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BALLADS, SONGS AND SNATCHES:

The Appropriation of and Responses to Folk Song and

Popular Music Culture in the Nineteenth Century

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These published materials and the accompanying critical

appraisal are submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements of the award of

Doctor of Philosophy

on the basis of published work.

August 2010

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PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS INCLUDED

Ballads, Songs and Snatches: the Appropriation of Folk Song and Popular Culture in British Nineteenth-century Realist Prose (1999)

'The Cheek of the Young Person: Sexualized Popular Discourse as Subtext in Dickens' (2001)

'"With Mike Hunt I Have Travelled Over the Town": the Norms of "Deviance" in Sub-respectable Nineteenth-century Song' (2005)

1. The published work on which the application is based

1. The monograph *Ballads, Songs and Snatches: the Appropriation of Folk Song and Popular Culture in British Nineteenth-century Realist Prose* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). (Most references hereafter will be contracted to *BSS.*)

2. 'The Cheek of the Young Person: Sexualized Popular Discourse as Subtext in Dickens', *Leeds Working Papers in Victorian Studies*, 4 (2001), 31-45.

3. '"With Mike Hunt I Have Travelled Over the Town": the Norms of "Deviance" in Sub-respectable Nineteenth-century Song', *Cahiers Victoriens et Eduardiens*, 61 (2005), 211-25

2. Abstract

Ballads, Songs and Snatches demonstrates how allusion to folk song and some aspects of popular musical culture were absorbed into the polyphony of discourses in the realist prose of the nineteenth century, and explores the implications of the various transformations that occurred during this process, with an emphasis on the representation of the labouring classes. Wide and deep acquaintance with folk tradition is shown to account for richly dense literary textuality, especially in Scott and Hardy, even where they mediate their knowledge tactically. Lack of that knowledge is consonant with weakness in such representation. The sources used by each writer are identified as accurately as possible. The book is necessarily interdisciplinary, bringing together literary and folk song study and scholarship. It defines a new category for discourse analysis, the 'false intertext', i.e. supposed allusions to folk song or other texts actually composed by the prose writers themselves. It investigates the effects within the literary texts both of these false intertexts and of the inclusion of material so heavily mediated as substantially to misrepresent the original compositions. In the course of this discussion it outlines ways in which authors appealed to audiences often stratified along class and gender lines.

The chapter and article extend the concerns of the book, especially Chapter 6, with the discourse of popular songs of the early nineteenth-century song-and-supper rooms. Both continue to address questions of readership, both contemporary and more recent. 'The Cheek of the Young Person: Sexualized Popular Discourse as Subtext in Dickens' overturns assumptions about the canonical respectability of Dickens's earlier work. '"With Mike Hunt I Have Travelled Over the Town": the Norms of "Deviance" in Sub-respectable Nineteenth-century Song' uses popular but critically outlawed material to problematize the position of the literary critic and to offer an alternative to Raymond Williams' model of ideological development.

3. Review of previous work undertaken in the field and how the published work relates to this

The academic trigger for *Ballads, Songs and Snatches* (henceforward *BSS*) was a frustration with critical accounts of Hardy's relation to the musical culture of his original social milieu as mediated in the texts of his novels. It was acknowledged that folk song was an important part of his up-bringing and of the culture represented in his most popular novels. As a practising folk singer, though, I was aware that no precise or accurate picture of that traditional music culture was actually available. Ruth Firor's *Folkways in Thomas Hardy* (1962) turned out to be disappointingly ill-informed and to say little about song, whereas Marlene Springer's *Hardy's Use of Allusion* (1983) has little to say about allusion to protean traditional texts. Joan Grundy's *Hardy and the Sister Arts* (1979), notes musical metaphors and discusses possible analogues between his work and high-culture music, but not popular song.

With the critics who addressed the issue more directly, comparisons either rely on a very general notion of what the traditional ballad was like, or refer to genuine examples, but from the Scottish border, as brought together by Frances James Child. This is true both of book-length studies such as Douglas Brown's *Thomas Hardy* (1961), Samuel Hynes's *The Pattern of Hardy's Poetry* (1961) or J. R. Brooks's *Thomas Hardy: The Poetic Structure* (1971) and of articles focusing more exclusively on the topic, such as 'The Traditional Basis of Thomas Hardy's Fiction' by Donald Davidson (1940) or 'Hardy and the Ballads' by Thom Gunn (1972). Thus, they avoid both the question of how far Hardy was also indebted to lyric folk song, and to other forms of popular verbal music, and the question of what form his immediate influences would have taken. Yet these sources can be reconstructed by reference to Hardy family manuscripts and Hardy's own collection of folk songs (reproduced here for the first time in hard copy), and to the work of collectors in the Dorset area early in the twentieth century. Four anthologies of songs collected in southern England by H. D. Hammond and George B. Gardiner, and edited by Frank Purslow from 1965 to 1974, made it obvious that

