. The Devonshire Association's meeting in 1905 ran from Tuesday, 18 July to Friday, 21 July – an interesting reflection of times past, when the leisured middle classes would want to keep their weekends free for entertaining. Many of the presentations and discussions took place in the more salubrious rooms of Dartmoor Prison. The chairman for the meeting and president-elect of the association for the coming year was the prison governor, Basil H. Thomson. Sharp's presentation took place in the Recreation Room of the prison and took the form of an illustrated lecture, the illustrations, in this case, being musical. Sharp's notes for this lecture have survived and we can build a clear picture of the event from these, from the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, and from a report of the meeting in the *Western Mercury*.⁴⁴

A letter from Baring-Gould to Sharp dated 7 June 1905 suggests that Sharp should book rooms at the Duchy Hotel in Princetown for himself and for Mattie Kay. Kay was a young singer whom Sharp had taken under his wing after hearing her sing at a concert and recognizing her potential. She lived with the Sharp family for some time and was given a scholarship at the Hampstead Conservatoire. She was at Hambridge when Sharp first heard John England sing, and frequently sang folk songs to illustrate Sharp's lectures up until her marriage. In the event, she did not attend the lecture at Princetown. Baring-Gould goes on to confirm that he had organized some singers and lists the songs that he believed would best illustrate the points to be made. The newspaper report identifies the singers as Miss Goodfellow (contralto), Miss Groser (soprano), Mr Cooper (tenor), and the Revd K. A. Lake (baritone), and adds that Baring-Gould not only prefaced each item with 'an intensely interesting introduction' but also sang 'John Barleycorn'. The report lists the fifteen songs that were performed, and it is possible to compare that list with Baring-Gould's suggestions and with the titles pencilled on to Sharp's typewritten notes (Table 2). The *Western Mercury* reporter noticed that the songs used to illustrate the lecture were not to be found in the first editions of *Songs and Ballads of the West*, and reported with some excitement that he had learned from Baring-Gould about the enlarged edition of the book containing these new songs that was shortly to be published

(the third edition, *Songs of the West*, with Sharp as musical editor, was published three months later, in October 1905).

The evening opened with a performance of 'A Song of the Moor'. This was a good choice since the tune had been collected from William Nankivell at Merrivale, only four miles from Princetown. Nankivell's song was 'A Lying Tale' but Baring-Gould had given it a new set of words. Sharp commenced his lecture by saying that folk song had only recently been recognized in England and went on to explain his idea that what characterized it was its evolution through a communal process and oral transmission. He described it as being focused on communal concerns and experiences more than on those of the individual. It is objective, with little reflection and no sentimentality. The true folk song 'possesses the art of making with a few strokes a vigorous sketch of events and situations ... [it] corresponds to reality ... and it despises external splendour'. He then went on to talk about the value of the words, saying that the words of folk songs were largely corrupt and had lost their force; indeed, many singers knew that what they were singing was nonsense and could not explain its meaning. He gave some examples of garbling, such as 'So and here's 'pon a recruise and we'll never refuse to face our dear unfold'. He added that, nonetheless, he had often come across 'genuine folk-made verse'. Sharp's next theme was the value of the tunes, which he saw as much being greater than that of the words. English folk music, he said, is bold, fresh, and unconventional, with a large compass and wide intervals. Many melodies are redolent of their place of origin. Several have rhythms that remind us that in the past some songs were used for dancing. You could find many songs to one tune, but equally you would find many tunes for one ballad.

In considering the topics of the songs, Sharp had found that the majority were love songs, predominantly set in the open air ('The nintingales [*sic*] was a'singing', for example). Others might have blood-curdling narratives, and many dealt with farming life. He found no patriotic songs, though soldiers in the songs were happy to do their duty for the king. When they went off to war there was often a love story attached to the parting and return, and many a heroine dressed as a man in order to follow her love into battle.

He spoke about the modes, explaining to his audience in simple terms what they are. He said that modal tunes make for fine melodies but are hard to harmonize, which was why they had disappeared from mainstream music. Gregorian music was better sung by country choirs, who were accustomed to the modes, than by town choirs. Songs found in Devonshire often had words that could be found elsewhere, but the tunes had a local character, being softer, sweeter, and more polished than those heard in Somerset or Sussex. He admitted, though, that it was difficult to be dogmatic, because so few parts of England had been explored at that time. Providing accompaniments for folk songs was not easy, but he did not believe that folk songs should be handicapped by being deprived of an appropriate setting, and he thought that, on balance, an appropriate accompaniment did more good than harm. He ended by making an appeal for the teaching of folk song in the public elementary schools as an essential basis for national music and national self-esteem.

It is worth remembering that this lecture took place at a time of great tension in Sharp's

life. An announcement of his resignation from the Hampstead Conservatoire appeared on the day of the meeting in Princetown.⁴⁵ From this point onwards, he significantly increased the number of lectures that he gave, not just in order to get his message across but also to supplement his finances. A few days later, an interview with Sharp about folk song was printed in the *Morning Post* and attracted the attention of Mary Neal, sparking off a new working relationship with Neal's Espérance Club.⁴⁶

On 16 August 1907, there appeared two newspaper reports of a further occasion when Sharp and Baring-Gould appeared together in public.⁴⁷ Neither article gives a location for this lecture and there is no record of it among Sharp's other papers. Chris Bearman suggests that it took place in Taunton on 15 August, since Sharp was renting rooms there at that time.⁴⁸ Sharp collected songs in Bridgwater on 14 August and in Somerton on 16 August. Baring-Gould took the chair on this occasion and introduced Sharp, who spoke on the 'Folk Songs of the West', with musical illustrations by Mattie Kay and Mr W. Kettlewell. The songs sung appear to have been taken from both men's collections and included 'Evening Prayer' ('Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John'), 'Death and the Lady', 'Seventeen Come Sunday', 'The Keys of Heaven', 'Flora, The Lily of the West', 'Fair Maid as a Lily', and 'The Coasts of Barbary'. Sharp's key message was that 'England had as fine music as any other nation in Europe and perhaps better', and he made a further strong statement on the importance of folk song in education. Baring-Gould is reported to have said in his introduction that the event marked twenty years since he had started to collect songs and that 'it had taken the public some time to realise what a precious treasure they had in the folklore of the people'.

Working together

Between 1904 and 1907 the letters contain some details of the discussions between Sharp and Baring-Gould as they worked together on their joint publications, which must have been the subject of much consideration during their meetings at Lewtrenchard. Their first joint project was the revised *Songs of the West*, published in October 1905. Henry Fleetwood Sheppard, the musical editor for the first two editions, had died in 1901. In the preface to this new edition Baring-Gould says that, when the book was first published, they had to 'catch and humour public taste'.⁴⁹ Fleetwood Sheppard had arranged some songs as duets and quartets, and used elaborate piano arrangements. Some of these were overly complex even for moderately proficient piano players, and so Sharp replaced a number of them with simpler piano settings. They also introduced some modal tunes since, as Baring-Gould said, 'Public taste is a little healthier now, and musicians have multiplied who can value these early melodies. Consequently we have not felt the same reserve now that we did in 1889.'⁵⁰ In the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library there is a bound set of the four parts of *Songs and Ballads of the West* which was part of the Cecil Sharp bequest to the library and is Sharp's working copy. The word 'Cut' has been pencilled against the titles of a number of the songs and a few of Fleetwood Sheppard's arrangements have modifications made to them in red ink. These amended arrangements appear in the 1905 edition. Table 3 summarizes the main differences between the various editions of *Songs and Ballads of the West/Songs of the West*.

Analysis of the songs chosen for the new edition shows that twenty-two songs were

dropped and thirty-three new ones brought in, making a new total of 121. Sharp provided the arrangements for eighty-two of these songs. Fleetwood Sheppard's arrangements (with some modifications) were retained for thirty-three songs, and Bussell's for five.⁵¹ The song texts remain unchanged from the earlier editions. There is a new preface, and the introduction and notes on the songs have been completely rewritten. Sheppard had been unhappy arranging anything that he had not collected personally and so a number of items that Baring-Gould had noted himself were not used in the first two editions, but Sharp chose to arrange some of Baring-Gould's tunes for the 1905 edition. In the notes, the songs omitted are listed and it is stated: 'The first edition is still kept in stock, so that such persons as desire these ballads, and such others as are retained in this, but treated differently, as duets and quartettes, can obtain them from the publishers.'⁵² Significantly, the price of the new edition was 5s., about one third of the price of the edition it replaced.⁵³ Baring-Gould stated that this was a deliberate decision, designed to ensure that the book reached the widest possible audience. The book ran to seven impressions.

In Baring-Gould's autobiography, *Early Reminiscences*, there appears a slight note of complaint.⁵⁴ He describes an evening when he was sixteen years old and the Baring-Goulds were at Bayonne. They were joined for dinner by a Devonshire sea captain and after dinner the company sang some old songs, including 'Fathom the Bowl'. He says:

A great many years later I recovered the song and the delightful air from an old toper at Lydford [Edmund Fry]. I had not heard it in the interim, and I published it in the *Songs of the West*. But when, after the death of my fellow collector, Mr Sheppard, a new edition was called for and Mr C. Sharp took charge of it, he cut out the song of the Punch Bowl, as being a drinking song and not a genuine folk piece. I think he erred, for it was a favourite in the public houses, and the singers were all country peasants.

Baring-Gould also mentions in his *Further Reminiscences* that another of Fry's 'right noble drinking songs', 'Come, my Lads, Let Us Be Jolly', was cut from the book for the same reason.⁵⁵ But these are the only signals Baring-Gould ever gave in public that he was less than happy with the new edition.

In 1906, Sharp and Baring-Gould published *English Folk-Songs for Schools*, with the dedication: 'Dedicated by permission to their Royal Highnesses Prince Edward and Prince Albert of Wales'. Sharp was, again, musical editor and Baring-Gould the literary editor. The introduction expresses their views very clearly:

The folk-song of one race is not the folk-song of another, any more than the warble of the blackbird is the twitter of the finch. Why, then, should we endeavour to force our children to learn the notes of Germany, France and Italy, instead of acquiring that which is their very own? Why dress a Japanese in English hat and frock coat, and force English feet into French sabots?⁵⁶

The book contains fifty-three songs and ballads, selected from the two men's collections. It was 'made to meet the requirements of the Board of Education' and, accordingly, the words of some of the songs had to be modified – much to Sharp's regret. But they did proudly state that, with the exception of three songs provided by Lady Lethbridge, every one of the tunes had been 'taken down by ourselves from the mouths of the people'.

English Folk-Songs for Schools was published by Curwen, and there was some friction

between Sharp and Baring-Gould on the one hand and the proprietor, J. Spencer Curwen, on the other. The publishing house had been founded by John Curwen, father of J. Spencer Curwen, as a vehicle for publishing song collections using tonic sol-fa notation, which he had improved and popularized. Sharp and Baring-Gould both disliked the system and neither wanted Curwen to include tonic sol-fa notation in the book. Baring-Gould's letter of 9 October 1906 refers to this and to his refusal to accede to a request from J. Spencer Curwen to endorse the system. He says, though, 'If Curwen insists that he will not publish a cheap ed. without Tonic Sol-Fa as well as the old notation I suppose reluctantly we shall have to give way – but I don't like it.' He concludes the letter: 'I mistrust greatly Curwen's planned book of Morris Dances.' This is a reference to John Graham's book, *Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dances*.⁵⁷

The following year, there was further correspondence between Sharp and Curwen about the possibility of a second collection for schools.⁵⁸ The meat of the discussion, though, was about royalties on sales of *English Folk-Songs for Schools* and Sharp's demand that the amount be doubled. It is probable that Sharp did not think it appropriate to tell Baring-Gould about the letter that he received from J. Spencer Curwen, dated 21 November 1907, in which he responded to Sharp's request for increased payments by saying: 'Your trouble comes from having to share the royalties. Why bring in Mr Baring Gould? You can easily revise the words yourself, and we feel sure that he would not mind as his disposition is so generous.'⁵⁹ The correspondence continued into the summer of 1908 but no resolution was reached in respect of a new volume, though the agreement to put tonic sol-fa notation alongside staff notation was implemented. By July 1908, Sharp had contracted with Novello to publish a new series of song books for schools, though without Baring-Gould's involvement.