the tradition of Hardy's neighbourhood had not been fully explored in relation to his fiction, and that plentiful manuscript material existed as the basis for a source study. Hammond and Gardiner collected from people Hardy's age and older, at least one of whom Hardy almost certainly knew. The kernel of the research was therefore an attempt to outline this material and to consider how Hardy had mediated it within the verbal discourse of his fiction. From the beginning, this was an interdisciplinary project, and its first published fruit was a long-playing record of music associated with Thomas Hardy (The Mellstock Quire, jointly with Dave Townsend, 1980). The bulk of Chapter 8 was published in Nineteenth-Century Literature in 1989. The only material developing comparisons of a similar kind to my own was in an unpublished University of Oxford B. Litt thesis from 1974, by R. Elliott ('Thomas Hardy and the Ballad'), which was not uncovered until after the bulk of my research had been completed and in any case comes to different conclusions, as it too ignores lyric song, and is not interested in discourse analysis.

After Hardy, the question arose of how typical was his practice of representing labouring class culture within realist fiction, through quotation from, and allusion to, genuine examples of that culture's song. This too has been a neglected area, and the book fills a gap defined by the limits of literary allusion studies, folksong scholarship, and studies of nineteenth-century realist treatment of the lower classes. For example, Michael Wheeler's authoritative The Art of Allusion in Victorian Fiction (1979) seemed to cover every kind of intertexts other than the ones that were my interest. Much of the work that has the closest apparent links with my own is focused on individual authors, but, again, the traditional material is absent from studies such as Beryl Gray's George Eliot and Music (1989). Although interdisciplinary, these studies of allusion tend to avoid the discussion of traditional and popular sources, preferring material with a unitary, fixed form. On the other hand, folk-song scholars have avoided the literary matrix in which allusions such as Hardy's occur. My study thus fills a significant gap, as well as covering a wider time frame than Wheeler.

The main focus of the book is on the Romantic and Victorian periods. The limits of the investigation were determined at the earlier end by the rise of realism,

and by the development of an increasingly self-conscious split between orature and literature, and between the sorts of music characteristic of various groups within a changing class structure. The folk-song revival that reached its height in the early years of the twentieth century created an obvious end point. Songs preserved largely through labouring-class oral transmission were at this time being reproduced and, as Dave Harker would argue in *Fakesong* (1985), being appropriated for the entertainment of those in higher social classes. They were not just for reading, but part of a revised drive to establish nationalist and class-based ideologies that would operate hegemonically through persuasive realisation in musical social life at school and the wider community.

Much of the material in the book links with reflection on national identity during the Romantic period. The predilection of Scott and his fellow Romantics for traditional and local song formed part of the subject of several seminal studies of the construction of nationalism, pre-eminently Katie Trumpener's 1997 *Bardic Nationalism*. William Donaldson's *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity* (1988) is another important book in this area. Much of the content in *Ballads, Songs and Snatches* could be reapplied to further researches like these, as traditional song could be used as a subtext to convey uncomfortable political messages (as demonstrated by Lamont, below). Splendid work in detail has been achieved more recently in work on individual writers, especially Hogg. Perhaps the foremost of these is Murray Pittock's edition of Hogg's collection *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland* (2002-3), discussed in *BSS* as a song source. The book whose title would seem closest to my own interests is Penny Fielding's *Writing and Orality: Nationality, Culture, and Nineteenth-century Scottish Fiction* (1996). Nevertheless, her subject is the thematic contrasts between orality and literacy, and the definition of the author. I do acknowledge the imperatives of regional definition as part of the context for my comments, but the overlap between my own work and studies of national consciousness is slight, since *Ballads, Songs and Snatches* concentrates on issues of class and gender rather than national culture, and on the discursive effects on potential audiences of specific examples of intertextuality.

Scott is the obvious key example of Romantic practice. Initially a collector, editor, and composer of folk-song pastiche, his construction of romanticized pasts that nevertheless embody a universalist assumption--that human emotions and motives are the same in all times and places--relies heavily on quotation and apparent quotation from folk song sources. Unlike Hardy, whose manipulation of song texts consists largely of omission and of equivocal framing, Scott's encyclopaedic knowledge is matched by a facility of invention and a blithe unscrupulousness about textual fidelity. Thus, many of his supposed allusions are strongly adapted or even completely invented. This latter category I have labelled 'false intertexts'. Because Scott was a substantial collector of traditional ballads and also provides chapter mottoes that are often unattributed, he has attracted a number of source hunters such as Tom Haber and Dieter Berger. The most relevant of these is Haber, in 'The Chapter-Tags in the Waverley Novels', but this early article (1930) did not have to hand a sufficient body of material to ensure accuracy, and Haber concluded that Scott had invented far more than was actually the case.

By reading much of the material known to be available to Scott in contemporary anthologies, his Materials for the Minstrelsy, and parts of his collection in the Library at Abbotsford, I set out to create a more comprehensive picture of Scott's sources. This shed light on what was original and enabled an exploration of the creation of various levels of text appealing to different kinds of audience through the discursive effects of Scott's quotation, allusion and mock-quotation. The initial stages of this research were presented in an hour-long paper at the 1987 International Scott Conference in Alberta. Another paper largely on Scott's false intertexts appeared in the proceedings of the 1991 Scott Conference, *Scott in Carnival* (1993) and these papers form the basis of Chapter 2 and Appendix 1. Excellent detailed work on songs as intertexts, both genuine and false, was conducted by Claire Lamont, first in 'The Poetry of the Early Waverley Novels' (1975) and later in 'Jacobite Songs as Intertexts in Waverley and The Highland Widow', also presented at the 1991 Scott Conference and published in the same selective edition of the papers.

To establish how far Scott and Hardy were typical, I examined a range of fiction or essay writers about the labouring class in the nineteenth century, most of whom lacked their encyclopaedic and to some extent participatory knowledge of tradition. Writers whose experience of traditional song milieux was less obvious have, not surprisingly, attracted even less criticism based on their allusions to such material. The necessary basics of identification were often conducted many years ago and chapter 6 is indebted to three articles by J. W. T. Ley in the *Dickensian* in 1930, 1931 and 1932. Indeed, my substantial debts are more to the collectors of material useful for identifying allusions than to discussions of those allusions. J. C. Dick's edition of *Notes on Scottish Song by Robert Burns* (1908) was particularly useful, as, for a more limited range of texts, were the more recent collections such as *The Poorhouse Fugitives* (ed. Brian Maidment, 1987) and *Bawdy Songs of the Early Music Hall* (ed. George Speaight, 1975), which provided pointers to source material very difficult to access. Gaskell augmented her song allusions with the voices of individual published poets of the people such as Samuel Bamford. The discussion of her selective appropriations forms Chapter 5, an expansion of a paper in the 1996 *Gaskell Society Journal*. Scott and Hardy wrote mainly about the rural working class. By contrast, the urban subjects of Dickens and Thackeray led them to allude not so much to long-established tradition but to the popular songs of their day and the discourse of the song-and-supper rooms that preceded the music-hall. Investigation of this material and the gender and reader-response implications of using it is continued in the two articles submitted along with this monograph.

Much of the research has entailed study of manuscript and difficult to access printed sources in the following archives:

- the Thomas Hardy Memorial Collection in the Dorset County Museum (Hardy family manuscripts);
- the Lock Collection and local parish records in the Dorset County Library;
- Puddletown Church, Dorset (church quire instruments);
- the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library of the English Folk Dance and Song Society (Hammond and Gardiner folk song collection manuscripts, broadsides, microfilms of song and ballad material, microfilms of Hardy

family manuscript books, eighteenth and nineteenth century collections of songs);

- the Bodleian Library (microfilms and printed ballad and song collections);
- the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh (for Scott manuscripts and those of song collectors of his acquaintance, including the Materials for the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*);
- song collections in Scott's own Library at Abbotsford;
- Swindon Public Reference Library, and Swindon County Record Office, for song material collected in the area by Alfred Williams, and for parish records of singers;
- Wiltshire and Swindon County Record Office in Trowbridge;
- the Berkshire Records Office in Reading;
- the Gaskell Collection, Manchester Central Reference Library;
- the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds (Borrow and Gaskell material);
- Norwich City Library (Borrow);
- the British Library (song-and-supper room songbooks, broadsides);
- by correspondence, the Pierpoint Morgan Library (Gaskell material)
- by correspondence, Angus Fraser, for information on Borrow.

Most of this material has not been researched for this purpose before.