It is interesting to note, just past the centenary of the publication of *English Folk-Songs for Schools*, that the question of the use of song in schools is again high on the educational agenda and that, once more, a list of songs for use in schools is being proposed. The debate a hundred years ago about the use of folk songs in schools was a long one, in which Sharp found himself in opposition to the establishment and to fellow members of the Folk-Song Society. The fundamental cause of the dispute was Sharp's belief, which coincided with Baring-Gould's, that folk song should be popularized and that the most effective way in which this could be done was to teach it in schools. The 'suitability' of folk songs for school use was also being questioned, with the criticisms that had been levelled at *A Book of British Song for Home and School* being aired once again. There was, in fact, a three-cornered struggle. Firstly, there were those who favoured 'real' folk songs. Then there were those who wanted to promote 'national' songs (that is, songs that had patriotic themes or were well-trying standards by composers such as Dibdin); and there was a third group consisting of those publishers who had a good business in songs written specifically for use in schools, of which they had full control of the publishing and performing rights.⁶⁰

Arthur Somervell, the Inspector of Music to the Board of Education, had approached the Folk-Song Society to seek their cooperation in the production of a list of songs suitable for singing in schools. Though the matter was discussed, the society never responded effectively to Somervell and the list was prepared and published without

any significant input from the society.⁶¹ The list was published early in 1906, and when he saw it Sharp was very disappointed, since of the English songs included only seven could be considered true folk songs. He made his disappointment clear in letters to the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Chronicle*.⁶² His criticism provoked a defensive response from Sir Charles Stanford, who described it as ‘a reckless and unjustifiable attack’, and also a rebuke from the president of the Folk-Song Society, Lord Tennyson.⁶³ The last straw was when he discovered that the annual report of the society had been drafted with a paragraph welcoming the list, which put Sharp in a difficult position. He attempted, with the help of Ralph Vaughan Williams, to have the wording modified to include a statement of regret that more folk songs had not been included, but their resolution was not carried at the annual general meeting on 6 December 1906. Sharp’s response was to go home and write *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*, which was published in October 1907.⁶⁴ Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell remembered ‘his account of the FSS meeting which caused him to write it. He said he felt the book must be written and he went straight home from the meeting and wore out three fountain pens!’⁶⁵

English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions was Sharp’s chance to put his views before the public. It was written very quickly, and at a time when he was engaged in a number of other activities. It is dedicated ‘To the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould’. The book is a synthesis of Sharp’s ideas about the nature of folk song. It builds upon his ideas about the evolution of folk song expressed in lectures such as that to the Devonshire Association, but goes much further in its thinking. Sharp now wrote of folk song evolution in the classical Darwinian terms of continuity, variation, and selection. Another important idea is that songs were distributed more widely throughout the country than had been realized. Sharp quotes Gardiner: ‘I do not believe that the public or even musicians are alive to the fact that the songs we are collecting are the folk-songs of England, and that they are not confined to one county but are known throughout the length and breadth of the land.’⁶⁶ Although this may seem obvious now, the policy of the Folk-Song Society to publish only one version of each song had obscured this fact. There are many other interesting observations in the book, including the assertion that the old singers were far more concerned with the words of a song than its tune – the reverse of the priority that both Sharp himself and Baring-Gould generally assigned.

Sharp sent a copy of the book to Baring-Gould upon publication, with an inscription below the dedication (Figure 7). Baring-Gould was impressed by the book and wrote to Sharp on 8 October 1907, saying: ‘I have read right through your book & think it splendid. What nonsense of you to affect not being able to write! You can write & write most effectively. That page 47 is above all excellent.’ Page 47 is in the chapter that deals with the modes, and

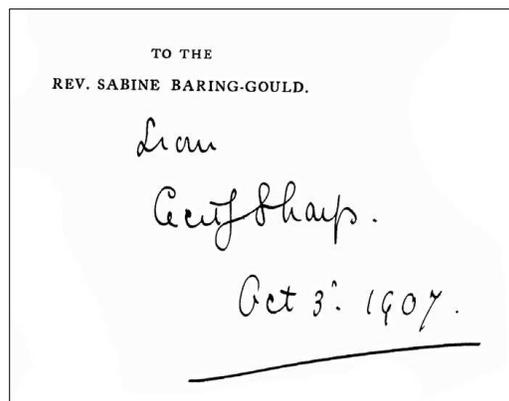


Figure 7
Cecil Sharp’s inscription in Sabine Baring-Gould’s copy of *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*
Courtesy of Dr Merriol Almond;
photograph by M. Graebe, 2007

it is likely that the paragraph that would have particularly appealed to Baring-Gould is one addressed to the modern musician who is so saturated with the harmonic effects of the major-minor system that he cannot see the value of the modes. Sharp writes:

If he were to go down to the country, seek out the old peasant singers, and hear modal tunes sung by those to whom the modes are the natural scales, he would understand what is meant by the specific musical qualities of the various modes. He would get rid, once and for all, of the idea that modal music has no message for the modern ear; that the modes are mere archival survivals, of no present value whatever, except for manufacturing what are commonly known as ‘Wardour-Street’ effects.⁶⁷

This is a message that echoed Baring-Gould’s sentiments. However, *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* can be considered to be the point at which Sharp ‘came of age’ in respect of folk song. It may be that, after this, he had outgrown Baring-Gould’s thinking and his need for his mentorship.

‘Now the Day Is Over’

In the library at Killerton House there is a water-damaged copy of Cecil Sharp’s *One Hundred English Folksongs* which is inscribed ‘To S. Baring-Gould, from CJS, Xmas 1916’.⁶⁸ This is one of several of Sharp’s books that Baring-Gould owned, most of which would have been gifts from the author. In a letter dated 7 January 1917, Baring-Gould writes: ‘Thank you very much for your One Hundred English Folk Songs, & I am so glad in it to find such an excellent likeness of yourself’ (Figure 8). He goes on to tell of six weeks in bed with bronchitis and then says:

I want you very much to consent to a great wish that I have. I have always loved Mr Sheppard’s settings of the Devonshire songs in the original edition; & from all sides I get entreaties of those who knew & valued them that they can not get copies. There was a radiance of poetry about his arrangements. No doubt they were not archaic-musically correct. Now I want as sole memorial to myself when gone to have ‘Songs of the West’ reproduced with those settings of Sheppard restored, leaving all the rest to you.

Now we have the only letter in the other direction that has been discovered so far, typewritten and dated the following day, in which Sharp replies:

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould

I can quite understand your feeling about Mr. Sheppard’s settings and I should be very sorry indeed to stand between you and the realisation of your wishes.

The only thing that I cannot do is to have my name associated with them in such a way as to lead others to believe that I approved of them. Would not the best way be to reprint your original edition, which has now in a sense become historic and leave the editions to make their separate appeals to the musical public.

There is then a gap of three days before Baring-Gould writes again:

Figure 8

‘... such an excellent likeness of yourself’ – Cecil J. Sharp, from *One Hundred English Folksongs* (1916)



Dear Mr Sharp

I think perhaps it will be the best way to reissue the original edition with the arrangements of Mr Sheppard & Dr Bussell. I had an application the day before yesterday from Plymouth in connection with a forthcoming Musical Festival, for a loan of a copy of the original arrangements for something they wished to produce; and they found great difficulty in obtaining the early edition

I remain

yours truly

S. Baring-Gould

This is the last exchange that we know of between the two men.

Baring-Gould's wife, Grace, had died in April 1916 and that event marked the beginning of his decline into old age. The teenage bride had been the rock upon which his life was founded. He was also depressed by the war and the losses of the young men of the village. Given all he had achieved in his writing, as an archaeologist and in all the other areas of his life, it seems remarkable that Baring-Gould attached so much importance to his folk song collecting, yet a short while before his death he wrote: 'to this day I consider that the recovery of our West-country melodies has been the principal achievement of my life.'⁶⁹ In light of that belief, that he should want the original version of *Songs and Ballads of the West* to stand as his memorial was a reasonable wish. Sharp's response, though perhaps rather abrupt, was likewise reasonable. He had a vision of what folk music should be and a clear idea of the values that should be associated with it. To him, the standards that Baring-Gould and, particularly, Fleetwood Sheppard had applied in editing *Songs and Ballads of the West* were not compatible with that vision.

This last correspondence does not amount to a falling-out and there is no sign that Sharp regarded it as a serious disagreement. He had fought and would continue to fight much more serious battles over matters of principle in the treatment of folk song and dance. Indeed, he would lose the friendship of others much closer to him on such matters. For Baring-Gould, however, it was more serious and it continued to rankle. It is possible that he failed to recognize his own achievement in influencing Sharp. Baring-Gould's grandson, Bickford Dickinson, writes of an occasion on which the topic cropped up in conversation when Baring-Gould was staying with his daughter Mary (Dickinson's mother) in north Devon:

The old man, as he then was, insisted on Mary going to the piano and playing through a number of the songs, first in the original edition and then in the Cecil Sharp edition, while he hummed the tunes and afterwards expressed himself very forcibly on what was still a sore subject.⁷⁰

Baring-Gould's erstwhile collaborator, Frederick Bussell, who (despite his continuing eccentricity) had gone on to become vice principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, simplified the matter in his only recorded comment on his adventures with Baring-Gould: 'We had very pleasant times together, collecting songs all over Devon and Cornwall, the credit of which was annexed by a Mr Cecil Sharpe [*sic*] who rearranged them to very tame settings indeed.'⁷¹

Conclusion

Sabine Baring-Gould died on 2 January 1924, a few days short of his ninetieth birthday. Sadly, Sharp was to follow him to the grave six months later, on 23 June, aged sixty-five. It is tempting to try to assess the relative worth as folk song collectors of the two men, but this would be a mistake. They were a generation apart in age and they were each very significant contributors to the collecting of English folk song. Indeed, between them they developed the methods that the next generation of collectors would come to accept as standard working practices.

When Baring-Gould began to collect songs, he did so by going among his friends and writing to the newspapers to seek out songs from those in a position to know what was being sung. This was a logical place to begin and it is how many of the other collectors of his time commenced their work. However, Baring-Gould quickly realized that he needed to go out to meet the singers in the pubs where they gathered, in their homes, and even by the roadside, in order to acquire the material he sought. We have descriptions of him walking significant distances across the moor to find a lonely cottage where a singer was said to live, and of evenings spent in Dartmoor inns with groups of singers. It was this active approach that characterized Baring-Gould's work, and which Sharp later adopted and refined for his own. Both men used the railways to move rapidly about their territories. Both men used their network of friends and friendly clergy to gain local knowledge and for overnight accommodation. Where Baring-Gould rode in a dog cart, Sharp substituted the bicycle.

Sharp was, in the end, more effective and systematic in his collecting, which enabled him to collect more than 2800 songs in England, the great majority from Somerset and north Devon.⁷² Baring-Gould's total fell short of this, but not by as great a number as has previously been thought.⁷³ But song collecting is not a competitive sport. Both Sharp and Baring-Gould were committed to popularizing folk song through publications, public lectures, and concerts. Baring-Gould went further with his elaborate stage shows, which travelled England in the 1890s, and with his opera *Red Spider*, for which the composer Learmont Drysdale adapted Devonshire folk tunes to Baring-Gould's libretto.⁷⁴

Sharp learned from Baring-Gould the value of repeated visits to singers, and both men would build strong relationships with their best singers. For example, Baring-Gould visited Samuel Fone on at least ten occasions, while Sharp visited Lucy White and Louisa Hooper at least twenty times. Both men came to regard these regularly visited singers as friends and, for both, there were visits when the object was purely social rather than to collect songs. Both men supported these relationships with small gifts and, sometimes, money. This has led to some criticism of them in modern times. Their vocabulary has also been criticized, when Sharp talked of 'emptying' a singer of his songs, for example, or when Baring-Gould described his last visit to Robert Hard, 'bleeding him of the last drops of melody'.