Social historians of various kinds have provided essential overviews and David Craig's *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1830* (1961) was a particularly useful pithy source. The method and assumptions of the book are influenced by those of Jonathan Culler in *Structuralist Poetics* (1975) that texts need to be read in relation to other texts, and by Mikhail Bakhtin's interest in the varieties of socially-constructed kinds of language (heteroglossic discourse) in prose fiction. Parts of the discussion also make use of the notion of the carnivalesque. My chief debts are to his insights in 'Discourse in the Novel', and *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. In spite of the sometimes low visibility of Baktin's political commitment, he provides a lens to modify more general theories

of intertextuality through considerations of class and, by application of his principles, gender. *BSS* applies the idea of intertexuality to material that has been up to now substantially undiscussed in relation to its appearance in a matrix of realist prose, and, with regard to the two articles, largely avoided by literary critics as both frivolous and improper.

Were this monograph to be written now, it would be useful to expand the framework by mentioning at least briefly the relations between the false intertext and a more generalized Romantic predilection for, and fascination with, forgery. This new imperative is dealt with separately in section 6.

4. Summary of the contribution to the present state of knowledge in the field represented by the published work

Ballads, Songs and Snatches establishes the probable sources, and therefore the knowledge of tradition, of a number of nineteenth-century writers of realist prose about the labouring classes. It provides a model study of allusion of a kind not usually tackled either by literary scholars (because of the protean nature of folk tradition) or by folk song scholars (because their primary concern is with the sources, relations and effects of the original material for itself rather than within a literary matrix). Most importantly, it outlines the knowledge base for allusions to folk song made by Walter Scott and Thomas Hardy. In doing so, it both fills a substantial gap in critical knowledge of these writers and corrects a number of misapprehensions by previous commentators.

The book establishes that folk song reference forms a significant part of the heteroglossic cultural coding of the novels of Scott and Hardy, i.e. it operates as a distinct and noteworthy strand of the varied discourses out of which they are composed. Citation of and allusion to folk and popular song are used to establish the historical authenticity of Scott's settings and hence confirm his realism, but they also have the effect of disrupting the continuum of the historian's voice and through their diversity (and sometimes anachronicity) the effect of reminding the reader of the fictionality of the text. Analysis of Scott's application of folk-song allusion on four levels demonstrates that although his practice includes simple displays of erudition, it is often the basis of elaborate thematic structures which give the novels a coherence of patterning sometimes denied to them by critics. It also implies a conscious manipulation of various levels of potential reception involving both national and gender stratification.

Hardy's references to specific songs contradict the received opinion that his preference was for tragic ballads. Like Scott, he uses folk-song reference as a coded way of creating sub-texts that potentially clarify the sexual behaviour of his characters for an audience increasingly unwilling to accept open discussion of it. Unlike Scott, he came from a social position from which (like Dickens) he wished to maintain a distance once he had established himself as a high-culture novelist.

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As a result, his presentation of folk song is equivocal, but the nervousness of his original comic framing is replaced by an increasingly serious commitment to the culture of the folk up to *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*. His thorough and intimate record of at least a section of the ordinary man's rural culture, and the integration of references to that culture into patterns of significance central to the novels is not to be matched in any other British novelist.

BSS demonstrates that, though many other fiction and essay writers tried to follow Scott's suit, their appropriations tended to remain decorative, to homogenize class difference, or even in some cases (such as Jefferies) specifically to deny and denigrate working-class culture. This is an effect that runs counter to their apparent commitment to record, sympathise with, or celebrate aspects of working-class life. Given the nineteenth-century belief that whoever controlled the people's songs was the true popular preacher, this misrepresentation, though hegemonic rather than malicious, is doubly significant in its displacement of aspects of a still-active culture into the past. While some of these authors (for example, Hughes) appear to offer a transparent record, many, especially Scots like Hogg and Scott, who are conscious of and to some extent working within an active tradition, intervene more actively by composing their own supposedly 'traditional' songs. In categorising these as 'false intertexts' *BSS* defines and introduces the concept of the 'false intertext' to discourse analysis. The difficulty of creating a convincing false intertext is an issue I address as a separate section (7) of this framing material.

Although the focus of the material is very tight, it nevertheless allows for wide-ranging conclusions about how nineteenth-century writers handled the cultural life of working-class characters, and the strategies they adopted to manipulate material with radical implications about sexuality and class relations for a middle class audience. The book demonstrates significant ways in which major texts operate from assumptions about a readership stratified in terms of gender and class rather than being homogeneous. On the basis of discourse analysis, it establishes links between wide and deep acquaintance with folk tradition and richly dense literary textuality, even where the writer's own position involves tactical mediation of that knowledge.