Sharp's iconic position in the study of English folk music is assured. He is recognized as the founder of the modern folk song and dance movement in England, and there is no doubt of his remarkable achievements. He was, it must be said, a man who recognized the value of publicity and who had the right connections to make the most of it, as well as being placed, by living in London, in the junction box for those connections. He also

had the acolytes and the organization to ensure that his vision lived on after his death. Baring-Gould was more isolated and there was no one at that time to carry his work in Devon and Cornwall forward. He had outlived his contemporaries and age and illness had depleted his reserves of energy. His popularity as an author had diminished, since he had not published any novels since 1905, but he never stopped writing and his last conscious act was to review the draft of a book. Within five years of his death, all the collectors who had known him – Gardiner, Sharp, Broadwood, and Kidson – were also gone. Though not forgotten, the detail of his work was somehow lost. The ‘three great manuscript folios’ that Sharp had borrowed and that Lucy Broadwood and others had written about lay untouched in Baring-Gould’s house for fifty years.⁷⁵

We know from Bickford Dickinson that Baring-Gould was not completely happy at Sharp’s success, and while Dickinson does not actually suggest that he blamed Sharp, he does say that, in old age, Baring-Gould was sore at the lack of credit he had received as a pioneer of folk song collecting.⁷⁶ Sharp himself freely acknowledged his debt to Baring-Gould on several occasions, one of the most enduring being in his preface to *One Hundred English Folksongs*, where he describes Baring-Gould’s collection as ‘the first serious and sustained attempt to collect the traditional songs of the English peasantry’. Sharp goes on to say that, though others had collected before, Baring-Gould’s was the ‘real starting-point of the movement’. Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell observed that Sharp ‘thought Mr Baring-Gould’s collecting work was really wonderful, considering that he did not profess to be a musician – and that he deserved the greatest credit’.⁷⁷ Others thought highly of Baring-Gould, too. In his introduction to the first series of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, Charles Marson wrote about the negative attitude of cultured people towards folk song and said, ‘Against this our mass of unbelief, treason and stupidity, some noble knights have ridden a tilt. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould is the tallest man amongst them, the Lancelot of the brave adventure ...’ Ralph Vaughan Williams, in his preface to the 1948 issue of the *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, wrote, ‘Let us then hold in pious memory the names of Baring-Gould, Broadwood, Kidson and others, the strong men before Agamemnon without whose spade-work it is doubtful if Cecil Sharp would have had the incentive to initiate his great campaign.’⁷⁸

Songs and Ballads of the West/Songs of the West, imperfect though it is in any of the three editions, is a landmark of English vernacular song. The discovery of the ‘lost’ Baring-Gould manuscripts in 1992 has created opportunities for researchers in many of the fields of study to which Baring-Gould contributed in his lifetime, leading to a better understanding of the value of his work. Analysis of that part of the Killerton hoard relating to folk song, particularly the Personal Copy manuscript and the previously unseen notebooks, has made possible an overdue reappraisal of his contribution to the study of English folk song. The manuscripts give us a great deal of detail about the ways in which Baring-Gould and his colleagues worked. The real substance of his achievement, however, lies in the wonderful collection of songs that these manuscripts contain, which will give continuing delight to singers and audiences alike. As with Sharp’s collection, only a small proportion of the total has ever been published. We should be grateful to this remarkable visionary for his legacy and for the unselfish help and mentoring that he gave to other collectors, particularly to Cecil Sharp.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Merriol Almond, Sabine Baring-Gould's great-granddaughter, for her continued practical support for my work and for the steady encouragement that she has given me over the years. Malcolm Taylor first showed me the letters from Baring-Gould to Sharp in 1995 and I am very grateful to him and to his colleagues, Peta Webb and Elaine Bradtke, at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library for their unstinting help. My friends and colleagues Paul Wilson and Marilyn Tucker of Wren Music have shared much of my journey through the world of Baring-Gould and were with me when we first saw the 'lost' manuscripts at Killerton House. I am also indebted to the late Cyril Tawney for a number of helpful conversations and for information shared with me about his own work with Baring-Gould's manuscripts and associated investigations. Chris Bearman's doctoral thesis is an invaluable reference for anyone following the course of the folk revival. When supplemented by the access to his knowledge that our correspondence and conversations over several years have given, I must acknowledge the influence that he has had on my understanding of the historical background to this paper and my debt to him for the wisdom freely shared.

I would also like to thank David Atkinson and Roy Palmer for advice in the preparation of this paper and for a number of useful insights. John Draisey and the staff of the Devon Record Office, Denise Melhuish and colleagues in the National Trust at Killerton House, and the staff of the local studies libraries at Exeter and Plymouth, have all helped in piecing together the scattered documents that record Baring-Gould's work. Though he has now retired, Ian Maxted, formerly of the West Country Studies Library, Exeter, continues to be a great source of advice and useful information. Ian was the first person to commission me to talk about Baring-Gould's work, in 1976 (when, in reality, I knew very little). Roger Bristow, Ron Wawman, Jane Marchand, and other colleagues in the Sabine Baring-Gould Appreciation Society have contributed to my knowledge of the man whose life we all spend a significant proportion of our own time studying. Finally, I must thank my co-worker and wife, Shan Graebe, for allowing Sabine Baring-Gould to share our lives – even our honeymoon. But then, he did bring us together in the first place.

Appendix 1

The Sabine Baring-Gould–Cecil Sharp correspondence

The collection of twelve letters held at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library is all that is known to survive of the correspondence between Sabine Baring-Gould and Cecil Sharp. All but one of the letters is from Baring-Gould to Sharp. The first letter is from January 1904, within a few months of Cecil Sharp having started his collecting in Hambridge. The first nine letters cover the period when the two men were working together on the revised *Songs of the West* and on *English Folk-Songs for Schools*. The last three were written in 1917, when Baring-Gould was starting to show signs of age following the death of his wife in the previous year.

It is probable that there were more letters, but as time passes it becomes less likely that they will be discovered. Sharp's correspondence has been well picked over and, though there are still unexamined pockets within the Baring-Gould papers, the most likely corners have been investigated. We do have a lot of other material that helps us piece together the relationship between these two remarkable men and to build a picture of the way in which they came to work together. But it is these letters that form the backbone for that study.

This appendix contains transcripts of each of the letters. Baring-Gould's hand is challenging to read at the best of times, and since he wrote with a 'dip pen' (when he did not actually return to the quill he preferred) it becomes particularly difficult when he has persevered too long without recharging the pen. In a few instances where words are uncertain or illegible they are placed within pointed brackets (editorial insertions are placed within square brackets). Baring-Gould's punctuation (including his use of double quotation marks) is retained. Where appropriate, notes have been added to explain a point or put a passage into context.

Letter 1

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
26 Jan 1904

Dear Mr Sharp

Thank you so much for the notice of your lecture & the leader in Morning Post. I am so grateful that at last the public is being roused to the fact that we have a body of fine traditional music. It is full late now to collect, all my old men are dead but one now.

It was most unfortunate that I could not see you when in Devon. But as it chanced, I was called away by telegram to an uncle who was found dead in his bed, & I had to be away to see to the funeral & arrange his affairs & am only just home. If you had arranged to come here, I should have had to wire to you that I was called away. So our cook's illness after all saved this.

I leave for the S. of France next week, & I will try to see you either on my way out or on my way home.

I remain
Yours truly
S. Baring Gould

Note: There is a vertical line in the left-hand margin beside the passage ‘I am so grateful ... dead but one now.’ This is the passage that Sharp quoted in his letter to the *Morning Post* of 2 February 1904.

Letter 2

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
July 7, 1904

Dear Mr Sharp

I find in one of my vols you so kindly returned old Robert Hard the stonebreaker’s version of “Go from my window” which I think has points in it better than Woodrich’s version. I can not make out if the tune was not originally in the minor, for Hard’s version changes from major to minor. I think <you note like his best>. I told you I was not sure of last line from the Ms book I had which was obscure, the pencil marks almost rubbed out, but Hard’s version is quite clear, & what I sent you is same ending as “Flowers & Weeds.”

I have a curious song “Tommy a’ Lynn” I think ought to go into the new edition. It dates back from at least 1560, for in Wager’s play “The longer thou livest the more fool thou” Moros quotes a snatch of it. But whether our tune is that to which it was formerly sung I can not say, one line in it resembles a strain in “The Maid of Islington”. You shall hear it when you come here. I can not properly bar it as I think there is a change of time in the chorus. Perhaps you may have heard this song in N Devon. It begins:-

“Tommy a’ Lynn was a Dutchman born
His head was bald and his chin was shorn
He wore a cap made of rabbits’ skin
The skin side out and the fur within
All to my tooth! & link-a-lum-lee
Tommy a ranter and a rover
Tommy a bone of my stover
Brew, screw, rivet & tin
O A rare old man was Tommy a’ Lynn

What “a bone of my stover” means I cannot conceive.

I remain
Yours truly
S. Baring-Gould

Note: ‘Tommy a Lynn’ was drafted into the third (1905) edition of *Songs of the West* to replace ‘The Warson Hunt’ (no. 42). Moros is the fool in William Wager’s play *The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art*, written c.1559–69. He sings, among other fragments of ballads, the lines:

Tom a Lin and his wife and wives mother,
They went over the bridge all three together,
The bridge was broken and they fell in,
The Devil with all quoth Tom a Lin.

Letter 3

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
July 16, 1904

Dear Mr Sharp

Delighted to see you at any time in your holidays – only give me more than “a day or two.”

Thanks for “The Lover’s Trial” it is charming.

I am quite satisfied with what you say about Hard’s version of “Go from my window, go” except only the last two or three notes of Woodrich’s tune which I gave you doubtfully as I had only the almost effaced pencil jotting down, but in my velum [*sic*] covered book I found it as I corrected in pencil. We will keep your arrangement.

By no means let us insert any tunes that are not fresh & characteristic, as we have to cancel some already in the book, and which are not first rate but tolerable.

I have kept back however some dainty little things ready to show you. I have not troubled you with them as I thought you were busy with exams.

Yours truly
S. Baring-Gould

Hard died in Nov. 1892 and was buried on Dec. 2. I had heard from the Rector of S. Brent that Hard was failing & I ran down in Nov. to S Brent & spent a whole day with him bleeding him of last drops of melody. He died a few weeks after.

Letter 4

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
July 18, 1904

Dear Mr Sharp

Have you noticed that the air to “The Lady & ‘Prentice” you have arranged is really the same as “The Loyal Lover” XCII. in “Songs of the West”.

There is an old man named Dingle near here I will get him to sing to you. But we have never used his tunes, either because we had them already, or because he was not sure. However I have no doubt that he has others he has not sung to us, & he may sing them to you. I want you to go to Sourton, where there was at one time a body of old singers. Alas! Most are dead but perhaps something may be gleaned.

When shall you be here? I hope soon. I have a musical daughter (married) coming here the week Aug 6–13.

I remain
yours truly
S Baring Gould

P. T. O.

Do you know anything of

“A fox went out on a winter’s night

And prayed to the moon to give her light”

The air to which sung here is I am confident an old dance tune.

I have set aside several that I think are good airs for you to pass judgment on them.

Letter 5

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
June 7, 1905

Dear Mr Sharp

Will you write to Duchy Hotel Princetown & book rooms for you & Miss Kay if you think of bringing her down. I have got a male singer <baritone> and a fine contralto.