There are two appendices which provide resources for continuing scholarship. One provides musical notation for a substantial tour-de-force episode of allusion in Scott's *Redgauntlet*, and demonstrates the elaborate playfulness and wide knowledge of song culture still actively seen from its performance perspective by Scott's audience. (This was used as the basis for a colloquium session on teaching Scott at the Eighth International Scott Conference in 2007). The second appendix makes available for the first time in hard-copy form Hardy's unique personal collection of folk song material; the previous film version is both difficult to access and difficult to use, which previously necessitated reference to the rather flimsy original. Both attracted praise from reviewers.

While the popular song of the song-and-supper rooms makes only a small proportion of the material of the book, its reception implications provide material for continued study in the two articles. 'The Cheek of the Young Person' establishes that (in spite of the conclusions of Dickens critics) in the early part of his career Dickens deliberately used the bawdy discourse found in these songs as a source of humour likely to appeal to an audience stratified in terms of gender, but that one of his short stories can be read as having a serious homosexual subtext if the implications of some of this sort of sexual slang are taken into account. 'With Mike Hunt I Have Travelled over the Town' discusses the songs themselves and challenges both Raymond Williams's model of residual, dominant and emergent discourses and the distancing self-censorship of literary critics seeking to establish respectability as a norm.

The practical results of the research began as early as 1987, when I became a consultative editor for the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley novels, continuing to deal with relevant editorial queries up to the completion of the project in 2009, and also with enquiries from other publishers of Scott's novels. The on-line *Literary Encyclopedia* requested an article on Folk Song and English Literature, published for 2004, and I am currently working on one on literary ballads for the *Blackwell's Encyclopedia of Romanticism*. Apart from joint workshops, newspaper articles and radio broadcasts with Dave Townsend, consultancy has ranged from a play based

on Hardy's Napoleonic writing (*Victory*) at the Chichester Festival in 1989, notes for two CDs (*The Music of Thomas Hardy's Wessex*, Saydisc, 1994; *Oliver Unleashed*, Walking Oliver, 2004), and advice on popular song for the Merchant Ivory film *Nicholas Nickleby* (2002). Alongside the formal written records of this research there has also been a practical performance element in workshops and radio recordings, and in presentations in talks and conference papers which embody the actual singing of examples, on occasion (for instance, with the conference paper that was the basis of 'With Mike Hunt') with the involvement and demonstrable collusion of the audience. Thus, the sense of discourse clash argued for in BSS has been articulated in praxis.

5. Analysis of reviews of *Ballads, Songs and Snatches*

As was appropriate for a broadly-ranging interdisciplinary work, review response came from a variety of perspectives, not only literary ones, but folk music studies, a more conventional (and not entirely appropriate) music background, and, in a late but substantial review article, from the developing field of forgery history. Overall, response was both discriminating and enthusiastic. Even the two critiques with more negative elements recognize *BSS*'s scholarship as a study of the effects of the mediation of folk song texts through allusion. As always, reviewers contribute to the debate by suggesting alternative ways of both framing and adding to the material, particularly by expanding the period and generic range. Some of these remarks offer illumination, some spill over into critique based on how the reviewer would have written the book, rather than responding to (or, sometimes, perceiving) what was actually in it.

Since there may actually be more to learn from a negative comment than a laudatory one, I will begin with the two mixed reviews.

Timothy Spurgin, *Notes*, 57:3 (March 2001), 652-53

This journal of the Music Library Association noted fairly that, for musicians and musicologists, *BSS* is 'probably of limited interest', as it deals primarily with lyrics and texts. There is an accurate summary of much of the content, though hedgers such as 'she tries to show' are prominent in the phrasing. The reviewer's main objection, though, is based on an odd misapprehension: 'her claims [...] are seriously undermined by the fact that novelists like Walter Scott, Gaskell and Eliot were not really writing for the working class' and that it would only be possible to suggest that the misrepresentation of folk song had damaging effects if the novels had been intended for working class readers. Consequently, the main flaw of the book for Spurgin is its failure to explain sufficiently 'how workers could have been affected by novels that they were never expected to read.'

BSS is defensible against this charge. It not only never claims that any of the writers discussed were aiming for a working-class audience but makes clear on numerous occasions that this was not the case (for example, pp. 4, 14-20) and references to readership occupy six lines in the index.