The songs we should have I think are

Trees so high as example of Phrygian Mode

John Barleycorn

Death of Parker

Old Witchet

Come to my window

Tommy a Lynn

Fair Lady pity me

Song of the Moor

Death & Lady

Colly my Cow

Keenly Lode

Keeper

Well met, well met.

But you had best select.

I remain

yours truly

S Baring Gould

P. S. The Conversazione is not open to all the public only to members and friends

Letter 6

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
Jan 30, 1906

Dear Mr Sharp

I enclose the <[illegible]>. By the way, I am convinced the second line in Mowing the Barley is wrong it should run

“O where are you going to my pretty maid,

Pray tarry awhile & parley,

Right over the hills, kind Sir she said,

My father is mowing the barley.”

The version you have is surely corrupt.

Yours truly

S. Baring Gould

Letter 7

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
Oct 9, 190[6]

Dear Mr Sharp

If Curwen insists that he will not publish a cheap ed. without Tonic-sol-fa as well as the old notation I suppose reluctantly we shall have to give way – but I don't like it. Curwen wrote to me the other day for a line of congratulation and wish of success at some approaching sol-fa gathering. I have not answered as I could only wish the Soc. to abandon the error of its ways & return to the paths of discretion.

I mistrust greatly Curwen's planned book of Morris Dances

I remain
yours truly
S. Baring Gould

Note: The year is hard to read but must be 1906 so as to fit with the remainder of the correspondence between Sharp and J. Spencer Curwen.

Letter 8

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
Oct 8, 1907

My dear Mr Sharp

I have read right through your book & think it splendid. What nonsense of you to affect not being able to write! You can write & write most effectively. That page 47 is above all excellent.

I have been to the old man I spoke to you about. I got "To hunt the Buffalo" from him & from his wife "The Miller & his 3 sons" &

"A fair pretty maiden walked in her garden
A gay young sailor she chanced to spy
He stepp'd up to her, thinking to woo her
And said Fair Maid can you fancy I?"

I got no more. All these we have had before. The old man says he never did much frequent taverns where men did congregate to sing. He has a good clear voice.

I remain
yours truly
S. Baring Gould

Note: It has not proved possible to identify these singers by searching for these items in the Baring-Gould collection.

Letter 9

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
Aug 10, 1910

Dear Mr Sharp

Is it not possible that Simple Simon tune may be older than the Mabel Walz? And that the nursery melody may have been used up for the waltz? I do not know when that waltz was published - but the other is assuredly an old nursery air.

I am glad you are working up the courtly dances. I do wish they would come in & displace the odious waltz & galop.

I am so very glad that your daughter has recovered. It looked so sad for you at one time.

Fuller Maitland has been no collector, he has simply arranged tunes collected by others.

I remain
yours truly
S. Baring-Gould

Note: 'The Mabel Waltz' is said to have been written by Dan Godfrey (1831–1903), the leader of the Guards Band, in the mid-1860s.

Letter 10

Lew Trenchard
N. Devon
7 Jan 1917

My Dear Mr Sharp

Thank you very much for your One Hundred English Folk Songs, & I am so glad in it to find such an excellent likeness of yourself.

I have been laid up for six weeks with bronchitis in bed or confined to my room & am now only very slowly recovering my strength.

I want you very much to consent to a great wish I have. I have always loved Mr Sheppard's settings of the Devonshire Songs in the original edition; & from all sides I get entreaties of those who knew & valued them that they can not get copies. There was a radiance of poetry about his arrangements. No doubt they were not archaic-musically correct. Now I want as sole memorial to myself when gone to have 'Songs of the West' reproduced with those settings of Sheppard restored, leaving all the rest to you.

I remain
yours truly
S. Baring-Gould

Letter 11

January 8th 1916 [*sic*]

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould

I can quite understand your feeling about Mr. Sheppard's settings and I should be very sorry indeed to stand between you and the realisation of your wishes.

The only thing that I cannot do is to have my name associated with them in such a way as to lead others to believe that I approved of them. Would not the best way be to reprint your original edition, which has now in a sense become historic and leave the two editions to make their separate appeals to the musical public.

I am sorry that you have been so unwell, but I hope that you are really on the mend again.

Yours sincerely

[C. Sharp]

Note: The date of 1916 is clearly a mistake on Sharp's part; the letter was written in 1917.

Letter 12

Lew Trenchard

N. Devon

Jan 11 1917

Dear Mr Sharp

I think perhaps it will be the best way to reissue the original edition with the arrangements by Mr Sheppard & Dr Bussell. I had an application the day before yesterday from Plymouth in connexion with a forthcoming Musical Festival, for a loan of a copy of the original arrangements for something they wished to produce, and they found great difficulty in obtaining the early edition

I remain

yours truly

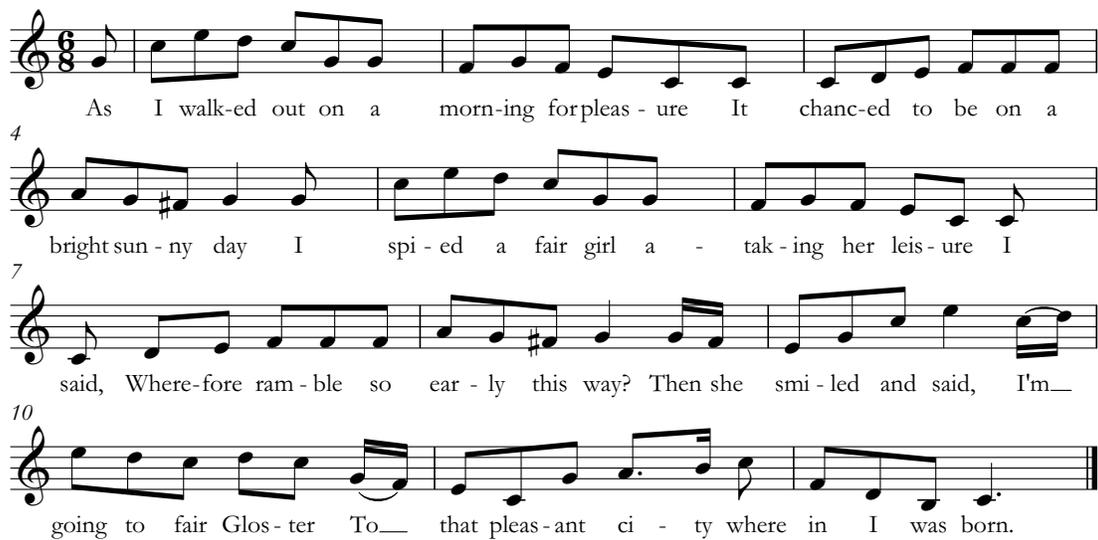
S. Baring-Gould

Appendix 2

Examples of songs and dances collected by Cecil Sharp at Lewtrenchard

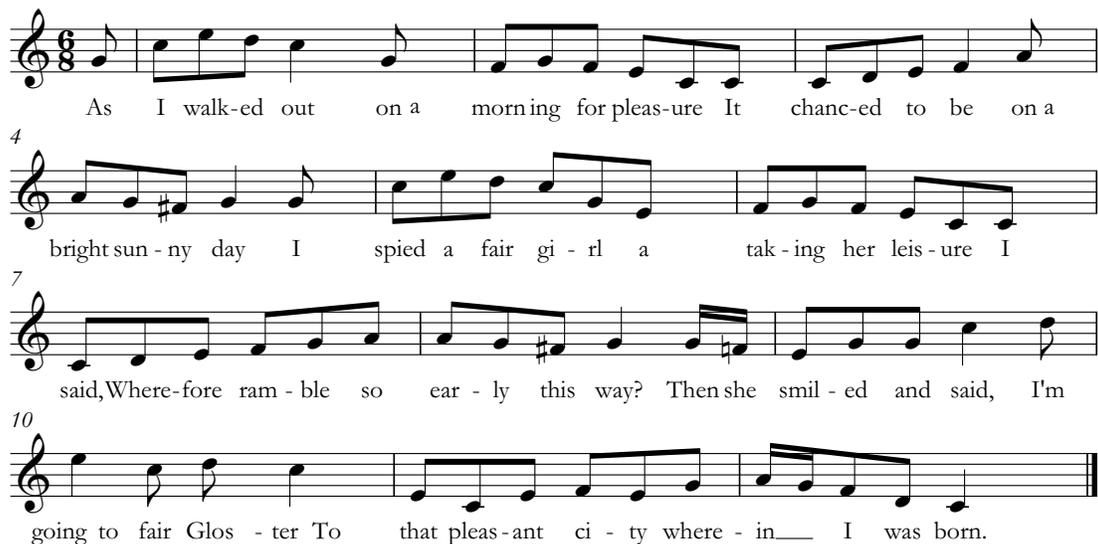
John Dingle, 'The Pack of Cards' (Roud 232)

John Dingle sang this song for Cecil Sharp when they met at Lewtrenchard on 12 August 1904 and it is recorded in Sharp's Folk Tunes, p. 283. Sharp did not note any of the words. Baring-Gould had heard the song from Dingle on 3 April 1894, when Frederick Bussell noted the tune. The song is recorded in the Personal Copy manuscript, 3, 82 (441). Baring-Gould also gave some stanzas of 'The Game of All Fours' from a broadside version and from a garland. He later heard the song from Sam Fone.



As I walk-ed out on a morn-ing forpleas - ure It chanc-ed to be on a
4
bright sun - ny day I spi - ed a fair girl a - tak - ing her leis - ure I
7
said, Where-fore ram - ble so ear - ly this way? Then she smi - led and said, I'm
10
going to fair Glos - ter To that pleas - ant ci - ty where in I was born.

John Dingle, 'The Pack of Cards', tune collected by Cecil Sharp, 12 August 1904
(words collected by Sabine Baring-Gould, 3 April 1894)



As I walk-ed out on a morning forpleas-ure It chanc-ed to be on a
4
bright sun - ny day I spied a fair gi - rl a tak - ing her leis - ure I
7
said, Where-fore ram - ble so ear - ly this way? Then she smil - ed and said, I'm
10
going to fair Glos - ter To that pleas - ant ci - ty where - in I was born.

John Dingle, 'The Pack of Cards', tune and words collected by Sabine Baring-Gould,
3 April 1894

As I walked out on a morning for pleasure
 It chanced to be on a bright sunny day
 I spied a fair girl a taking her leisure
 I said, Wherefore ramble so early this way?
 Then she smiled and said, I am going to fair Gloster
 To that pleasant city wherein I was born.

I said, Pretty maiden and shall I go with you?
 Along the green lane for your sweet company?
 She said, Oh, young man, 'tis a lane all may go through
 You may go on before, or come 'long with me
 And she sang as she walked, I am going to Gloster
 To that pleasant city, this Midsummer Morn.

We travelled for two or three miles on together
 Then under the green bracken branches did stray
 All under the branches in the sweet summer weather
 Then weary with walking we sat down to play
 And she sang, 'Tis a fair road that leadeth to Gloster
 To that pleasant city wherein I was born.

I pulled out a pack of cards, there on our ramble
 As we sat in the shadows among the green fern
 She said, O young man I'm not given to gambol
 I answered, No reason why you should not learn
 And she sang, We do tarry on the road to fair Gloster
 To that pleasant city, this Midsummer Morn.

The game that we played it was beggar my neighbour*
 We laughed and we thought it was capital fun
 The game that we played it was beggar my neighbour
 I shuffled the pack and took three to her one
 Then she said, O young man this is no going to Gloster
 To that pleasant city wherein I was born.

I said it was my deal, she said she'd defeat me
 I dealt myself neither a Trump nor a Jack
 She threw out the ace and the deuce and so beat me
 Which are thought the best cards to be had in the pack
 Then she said, Let us up and be going to Gloster
 To that pleasant city this midsummer morn.

She playéd the ace and she took my Jack from me
 She had the high, low and the Jack and the game
 Then she said, O young man you have not overcome me
 Cry done – or else play the game over again
 But she said, Let us up and be going to Gloster
 To that pleasant city wherein I was born.

I took up my pack and I bade her good morrow
 She beat me with high and low, Jack and the game
 She laughed and said, Young man depart all in sorrow
 Cry done – or else play the game over again
 And she tripped away singing, I go to fair Gloucester
 To that pleasant city this Midsummer Morn.

* (*altered – gross*)

words collected by Sabine Baring-Gould, 3 April 1894

John Dingle, ‘The Baffled Knight’, or ‘New Mown Hay’ (Roud 11)

Cecil Sharp collected this from John Dingle at his home in Coryton on 12 September 1905. The tune is in Sharp’s *Folk Tunes*, p. 649 and the stanzas in *Folk Words*, pp. 716–717. Baring-Gould and Frederick Bussell had heard the song from Dingle on 3 April 1894 and recorded three stanzas and a tune which appears as ‘New Mown Hay’ in the *Personal Copy* manuscript, 2, 432 (379). After these three stanzas the song became a version of ‘The Baffled Knight’. Baring-Gould also gave a text for ‘New Mown Hay’ from Robert Bell’s *Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England* (1857).

As I walked out one May morn - ing To view the fields all
 4
 round, sir And there I spied a pret - ty lit - tle maid All
 7
 on the new mown hay, sir Fal the dal a day.

John Dingle, ‘The Baffled Knight’, or ‘New Mown Hay’, tune and words collected by Cecil Sharp, 12 September 1905

As I walked out one May morning
 To view the fields all round, sir
 And there I spied a pretty little maid
 All on the new mown hay, sir
 Fol the dal a day.

I asked of she to wed with me
 All in the new mown hay, sir
 And the answer that she gave to me
 I’m afraid it will not do, sir.

And if you go to my father’s yard
 Where it’s walled all around, sir
 And there you shall have the will of me
 And thirty thousand pound, sir.

When he came to her father's yard
 Where it's walled all around, sir
 She whipped inside her father's door
 And barred this young man out, sir.

When you met me in that field
 You thought you met a fool, sir
 Go take your bible in your hand
 Go a little more to school, sir.

There is a shrub in my father's yard
 It's called the merry girl, sir
 If young men want to when they can
 They shall not when they will, sir.

There is a cock in my father's yard
 He will not tread the hen, sir
 And I really believe in all my heart
 That thou art the same, sir.

words collected by Cecil Sharp, 12 September 1905

James Down, 'Harvest Song' (Roud 12635)

Collected by Cecil Sharp from James Down at Lewtrenchard on 12 August 1904, only one stanza noted. The song is recorded in *Folk Tunes*, p. 282; *Folk Words*, p. 391.

5 Come, come you jov-ial hearts of gold, all ye that are tr-ue har-vest men. Come

9 lis-ten and be-hold to these fair lines that have of- late been penned. It's

13 of the farm-ers glo-ry on which it haps on ev-er-y hand of

this I do as-sure- you. At-tend on har-ve-st ev-ery-one.

James Down, 'Harvest Song', tune and words collected by Cecil Sharp, 12 August 1904

James Down, 'Ashwater Ringing Song' (Roud 1515)

This variant of the song that Baring-Gould had originally heard on Dartmoor and published in *Songs and Ballads of the West* (no. 82) was collected by Cecil Sharp from James Down at Lewtrenchard on 12 August 1904. It is particularly frustrating that he only noted one stanza of this song since Down's version appears to have some interesting 'local colour'. The song is recorded in *Folk Tunes*, p. 286; *Folk Words*, p. 391.

Nei-ther drunk - en nor so - ber, in the month of Oct - o - ber, one
 3 thou - sand eight hun - dred and twe - n - ty three. I heard of a ring - ing both
 6 danc - ing and sing - ing, it seems to re - sem - ble a grand Ju - bi - lee. North
 9 Lew and North Peth - er - ym as sem - bled together Pye - wor - thy, Brat - ton and Broad - wood so bold, In
 13 Ash wat - er Town where the bells they did sound, they rung for a bell, and a hat laced with gold.

James Down, 'Ashwater Ringing Song', tune and words collected by Cecil Sharp, 12 August 1904

John Woodridge, 'The Rout Is Out' ('The Navy Lad', or 'Tarry Trousers') (Roud 588)

This song was collected from John Woodridge ('Ginger Jack') at Lewtrenchard on 12 September 1905; the tune and a full set of words are recorded in *Folk Tunes*, p. 656; *Folk Words*, p. 722. Sharp also notes that Woodridge would sometimes sing the F natural as F sharp: '... but he evidently had learned it F nat.'. The title appears to have caused confusion. In *Folk Tunes* 'The Rout Is Out' is crossed out and 'Tarry Trousers' written in. In *Folk Tunes* it is called 'The Rout Is Out or Tarry Trousers'. In Maud Karpeles's transcription from *Folk Words*, 'Tarry Trousers' has been crossed out and replaced by 'The Navy Lad'. In her edition of *Cecil Sharp's Collection of English Folk Songs*, Karpeles settled on 'The Navy Lad'. Baring-Gould recorded Sharp's notation of the song in the Personal Copy manuscript, 1, 104 (45). The tune given there is the one that Sharp collected, but the words are different and appear to have been written down earlier. Baring-Gould appends as text B a broadside of 'Lancashire Lads' from Bloomer of Birmingham, which is clearly similar. Similar texts are given in the Fair Copy manuscript, p. 112 (45), but there is also a tune from Woodridge dated November

1888 which differs from that collected by Sharp in 1905. Baring-Gould published 'The Rout Is Out' in the first two editions of *Songs and Ballads of the West* (no. 45) with a tune reworked by Sheppard and a set of words rewritten by himself. It was dropped from the 1905 *Songs of the West*.

On one mi - d_ sum- mer_ mo - rn-ing a - s I ha-ve heard th-em
 4 say Th-e rout is__out we must all turn out a-nd all mu-st march a__
 8 way Leav-ing ma - ny pret - ty gi - rls in our town, crying ad - ieu, ad - ieu, ad -
 12 ieu Th-e bon-ny, bon-ny lad is__ go - ing a-way, pr-ay girls wh-at shall we__ do?

John Woodridge, 'The Rout Is Out', tune and words collected by Cecil Sharp, 12 September 1905

On one midsummer morning as I have heard them say
 The rout is out we must all turn out and all must march away
 Leaving many pretty girls in our town, crying adieu, adieu, adieu
 That bonny, bonny lad is now going away, pray girls what shall we do?

The mother said unto her daughter, I'll have you close confined
 All in your lonesome chamber or you shall change your mind
 If you will confine me seven long years, after that set me free
 I'll ramble the wide world over till I find my sweet Johnny.

The mother said unto her daughter, What makes you talk so strange?
 How can you wed with a navvie lad the wide world for to range?
 The navvies you know are roving blades, but earns a goodish pay
 But hoping they maintain their wives when they spends it all away.

If she will consent to marry me and tramp the country round
 I'll dress my love in velvet, I'll wringle her hair in blue
 If she'll consent to marry me and tramp the country through.

words collected by Cecil Sharp, 12 September 1905

William Ford, 'The Three Meet', or 'Pleasure of the Town' (country dance)

This dance was collected by Cecil Sharp at Lewtrenchard from William Ford. The music appears in *Folk Tunes*, p. 1360, where the date is given as 11 April 1907. The notation for the dance is in *Folk Words*, p. 1256, where the date is given as 12–13 April 1907. The dance was published in Sharp's *Country Dance Book*, Part I (1909), p. 52.

William Ford, 'Three Meet', collected by Cecil Sharp, April 1907

- A1 The 3-meet, i.e. 3 top gents and 3 top ladies advance to middle and back to places. (Backwards and forwards twice with linked arms.)
 A2 Hands-round, 3 top couples hand in hand, walk round like school crocodile and return to places.
 B1 Top couple down the middle and back again. (Lead down the middle and through the top couple.)
 B2 Swing and cast one, 2 top couples only. (Set and change sides.)

dance notation collected by Cecil Sharp, April 1907

Table 1
Songs and dances collected by Cecil Sharp at Lewtrenchard

Singer	Song	First line	Sharp references*	Baring-Gould references†	Notes
12 August 1904, Lewtrenchard, Devon					
John Dingle	Joe the (Per) Collier's Son (Roud 1129)	[no words]	FT281	P 3, 88 (445)	SB-G also brackets 'Per' in his record of the words and tune from John Dingle on 3 April 1894, where he gives the first line as 'You mariners all in this town' and identifies the song with the Catnach broadside 'Jack of Ambrose Mill'. There is also a note against the tune in SB-G's MS recording a comment from Lucy Broadwood that it was similar to a version of 'Rosetta and her Gay Ploughboy' sung in Sussex.
James Down	Harvest Song [one stanza only] (Roud 12635)	Come, come you jovial hearts of gold	FT282, FW391		Not collected by SB-G.
John Dingle	The Pack of Cards (Roud 232)	[no words]	FT283	P 3, 82 (441)	SB-G has a set of words and tune from Dingle, collected 3 April 1894. The first line is 'As I walked out on a morning for pleasure'.
James Down	High Weeks Harvest Song in the parish of Black Torrington	[no words]	FT284		Not collected by SB-G.

John Dingle	Ringling and Wrestling (Roud 21583)	[no words]	FT285	P 3, 86 (444)	SB-G has 'Wrestling and Ringing' from Dingle, 2 April 1894. Dingle only remembered one stanza. Sam Fone gave SB-G fragments of the song.
James Down	Ashwater Ringing Song [one stanza only] (Roud 1515)	Neither drunken nor sober in the month of October	FT286, FW391		The best known version of 'The Bell-Ringing' is that collected by SB-G from G. Kerswell at Two Bridges (P 1, 171 (82)).
John Dingle	British Man of War [one stanza only] (Roud 372)	'Twas down in yonder meadow where I carelessly did stray	FW392, FT287	P 2, 132 (178)	SB-G collected this from Dingle on 3 April 1894 but gives only Dingle's tune alongside a full text from J. Bennett.
John Dingle	Come All You Worthy [one stanza only] (Roud 815)	Come all you worthy Christians that dwell within this land	FT288, FW392	P 2, 61 (144)	Sharp noted only one stanza. SB-G recorded the complete song on the same date.

30 December 1904, Coryton, Devon

John Dingle	Limadie (Roud 193)	O Lemony, O Lemony thou art the loveliest creature	FT461		SB-G collected this song but does not record having heard it from Dingle.
Mrs Perkins	Forty Long Miles (Roud 608)	[no words]	FT462		SB-G did not note anything from Mrs Perkins, who is currently unidentified.

Elizabeth Dingle	True Lover's Farewell (Roud 422)	And don't you see that dove that pitched on yonder tree	FT463		Initially Sharp titled this 'Cold Blows the Wind' but later renamed it 'The Red Rose' and then 'True Lover's Farewell'. SB-G records one stanza, similar to that given by Sharp, under 'Cold Blows the Wind', at P 1, 20 (6).
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12 September 1905, Coryton, Devon

John Dingle	Baffled Knight, or New Mown Hay (Roud 11)	As I walked out one May morning	FT649, FW716–717	P 2, 432 (379)	SB-G has this song as 'New Mown Hay', collected (with Frederick Bussell) from Dingle on 3 April 1894. He states that Dingle continued with 'The Baffled Knight'.
John Dingle	The Saddler (Roud 1657)	I'm a prentice boy and my name is Bob	FT650, FW718–719		Not collected by SB-G.
John Dingle	The Lark in the Morn (Roud 151)	The lark in the morn she rises from her nest	FT651, FW720–721	P 2, 258 (255)	SB-G has '... awakes from her nest'.