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Spurgin concedes that it 'may well be right to say that the misrepresentation of folk music mattered'. The modal auxiliary implies a difference between his assumption and my own conviction that misrepresentation matters *per se*. However, he is certainly right to ask the question 'to whom might it have mattered?' What this question exposes is a weak point in many, perhaps most, suppositions of hegemonic influence, which is how one is to assemble definitive evidence that a particular text has engendered some specific affect which has resulted in hegemonic effects. ('Did that play of mine send out/Certain men the English shot?' Yeats agonised in 'Man and the Echo'. No testimony from the dead has been forthcoming on this.) It is fair to say that *BSS* has not directly addressed this question of influence directly, given that its focus is the use of folk song in literary contexts. Were I to prepare a second edition, the points made in the Conclusion about misrepresentation of working class experience and attitudes could be amplified by reference to studies of the gaps in expectations between classes, especially Victorian entrepreneurial capitalists and their workforce. David Craig's introduction to the 1969 Penguin edition of *Hard Times*[1] provides a useful model. He discusses a protest song by a cotton weaver recording the move to a new kind of industrialised workplace, a workplace where, typically, singing itself was forbidden (p. 18). Craig also cites a cotton-master's manifesto of 1853 attempting to construct working-class discontent as the product of deceptive agitation by a few malcontents (p. 35). In this sort of atmosphere the palliation of working-class protest undermines the possibilities of negotiating acceptable relations between the classes at the same time as it argues (falsely and self-deceptively) for a community of interests between them. This is why is matters that nineteenth-century writers romanticised and falsified labouring-class culture, not because labouring class readers were going to feel damaged by reading misrepresentations of themselves, though that too would clearly be an issue where it occurred. The selection and re-presentation of folk song in collections for political purposes antagonistic to the interests of its original milieux is a different and more straightforward issue already discussed by critics such as Dave Harker in *Fakesong* (1985).

As a scholar with a keen interest in Scottish folk tradition and in Hogg, Valentina Bold was an appropriate choice of reviewer, though her review suggests more of an interest in the ways in which she would have focused the research than in what *BSS* actually offered. Her tonally unsympathetic review concedes that *BSS* makes intelligent remarks about the construction of Hardy's Wessex and Scott's Scottish borders, that my 'provocative comments' can be 'highly perceptive', and she praises the book's ancillary features—the appendices and bibliography. However, Bold judges *BSS* to be a 'missed opportunity' that makes 'a number of sometimes misleading assumptions'.

Again, *BSS* can resist much of the criticism. It is not clear what single opportunity was missed, but Bold's comments on what she sees as the book's omissions would have demanded a volume of unwieldy proportions and more diffuse argument. 'By concentrating solely on the nineteenth century' *BSS* certainly does omit the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. However, it is not clear how the treatment of song in early eighteenth-century plays by Ramsay (whose song collections are discussed), or of Macpherson's already highly mediated reconstructions of a Gaelic Ossianic tradition, would have impinged productively on the practice of allusion to traditional song in the realist novel, although they do both involve the appropriation of folk material. This was why I did not include them in the first place, although the reasons for excluding them could have been made more explicit. Similarly, although 'pursuing the topic into the twentieth century, however briefly, could have been hugely illuminating' this would have produced a different book, with a focus on what Bold rightly calls 'intelligent celebrations' of song culture in Gibbon or 'seamless reworkings' of ballad material in MacDiarmid. This is a project worth pursuing but it was not the project of the book. It would have been necessary to take into account the effects of nationalist-influenced song and music collection movements that blossomed in the early parts of the twentieth century (for example, in the work of Cecil Sharp). This popular but not traditional revival altered the relations of folksong to audience in drastic and widespread ways.

Bold's more specific criticisms are all refutable. The writers discussed are not all categorized under an assumption of 'homogenous Britishness'. 'British' was chosen as an inclusive term preferable to 'English' but including a variety of modes of cultural definition clearly distinguished as such (for example, pp. 145, 51, 63). 'The expressions of local identities' she claims are missing are specifically addressed, often in great detail, where appropriate (for example, with Hughes, Gaskell and Hardy). Often though, the writers themselves—including Scott and Hogg—are eclectic in their choice of song allusions, however careful they may be to include other locally specific detail. Moreover, layers of identity are addressed not only in terms of geography but in terms of class and gender, major focuses of the book on which Bold does not comment.

It is not clear why it is patronising to conclude that Hogg partially misjudged his manipulation of deliberately targeted multiple audiences, or to see Hardy as being condescending in tone to the labouring class in his early fiction. And if the book is 'pedantic' at least it may serve to expose the inadequacies of vague references to ballad influences (see pp. 140-41, for example) derived from the critic's knowledge rather than that of the novelist.