12 September 1905, Lewtrenchard, Devon

John Woodridge	Little Mary, my Bride (Roud 348)	[no words]	FT652		Baring-Gould has a text for this song in Killerton Notebook 1, p. 58, ascribed to John Woodridge.
John Woodridge	Lad Rendal (Billy Boy) (Roud 326)	[no words]	FT653	P 2, 365 (328)	SB-G has added Sharp's tune below that he collected from Woodridge in 1896. SB-G's title is 'Jacky, my Son'. The tunes differ.
John Woodridge	Cold Blows the Wind (Roud 51)	[no words]	FT654	P 1, 20 (6)	Noted by SB-G in 1889. The Personal Copy manuscript gives an extra stanza noted from Elizabeth Dingle.

John Woodridge	Searching for Lambs (titled 'I'm Seventeen Come Sunday' in Sharp's FT) (Roud 576)	As I walked out one May morning, one May morning betimes	FT655	P 3, 391b	SB-G recorded this instance of Sharp's notation in the Personal Copy manuscript. He did not give it a title or a number. He also assigned it, wrongly, to John Dingle. The song is, of course, a variant of 'Searching for Lambs'. Sharp collected his 'classic' version from Mrs Sweet in Somerton, Somerset, in the following year. He originally labelled it 'As I walked out', which is crossed out with a note pencilled underneath: 'Doubtful if this is "I'm 17".'
John Woodridge	The Rout Is Out (Tarry Trousers; Navy Lad) (Roud 588)	One midsummer's morning as I have heard them say	FT656, FW722	P 1, 104 (45)	Woodridge is called 'Ginger Jack' throughout Sharp's MSS. SB-G uses this ascription for the tune, which he notes as having been collected on 12 September 1905. The Fair Copy manuscript gives a version noted by SB-G from Woodridge in November 1888 (F 112 (155)). This tune and the words differ from those noted by Sharp. The song appeared (as no. 45) in the first two editions of <i>Songs and Ballads of the West</i> but was dropped from the 1905 edition.
1 September 1906, Lewtrenchard, Devon					
Harry Frize	Broom Stem Dance (tune Soldier's Joy)		FW1102–1103		Dance noted in FW.

11–13 April 1907, Lewtrenchard, Devon

William Ford	The Triumph, or Follow your Lover		FT1359, FW1255		Six dances collected from William Ford. The tunes for three dances are given in FT; the dances for all six dances are noted in FW. On FT1359 Sharp has also copied the tune 'Follow my Love', which was taken down by Miss Bidder from Peter Isaacs and sent to SB-G. It appears in the Personal Copy manuscript (P 3, 193 (508)).
William Ford	Three Meet, or Pleasure of the Town		FT1360, FW1256		Dance and tune.
William Ford	Nancy's Fancy		FT1361, FW1257		Dance and tune.
William Ford	The Girl I Left Behind Me (Brighton Camp) (Roud 262)		FW1258		Dance noted in FW.
William Ford	Haste to the Wedding		FW1259		Dance noted in FW.
William Ford	Broom Stem Dance (tune College Hornpipe)		FW1260		Dance noted in FW.

* References to Sharp MSS (FT = Folk Tunes; FW = Folk Words).

† References to Baring-Gould's Personal Copy manuscript. (In practice this is most readily accessed via the set of microfiches prepared by the Baring-Gould Heritage Project and issued by the Wren Trust in 1998. Copies are held at major libraries in Devon, the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, and the Houghton Library, Harvard University. An index to the collection is published as *Songs of the West: The Baring-Gould Heritage Project, A Guide to the Microfiche Collection*, ed. by Martin Graebe with Ian Maxted ([Okehampton]: Wren Trust, 1998).) References to the Personal Copy consist of the MS reference (the prefix P for Personal Copy, followed by the volume and page number), followed in turn, and in parentheses, by the song number allocated by Baring-Gould. Thus P 2, 432 (379) refers to Personal Copy manuscript, vol. 2, p. 432, song no. 379. This system is required because of Baring-Gould's inconsistency in numbering pages and his failure to assign numbers to some songs.

Table 2

Songs used to illustrate Cecil Sharp's lecture to the Devonshire Association, 19 July 1905

Song	Actually used	Listed by Sharp	Proposed by Baring-Gould	<i>Songs of the West</i> song number	Personal Copy manuscript reference (and SB-G's title)
Song of the Moor [new words by SB-G] (Roud 21584)	✓	✓	✓	72	P 2, 44 (134) A Lying Tale (Roud 1706)
John Barleycorn (Roud 164)	✓	✓	✓	14	P 2, 92 (157)
Come to my Window (Roud 966)	✓	✓	✓	41	P 2, 27 (126) Go from my Window
Colly, my Cow (Roud 6914)	✓	✓	✓	104	P 3, 187 (505)
Death of Parker (Roud 1032)	✓	✓	✓	23	P 3, 34 (411)
Simple Ploughboy (Roud 186)	✓	✓		59	P 1, 130 (59) The Ploughboy
Old Witchet (Roud 114)	✓	✓	✓	30	P 2, 239 (244)
The Trees They Are So High (Roud 31)	✓	✓	✓	4	P 1, 10 (4) All the Trees They Are So High
Jan's Courtship (Roud 575)	✓	✓		31	P 1, 79 (31)
On a May Morning Early (Roud 277)	✓	✓		73	P 1, 155 (73)

Flora, The Lily of the West (Roud 957)	✓	✓		58	P 2, 135 (180)
Tommy a Lynn (Roud 294)	✓	✓	✓	42	P 2, 322 (295)
The Old Man Cannot Keep his Wife at Home	✓			118	P 3, 45 (419)
Old Adam the Poacher (Roud 13907)	✓	✓		120	P 3, 47 (420)
The Evening Prayer (Roud 1704)	✓			121	P 2, 254 (252) Prayer of the Week
Geordie (Roud 90)		✓		[not in book]	P 3, 202 (514)
Where Are You Going To? (Roud 298)		✓		[not in book]	P 2, 137 (182)
Cold Blows the Wind (Roud 51)		✓		6	P 1, 20 (6)
Fair Lady Pity Me (Roud 6912)			✓	60	P 3, 83 (442)
Death and the Lady (Roud 1031)			✓	99	P 1, 197 (99)
The Keenly Lode (Roud 6909)			✓	46	P 3, 228 (531)
The Keeper (Roud 1519)			✓	113	P 3, 17 (402)
Well Met, Well Met (Roud 14)			✓	76	P 2, 159 (196) The Carpenter's Wife

Table 3

Comparison of editions of Songs and Ballads of the West/Songs of the West

There are a number of differences between the various editions of *Songs and Ballads of the West/Songs of the West*. This table is not intended to be exhaustive but gives the differences between titles and first lines in the various editions. In each case the wording in parentheses is that of the 1905 edition (*Songs of the West*). Italics indicate the songs that Sharp marked ‘Cut’ in his working copy of *Songs and Ballads of the West*, now in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.

Title	Song number			First line
	1st edn (1889–91)	2nd edn (1891–95)	3rd edn (1905)	
By Chance It Was	1	1	1	By chance it was I met my love
The Hunting of Arscott of Tetcott	2	2	2	In the month of November, in the year fifty-two
'Twas on a Sunday Morning (Upon a Sunday Morning)	3	3	3	'Twas on a Sunday morning before the bells did peal (Upon on a Sunday morning before the bells did peal)
The Trees They Are So High, Parson Hogg	4	4	4	All the trees they are so high, the leaves they are so green Mess Parson Hogg shall now maintain
Cold Blows the Wind, Sweet-heart	6	6	6	Cold blows the wind of night, sweet-heart
Flowers and Weeds (The Sprig of Thyme)	7	7	7	In my garden grew plenty of thyme
Roving Jack (The Roving Journeyman)	8	8	8	Young Jack he was a journeyman
Brixham Town	9	9	9	All you that like to hear music performed in air
Green Broom	10	10	10	There was an old man lived out in the wood
As Johnny Walked Out	11	11	11	As Johnny walked out one day

The Miller's Last Will (The Miller and his Sons)	12	12	12	There was a miller as you shall hear
Thomasine Enys	13			O the lilies, the rosies, the daffodil posies
Ormond the Brave		13	13	I am Ormond the brave, did ye never hear of me?
<i>Fathom the Bowl</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>14</i>		<i>Come all you old minstrels, wherever you may be</i>
Sir John Barleycorn			14	There came three men from out the West
<i>Sweet Nightingale*</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>My sweet heart, come along, don't you hear the fond song</i>
Widdicombe Fair (Widdecombe Fair)	16	16	16	Tom Pearse, Tom Pearse, lend me your grey mare
Ye Maidens Pretty	17	17	17	You maidens pretty in tower and city (You maidens pretty in town and city)
The Silly Old Man	18	18	18	Aw! Come now I'll sing thee a song (Aw! Come now I'll sing you a song)
The Seasons (The Months of the Year)	19	19	19	First comes January, the sun lies very low (First comes January, when the sun lies very low)
The Chimney Sweep	20	20	20	Oh! sweep, chimney sweep! You maidens shake off sleep
The Saucy Sailor	21	21	21	Come my fairest, come my dearest love with me
Blue Muslin	22	22	22	Will you accept of the mus-e-lin so blue
<i>The Squire and the Fair Maid</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>23</i>		<i>As I was walking out one day, where silver waters glide</i>
The Death of Parker			23	Ye powers above protect the widow
The Hal-an-Tow, or Helston Furry Dance	24	24	24	Robin Hood and Little John, they both are gone to the fair O!
Blow Away Ye Morning Breezes	25	25	25	Blow away the morning breezes, blow the winds hey ho!

The Hearty Good Fellow	26	26	26	I saddled my horse and away I did ride
The Bonny Bunch of Roses	27	27	27	Beside the rolling ocean, one morning in the month of June
The Old Singing-Man (The Last of the Singers)	28	28	28	I reckon the days is departed that folks ud a listened to me
The Tythe Pig	29	29	29	All you that love a bit of fun, come listen here awhile
<i>My Ladye's Coach</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>30</i>		<i>My Ladye hath a sable coach and horses two and four</i>
Old Wicket			30	I went into my stable to see what I might see
Jan's Courtship	31	31	31	Come hither son Jan, since thou art a man
The Drowned Lover	32	32	32	As I was a-walking down by the sea-shore
Childe the Hunter	33	33	33	Come, listen all, both great and small
The Cottage Thatched with Straw	34	34	34	In the days of yore there sat at the door
Cicely Sweet	35	35	35	Cicely sweet, the morn is fair
A Sweet Pretty Maiden Sat under a Tree	36	36	36	A sweet pretty maiden sat under a tree
The Green Cockade (The White Cockade)	37	37	37	Alas! My love's enlisted, he wears a green cockade (Alas! My love's enlisted, he wears a white cockade)
<i>The Sailor's Farewell*</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>Farewell! Farewell, my Polly dear, a thousand times adieu</i>
Forsaken Maiden (A Maiden Sat a Weeping)	39	39	39	A maiden sat a weeping down by the sea shore
The Blue Kerchief	40	40	40	I saw a sweet maiden trip over the lea
<i>An Evening So Clear</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>41</i>		<i>An evening so clear, O I would that I were</i>
Come to my Window			41	Come to my window my Love, O my Love

<i>The Warson Hunt</i>	42	42		<i>Come all you jolly hunters bold, I'll sing you something new</i>
Tommy a Lynn			42	Tommy a Lynn was a Dutchman born
The Green Bushes	43	43	43	As I was a walking one morning in May
The Broken Token	44	44	44	One summer evening a maiden fair
The Rout Is Out	45	45		A midsummer morning fresh and bright
The Mole Catcher			45	A mole-catcher am I, and that is my trade
<i>Drinking Song</i>	46	46		<i>Why should we be dullards sad, whilst on earth we moulder?</i>
The Keenly Lode			46	Old Uncle Pengerric a Captain was
May-Day Carol	47	47	47	Awake, ye pretty maidens awake, refreshed from drowsy dream
<i>Nancy</i>	48	48		<i>My own pretty Nancy my love and delight</i>
The Lover's Tasks			48	O buy me, my Lady, a cambric shirt
Lullaby [†]	49	49	49	Sleep baby sleep, Dad is not nigh
The Gipsy Countess	50	50	50	There came an Earl a riding by, a gipsy maid espyed he
The Grey Mare	51	51	51	Young Roger the Miller went courting of late
A Wreck off the Scilly (The Wreck off Scilly)	52	52	52	Come all you brisk young sailors bold
Henry Martyn	53	53	53	In merry Scotland, In merry Scotland, there lived brothers three
Plymouth Sound	54	54	54	O the fair town of Plymouth is by the sea-side
Farewell to Kingsbridge	55	55		On the ninth day of November, at the dawning in the sky
The Fox			55	The fox went out one winter night

Furze Bloom	56	56	56	There's not a cloud a sailing by that does not hold a shower
On the Settle	57			Prithee keep distance Willie dear
The Oxen Ploughing		57	57	Prithee lend your jocund voices, for to listen we're agreed
<i>Something Lacking</i>	58	58		<i>I chanced to rise at the dawning of day</i>
Flora, the Lily of the West			58	'Twas when I came to England, some pleasures for to find
The Ploughboy (The Simple Ploughboy)	59	59	59	O the ploughboy was ploughing with his horses on the plain
<i>The Wrestling Match</i>	60	60		<i>I sing of champions bold that wrestled not for gold</i>
Fair Lady, Pity Me			60	Dear love, regard my grief, do not my suit disdain
The Painful Plough	61	61	61	O Adam was a ploughboy, when ploughing first begun
<i>Broadbury Gibbet</i>	62	62		<i>On Broadbury Down the ravens croak</i>
At the Setting of the Sun			62	Come all you young fellows that carry a gun
<i>The Orchestra</i>	63	63		<i>I went unto my true love's house at eight o'clock at night</i>
All Jolly Fellows that Follow the Plough			63	'Twas early one morning at breaking of day
The Golden Vanity	64	64	64	A ship I have got in the North Country
The Bold Dragoon	65	65	65	A bold dragoon from out of the North to a lady's house came riding
Trinity Sunday	66	66	66	When bites the frost and winds are blowing
The Blue Flame	67	67	67	All under the stars and beneath the green tree
Strawberry Fair	68	68	68	As I was going to Strawberry Fair
The Country Farmer's Son	69	69	69	I would not be a monarch great with crown upon my head

The Hostess' Daughter	70	70	70	The Hostess of the Ring of Bells, a daughter hath with auburn hair
The Jolly Goss-hawk	71	71	71	I sat on a bank in trifle and play
<i>Fair Girl, Mind This</i>	72	72		<i>A woman that hath a bad husband I find</i>
Song of the Moor			72	'Tis merry in the Spring-time, 'tis blithe upon the moor
On a May Morning So Early	73	73	73	As I walked out one May morning, one May morning so early
The Spotted Cow	74	74	74	One morning so gay, in the glad month of May
<i>Cupid the Ploughboy</i>	75	75		<i>As I one day walked out in May, when May was white in bloom</i>
Three Jovial Welshmen			75	There were three jovial Welshmen, they would go and hunt the fox
Come, my Lads, Let Us Be Jolly	76	76		Come my lads let us be jolly! Drive away dull melancholy
Well Met, Well Met, my Own True Love			76	Well met, well met, my own true love
Poor Old Horse	77	77	77	O once I lay in stable a hunter well and warm
The Dilly Song	78	78	78	Come and I will sing you
The Mallard (A Country Dance)	79	79	79	When lambkins skip and apples are growing
Constant Johnny	80	80	80	Charming Molly I do love thee, there's none other I adore
The Duke's Hunt	81	81	81	'Twas on a bright and shining morn (All in a morning very fair)
The Bell Ringing [†]	82	82	82	One day in October neither drunken nor sober
A Nutting We Will Go	83	83	83	'Tis of a jolly ploughing-man was ploughing of his land

Down by a River Side	84	84	84	Down by a river-side, a fair maid I espied
The Barley Raking	85	85	85	'Twas in the prime of summer time when hay it was a making
Deep in Love (A Ship Came Sailing over the Sea)	86	86	86	A ship came sailing over the sea
The Rambling Sailor	87	87	87	I toss my cap into the air and away whil'st all are sleeping
<i>A Single and a Married Life</i>	88	88		<i>Come all you young men bold and use your best endeavour</i>
Willie Coombe			88	'Twas in the month of May, when flowers spring
Midsummer Carol	89	89	89	'Twas early I walked on a midsummer morning
The Blackbird (The Blackbird in the Bush)	90	90	90	Here's a health to the blackbird in the bush (Three maidens a milking did go)
The Green Bed	91	91	91	Young Sailor Dick, as he stepped on shore
The Loyal Lover	92	92	92	I'll weave my love a garland, it shall be dressed so fine
The Streams of Nantsian	93	93	93	O the Streams of Nant-si-an in two parts divide
The Drunken Maidens	94	94	94	There were three drunken maidens came from the Isle of Wight
Tobacco Is an Indian Weed	95	95	95	Tobacco is an Indian weed, grows green at morn cut down at eve
Fair Susan	96	96	96	Fair Susan slumbered in shady bower
The False Lover (The False Bride)	97	97	97	I courted a maiden both buxom and gay
The Barley Straw	98	98	98	As Jan was hurrying down the glade
<i>Death and the Lady</i>	99	99	99	<i>As I walked out one day, one day</i>

Adam and Eve (Both Sexes Give Ear)	100	100	100	Both sexes give ear to my fancy
I Rode my Little Horse	101	101	101	I rode my little horse, from London town I came
<i>The Saucy Ploughboy</i>	<i>102</i>	<i>102</i>		<i>Come all you pretty maidens and listen unto me</i>
Among the New-Mown Hay			102	As I walked out one morn betime
I'll Build Myself a Gallant Ship	103	103	103	I'll build myself a gallant ship, a ship of noble fame
The Everlasting Circle	104	104		All in a wood there grew a fine tree
Colly, my Cow			104	A story, a story, I'll tell you just now
Within a Garden	105	105	105	Within a garden a maiden lingered
<i>The Hunting of the Hare</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>106</i>		<i>I hunted my Merry all into the hay</i>
The Bonny Bird			106	I once loved a bird, and a bonny bird, and I thought to make him my own
<i>Dead Maid's Land</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>107</i>		<i>There stood a gardner at the gate, and in each hand a flower</i>
The Lady and Prentice			107	'Twas of a brisk young lady and of a 'prentice boy
<i>Shower and Sunshine</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>108</i>		<i>There went a wind over the sea, and borne on its wings was rain</i>
Paul Jones			108	An American frigate, the 'Richard' by name
Haymaking Song (The Merry Haymakers)	109	109	109	The golden sun is shining bright, the dew is off the field
In Bibberly Town	110	110	110	In Bibberly Town a maid did dwell
The Marigold			111	'Twas East North East, so near the line, so near as we could lie
Arthur Le Bride			112	I once had a cousin called Arthur Le Bride

The Keeper		113	O there was a keeper, a shooting did go
The Queen of Hearts		114	To the Queen of Hearts, he's the Ace of sorrow
The Owl		115	Of all the birds that ever I see, the owl is the fairest in her degree
My Mother Did So Before Me		116	I am a brisk and bonny lass, a little over twenty
A Week's Work Well Done		117	On Monday morn I married a wife
The Old Man Can't Keep his Wife at Home		118	The old man can't keep his wife at home
Sweet Farewell		119	Will by Mary sad reposes, on a bank of prim-a-roses
Old Adam the Poacher		120	Old Adam was a poacher, went out one day at Fall
The Evening Prayer		121	Matthew, Mark and Luke and John

* For 'Sweet Nightingale' and 'The Sailor's Farewell' it is the duets given as second versions that have been excised.

† The second versions of 'Lullaby' and 'The Bell Ringing' have each been removed from the 1905 edition. These were both arrangements by Bussell.

Notes

¹ London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil J. Sharp MSS, Press Cuttings Books, 1905–08, p. 63, 'Folk Songs of the West', *M.N.*, 16 August 1907. It has not been possible to identify which newspaper is indicated by '*M.N.*' (the abbreviation is not used anywhere else among the press cuttings).

² 'Discovery of a Roman Villa near Pau', *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1850.

³ Exeter, Devon Record Office, Baring-Gould Manuscripts, 5203/M, Box 34.

⁴ S. Baring-Gould, 'On the Remains of an Ancient Camp near Bayonne' (read 11 December 1851), *Archaeologia*, 34 (1852), 399–402.

⁵ S. Baring-Gould, *Iceland: Its Scenes and Sagas* (London: Smith, Elder, 1863; new edn with an Introduction by Martin Graebe, Oxford: Signal Books 2007).

⁶ C. R. Bristow, *Bibliography of the Works of Sabine Baring-Gould*, 3rd edn (Coppstone, Devon: R. Bristow, 2005). Roger Bristow still prefers to consider this a provisional bibliography.

⁷ The date of this dinner marking the start of Baring-Gould's main phase of song collecting is uncertain. He has written in some accounts, and in a letter to Lucy Broadwood, that it was in May 1888, and this seems the more likely year. His collection, however, includes a few songs dated 1887, and there is another account in which he quotes that year. Work continues to establish the correct date.

⁸ S. Baring-Gould, 'Yorkshire Ballad', *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, 9 (1866), 57.

⁹ William Henderson, *Notes on the Folk Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, with an Appendix on Household Stories by S. Baring-Gould, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1866; repr. Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1973).

¹⁰ S. Baring Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs and Ballads of the West: A*

Collection Made from the Mouths of the People, 4 parts (London: Patey and Willis/Methuen; Patey and Willis, 1889–91 [subsequently issued as one volume, London: Methuen; Patey and Willis, 1892]); S. Baring Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People*, [2nd edn, with two songs replaced and other minor changes] (London: Methuen; Patey and Willis, 1891–95 [subsequently issued as one volume, 1895]); S. Baring-Gould, H. Fleetwood Sheppard, and F. W. Bussell, *Songs of the West: Folk Songs of Devon and Cornwall Collected from the Mouths of the People*, new and rev. [3rd] edn under the musical editorship of Cecil J. Sharp (London: Methuen, 1905); S. Baring Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *A Garland of Country Song: English Folk Songs with their Traditional Melodies* (London: Methuen, 1895).

¹¹ This promise was first made in S. Baring-Gould, 'Folk Songs and Melodies of the West', *Western Antiquary*, 8 (December 1888–89), 105–06. Baring-Gould wrote: 'I propose to put a MS. Copy of all the songs and ballads, with their readings, exactly as taken down from the mouths of the people: one in the library of the Institution in Exeter, the other in the Plymouth Library, for reference in time to come, as in five years or so, these will be the only records of the men of the West.' In the event, he did not give a copy to the Devon and Exeter Institution.

¹² Cyril Tawney, *The Outlandish Knight*, 12-inch LP (Polydor 236577B, 1969).

¹³ Cyril Tawney, personal communication, 27 January 1995, including a partial transcript of a taped interview with Bill Fry, Lydford, Devon, 21 May 1968.

¹⁴ For the story of the discovery of these papers and a description of them, see Martin Graebe, 'Songs of the West Rediscovered', *English Dance & Song*, 57.2 (1995), 22–23.