BSS does indeed imply that 'song is naturally for oral performers' but it would be interesting to see a definition of song that did not include a notion of oral performance (oral *transmission* is a different matter). It is not clear where, or how, according to Bold, the book implies that song is unrelated to stories. Nineteenth-century southern English tradition, as noted on p. 145, tended to preserve lyrical elements better than narrative ones, but this observation has at its heart a recognition of story. The book does not focus on 'the integral relationships among song, storytelling, performer and audience' because it is not a book about traditional story-telling, but about the disruption of these relations when one kind of discourse is lifted into another with different 'performers' and audience. Both the initial definitions of folk song (pp. 5-6) and the pervasive discussions of audience explicitly address questions about these relationships. It might have been fairer to point out that traditional story telling outside a verse format with a musical context is not discussed, even though Scott collected traditional stories from early youth

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and wrote imitations of them like the splendid Wandering Willie's Tale in *Redgauntlet*, and Hardy also picks up and elaborates traditional tales. However, such generic imitations of prose forms have fewer of the discursive differences which the monograph addresses, and are even more difficult to trace to specific known sources. (See *BSS* p. 21 for brief comments on what Scott might have learned from tales in chapbooks or garlands.)

Bold's concluding salvo is an assumption of her own about narrative innocence in the process of composition: 'writers such as Scott and Hogg had no notion of interlacing their texts with songs; rather, songs were part of the fabric of their existence.' The latter point is amply asserted in Chapters 2 and 3 (especially pp. 18-21, 27-28, 35, 53). However, this does not mean that Scott's or Hogg's manipulations of discourse were entirely unconscious. The very use of mottoes as separable and distinct kinds of paratext defies such a notion, and Scott notoriously confessed that he deliberately sought out or even constructed appropriate intertexts, both authentic and false, as noted on p. 3 of *BSS*.

Other reviewers operated from a more accommodating perspective. **Uwe Böker**'s long on-line review article for the **Internationale Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur** would have preferred a heaver proportion of reference to the theory of intertexuality (especially German theory) but provides a substantial account of the content of the argument, and praises the meticulousness of the identification and documentation.[2] Böker's interest is in the implications of the false intertext, and its links with the critical history of forgery (burgeoning by 2004 and discussed below). Much cross-reference to this informs the review, especially in the use of Paul Baines's *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-century Britain* and Nick Groom's *The Making of Percy's Reliques*, both of which also appeared in 1999. Böker notes the prevalence of various kinds of cross-cultural colonialism in the manipulation of folk song in the eighteenth century (though more through collection and 'translation' than by allusion; para. 27). This interest can be compared with Bold's mention of Macpherson, though, unlike Bold, he sees *BSS* as rightly stressing the particular importance of local and oral traditions (para. 45).

Susan Morgan accords *BSS* a paragraph in her survey of Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century in *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 40:4 (Autumn 2000), 760-61. She sees the book as 'a form of influence study' and finds it 'a delightful book, complex and entertaining', presenting both the particulars of the songs and a discussion of modifications through allusion, with a primary focus on class relations.

This succinct analysis gets to the heart of what was intended in *BSS*, as does Simon Dentith's review in *Journal of Victorian Culture* 6:1 (Spring 2001), 186-87. According to Dentith, the book is 'an attractive and original contribution' to 'critical writing on nineteenth-century fiction'. He describes it as sophisticated in a variety of ways, particularly in its handling of the construction of implied readers. He locates the false intertext as being of central importance, and recognizes the value not only of the discussion of the folk tradition but also that of the more commercial popular song used by Dickens and Thackeray. (This, of course, is a strand developed in the two articles to be considered alongside *BSS*.) Like Bold, Dentith raises the question of the ways in which more recent texts continue to intrigue the reader by yoking together the fictional text with discourses of balladry or popular music. However, he does not see the absence of comment on such texts as a flaw: rather, he recommends *BSS* as a properly self-contained map of a coherent stretch of allusive practice.

Folk song scholars were more uniformly laudatory than literary ones. Alexandra Franklin, for the *Folk Music Journal* (8:1 [2001], 114-15) argues for the success of the book at more than one level. It is both an introduction to many of the snippets of song through a literary frame, and 'an appreciation of the problem of folk song in literary culture' that also throws 'new light on the culture of the novel itself' and on layers of 'cultural confrontation' in an newly commercialised economy that deracinated folk song texts. The availability of Hardy's own collection in an appendix is welcomed. Franklin concludes that the book is a 'useful companion to literary studies' with great value as a guide to the sources of ballads and to writers' motives for selecting and mediating them.