- ¹⁵ I am grateful to Dr Christopher Bearman for providing me with a transcript of the entries from Lucy Broadwood's diaries that cover this visit (Woking, Surrey History Centre, 6782/6–8, Lucy Etheldred Broadwood Diary, 1893).
- ¹⁶ London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, George B. Gardiner MSS, Correspondence, S. Baring-Gould to George B. Gardiner, at Minehead, Somerset, 12 April 1905 (postcard).
- ¹⁷ Frank Kidson, 'The Rev. S Baring-Gould at Home', *Yorkshire Weekly Post*, Saturday, 16 September 1911, repr. in *Sabine Baring-Gould Appreciation Society Newsletter*, no. 22 (1996–97), 11–16.
- ¹⁸ This collection of twelve letters is held in London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil J. Sharp MSS, Correspondence, Box 1 (nine letters from January 1904 to August 1910); London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil J. Sharp MSS, Miscellaneous material, Box Various 3 (three letters dated January 1917).
- ¹⁹ Cambridge, Archive of Clare College, Cecil J. Sharp MSS, ACC1987/25, Folk Tunes; Folk Words (cited from rotagraph copies in London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library).
- ²⁰ Exeter, Devon Record Office, Baring-Gould Manuscripts, 5203/M, Box 24, Diary of Sabine Baring-Gould, June 1880–November 1897. This diary has recently been transcribed by Dr R. Wawman and it is intended that it should be mounted, along with other important documents relating to Baring-Gould, on the website of the Sabine Baring-Gould Appreciation Society <www.sbgas.org>.
- ²¹ This has long been rumoured but Dr R. Wawman, personal communication, confirms that the destruction of the manuscript was witnessed.
- ²² Baring-Gould, Fleetwood Sheppard, and Bussell, *Songs of the West* (1905); S. Baring-Gould and Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk-Songs for Schools* (London: Curwen, 1906).
- ²³ Sharp MSS, Correspondence, Box 3, P. Wyatt-Edgell correspondence with A. H. Fox Strangways, [undated].
- ²⁴ For example, Baring Gould gave lectures at the Royal Institution in London, first in 1890 and then again in 1894, when he lectured on three separate dates in May and June.
- ²⁵ Cecil J. Sharp, *A Book of British Song for Home and School* (London: John Murray, 1902)
- ²⁶ Sharp, *A Book of British Song*, p. 175.
- ²⁷ Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1902–05, p. 32, Alex F. de Gex, 'The Preservation of Folk Song', *Morning Post*, 3 December 1903.
- ²⁸ The reference to the newspaper article probably refers to the report of Sharp's lecture, which took place at the Hampstead Conservatoire on 26 November 1903, in the *Morning Post*, though several other newspapers also reported the event. See Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1902–05, pp. 22–23, 'Interesting Suggestions', *Morning Post*, 27 November 1903. The leader to which Baring-Gould refers is likely to be that in the *Morning Post* of 27 November 1903; see Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1902–05, pp. 24–25.
- ²⁹ Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1902–05, p. 82, Cecil J. Sharp, letter, *Morning Post*, dated 2 February 1904. Sharp wrote: 'In proof of the interest which is being aroused by the actions taken by your journal will you allow me to quote from a letter I have just received from the Rev. S Baring-Gould, the well-known collector and editor of Cornish and Devonshire songs: "Thank you so much for the notice of your lecture and the leader in Morning Post. I am so grateful that at last the public is being roused to the fact that we have a body of fine traditional music. It is full late now to collect, all my old men are dead but one now."'
- ³⁰ See London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, minute books of the Folk-Song Society.

³¹ Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1902–05, pp. 54–57, ‘Song Hunting in the West, Mr Cecil Sharp Interviewed’, *Morning Post*, 18 January 1904.

³² These pencilled notes cannot be seen clearly on the microfiche copy and were noticed on a visit to Killerton to work with the original manuscript in April 2007. They will be the subject of further study.

³³ The Fair Copy manuscript was sent to Plymouth Library on 1 October 1900.

³⁴ Bickford H. C. Dickinson, *Sabine Baring-Gould: Squarson, Writer and Folklorist 1834–1924* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1970), p. 137.

³⁵ Gardiner MSS, Correspondence, S. Baring-Gould to George B. Gardiner, at Minehead, Somerset, 17 April 1905 (with enclosure of notes by Sharp).

³⁶ Sharp collected three songs from ‘J. Mudford’ on that visit. A possible identification of the singer, from the 1891 and 1901 census records, is James Mugford, aged seventy-five, a farm labourer from Stoke Fleming.

³⁷ London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil J. Sharp MSS, Photograph Collection, B4(c). This photograph was used in some publications in the 1920s; for example, ‘The Old Songs – How They Were Rescued from Oblivion’, *My Magazine* (April 1925), where it is captioned ‘Mr and Mrs Dimzle, Two Somerset Singers’. Although Baring-Gould was a good amateur artist he did not himself use a camera and there are few images available of his singers. His friend Robert Burnard was, by contrast, a master photographer whose photographs (including at least two of Baring-Gould’s singers, taken because they were Dartmoor ‘characters’) form an important record of Dartmoor life at the end of the nineteenth century and of the archaeological work that he was involved in with Baring-Gould and other members of the Dartmoor Exploration Group of the Devonshire Association. His photographs were given by his granddaughter, Lady

Sylvia Sayer, to the Dartmoor Trust and many can be viewed at <www.projects.ex.ac.uk/dartmoor.trust.archive/burnard> [accessed 20 April 2007].

³⁸ Baring-Gould used the spelling ‘Woodrich’ on all of the many occasions on which he wrote about him. However, the 1881 and 1901 censuses give his name as ‘Woodridge’, as does a court report in the *Tavistock Gazette*, 22 April 1898 (I am grateful to Dr Christopher Bearman for finding this report and sending it to me). Baring-Gould gives his nickname as ‘Ginger Jack’, and it is by this name that Sharp referred to him in his field notes.

³⁹ There are a number of people with the name ‘Frise’ in this area of Devon. Looking at the 1891 and 1901 censuses, and given that Sharp notes that ‘Harry Frize’ came from Lewdown, the most likely man is Henry Frise, a twenty-five-year-old agricultural labourer who lived with his family in Holster Yard, a part of Marystow parish running along the spine of Lew Down to the centre of Lewdown village.

⁴⁰ Sharp MSS, Correspondence, Box 3, P. Wyatt-Edgell correspondence with A. H. Fox Strangways, [undated].

⁴¹ Cecil J. Sharp, *The Country Dance Book*, Part I (London: Novello, 1909).

⁴² Chris Bartram and Paul Wilson, *The William Andrews Tunebook: A Dartmoor Fiddler* (Okehampton: Wren Trust, 1999), includes a brief essay on Baring-Gould and William Andrew by Martin Graebe (the correct spelling of Andrew’s surname was established after this work had been published).

⁴³ Dickinson, pp. 137–38. Dickinson goes on to say, ‘it would be interesting to know if there is any record of the deliberate formation of a folk-dance group in any English village before that date’.

⁴⁴ Sharp MSS, Miscellaneous, CJS/5/15, ‘Notes for Lecture (Princeton)’ (the pencilled addition to the title page ‘1906?’ is incorrect); Maxwell Adams and J. Brookings-

- Rowe, 'Proceedings at the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Association, Held at Princetown, 18 July to 21 July, 1905', *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, 37 (2nd series, 7) (1905), 23–27; Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1902–05, p. 201, 'Devon Folk Airs – Mr. Baring-Gould's New Work', *Western Mercury*, 20 July 1905.
- ⁴⁵ Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1902–05, p. 199, *Truth*, 19 July 1905.
- ⁴⁶ *Morning Post*, 29 July 1905. For an account of Mary Neal's work with Sharp, see Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris', *Folk Music Journal*, 5.5 (1989), 545–91.
- ⁴⁷ Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1905–08, p. 63, 'Folk Songs of the West', *Western Mercury*, 16 August 1907; 'Folk Songs of the West', *M.N.*, 16 August 1907.
- ⁴⁸ Dr Christopher Bearman, personal communication, 13 March 2007.
- ⁴⁹ Baring-Gould, Fleetwood Sheppard, and Bussell, *Songs of the West* (1905), p. v.
- ⁵⁰ Baring-Gould, Fleetwood Sheppard, and Bussell, *Songs of the West* (1905), p. v.
- ⁵¹ Fleetwood Sheppard provided eighty-six arrangements for the first edition and Bussell twenty-seven. This actually makes Bussell, proportionately, the bigger 'loser'.
- ⁵² Baring-Gould, Fleetwood Sheppard, and Bussell, *Songs of the West* (1905), Notes on the Songs, p. 33 (the notes are paginated separately from the body of the book).
- ⁵³ Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1902–05, p. 201, 'Devon Folk Airs – Mr. Baring-Gould's New Work', *Western Mercury*, 20 July 1905.
- ⁵⁴ Sabine Baring-Gould, *Early Reminiscences 1834–1894* (London: Bodley Head, 1923), pp. 201–02.
- ⁵⁵ Sabine Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences 1864–1894* (London: Bodley Head, 1925), p. 206.
- ⁵⁶ Baring-Gould and Sharp, *English Folk-Songs for Schools*, p. iii.
- ⁵⁷ J. Graham, *Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dances* (London: Curwen, 1907).
- ⁵⁸ Sharp MSS, Correspondence, Box 1, Cecil J. Sharp correspondence with J. Spencer Curwen.
- ⁵⁹ Sharp MSS, Correspondence, Box 1, J. Spencer Curwen to Cecil Sharp, 21 November 1907. I am grateful to Dr Christopher Bearman for drawing my attention to this letter.
- ⁶⁰ This analysis is based on a discussion with Dr Christopher Bearman concerning material in chapter 5 ('Folk Music in Education') of his thesis, 'The English Folk Music Movement 1898–1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 2001), pp. 184–85.
- ⁶¹ Board of Education, *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Involved in the Work of Public Elementary Schools* (London: HMSO, 1905).
- ⁶² Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1906, pp. 53–57, Cecil J. Sharp, letter, *Morning Post*, 19 April 1906; p. 103, Cecil J. Sharp, letter, *Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1906.
- ⁶³ Sharp MSS, Press cuttings, 1906, p. 107, Sir Charles Stanford, letter, *Daily Chronicle*, 23 May 1906; Sharp MSS, Miscellaneous, Box Various 1, Lord Tennyson to Cecil J. Sharp, 10 June 1906.
- ⁶⁴ Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin; Novello; Taunton: Barnicott & Pearce, 1907).
- ⁶⁵ Sharp MSS, Correspondence, Box 3, P. Wyatt-Edgell correspondence with A. H. Fox Strangways, [undated].
- ⁶⁶ Sharp, *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*, p. ix.
- ⁶⁷ Sharp, *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*, p. 47.
- ⁶⁸ *One Hundred English Folksongs*, ed. by Cecil J. Sharp (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1916).
- ⁶⁹ Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, p. 184.
- ⁷⁰ Dickinson, p. 137.
- ⁷¹ Oxford, Archive of Brasenose College, F. W. Bussell, handwritten and unpublished

autobiography. My thanks to the Archivist, Mrs Elizabeth Boardman, for allowing me access to this document and others, and my further thanks to Mike Heaney for putting me in contact with her.

⁷² Maud Karpeles gives Sharp's lifetime total as 4977 songs and tunes collected in England and the USA; see Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 108.

⁷³ It is not yet possible to give an accurate count of the separate items in Baring-Gould's collection. I believe it to be about two thousand. The 'score' cannot be finalized until all the separate lists have been compiled, consolidated, and counted, a task that will take some time yet but which is under way.

⁷⁴ George John Learmont Drysdale, *The Red*

Spider: A Romantic Comic Opera in Three Acts, libretto by S. Baring Gould, music by Learmont Drysdale (London: J. Tamblyn, [1898]).

⁷⁵ Lucy Broadwood referred to the three volumes in a letter to the *Morning Post*, 2 February 1904. Even after the manuscripts were moved from Lewtrenchard to Killerton House with the rest of Baring-Gould's library in the 1970s they remained unrecognized for another twenty years.

⁷⁶ Dickinson, p. 137.

⁷⁷ Sharp MSS, Correspondence, Box 3, P. Wyatt-Edgell correspondence with A. H. Fox Strangways, [undated].

⁷⁸ R. Vaughan Williams, 'Preface', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 5.3 (1948), v.