In the *Journal of American Folklore* (114 [2001], 510-11) Gerald Porter praises *BSS* as an 'excellent study of the relations between songs and literary texts' which teases out the continuum of intertextual dialogues between songs, singers, audience, other texts and cultural and generic levels. Porter also cites modern writers (the dramatists Brecht and Arden) as continuing this dialogue into the twentieth century, stressing the power of the metatext to disrupt authority structures, and the presumed boundaries between the real and fictional worlds. He offers a succinct and accurate account of the salient points made about most of the individual authors discussed and comments favourably on the success of the treatment of songs and tunes in *Redgauntlet*. He too finds the inclusion of the Hardy song appendix useful and both repeats and extends my own remarks on the tendency of southern English tradition to reduce and lyricize ballads.

Porter sees *BSS* as 'exceptional in that its rigorous documentation is not left dangling and unfocused' but extends the work of modern critics of discourse and reader response—as, indeed, I had hoped to do (*BSS*, pp. 32, 4). He lays particular emphasis on the existence of different layers of readership divided by such factors as gender (a particularly important theme for Chapter 6 and the two articles). Not surprisingly, I welcome his conclusion that 'the greatest need now is for a paperback version to make the book available to a far wider audience'.

If one summarizes the conclusions of these various reviews from the perspectives of different disciplines, the main points that emerge are as follows. *BSS* has succeeded in employing an unquestionably extensive knowledge of traditional song texts to illuminate discursive disparities between audience groups, especially those divided along lines of class or gender. It has presented its material meticulously and included a couple of useful source appendices. Its subject is, however, only a slice (and for most critics a well-defined slice) of a continuum of discursive negotiation across human contexts and academic disciplines. The reviews confirm my sense that the perspective of the discussion could be expanded to include more about what is misleading about the appropriations recorded, and particularly about the false intertext. This would allow for linkage with proto-Romantic concepts of authenticity. An up-date along these lines follows.

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6. Forgery: Forming or Faking?

Until recently there was an antiques shop in Dorchester (Oxon) called Old Forge Antiques.[3] Such a name wittily exploits the double meaning of the verb 'forge' by foregrounding a self-deprecating disclaimer about its stock rather than the history of the building it occupies. This double meaning is long-standing. The first two definitions for 'forge' in Johnson's *Dictionary* refer to making something; the third is 'to counterfeit, to falsify'. With characteristic trenchancy, he emphasises the moral obloquy of deception, even where monetary fraud is not involved, in defining 'forgery', and citing Swift:

> A *forgery*, in setting a false name to a writing, which may prejudice another's fortune, the law punishes with the loss of ears; but has inflected no adequate penalty for doing the same thing in print, though books sold under a false name are so many *forgeries*.[4]

By the Romantic period, some kinds of forgery attracted a capital penalty,[5] and the dominant attitude towards literary imposture (apart from simple pseudonyms) was definitely negative.

One area of scholarship developing throughout the writing of *BSS*, and since, has been the study of forgery, especially in the proto-Romantic period of the end of the eighteenth century. Entire bodies of work were presented under conditions that were and still can be received as fraudulent, such as Macpherson's rendering of supposedly Ossianic verses from Gaelic, and Chatterton's faux-mediaeval poems and documents. What is going on here is much more than the older tradition of imitation as a way of working through a poetic apprenticeship continued by Romantic and Victorian poets like Keats and Tennyson. Ian Haywood and Paul Baines both see the eighteenth century as 'a defining period for modern concepts of fraud' (Baines, p. 2) and as 'an unparalleled age of literary forgery'.[6] They argue that this arose from the shift in ideas about originality and the status of the artistic product that resulted from/in the Copyright Act of 1709 (Haywood, p. 21). Designed to clarify and protect publishers' rights, it also marked 'the birth of the author-owned text' (p.21) (though this was and remains a difficult concept for orally transmitted song).

My category 'false intertext' is clearly a kind of forgery, in that there is at least an implicit and sometimes an explicit intention to mislead the reader. Such practice was already subject to condemnation stemming from religious contexts. As early as 1708, the Quaker John Whiting argued that 'whoever pretends to Quote an Author's words, and doth it not *verbatim* [. . .] is guilty of *Forgery* or false quotation' (Baines, p. 32). The false intertext is also a kind of paratext, often fulfilling some of the manipulative function of paratexts discussed by Genette. However, Genette is not much concerned with quotation or allusion within the fabric of the main text, or with the dialogic expansion of heteroglossia by the inclusion of invented or altered intertexts.[7] (I have continued this side of the work of *BSS* in an article published after this doctoral application was made.)[8] If, in the words of Sidney's 1594 *Apology for Poetry*, the creative writer 'nothing affirms, and therefore never lieth', the status of marked intertexts is nevertheless equivocal. It is easy to regard a quotation from, say, Shakespeare, as bearing witness from another age about the universal passions of men that adds an enriching perspective to the main fiction (See *BSS* pp. 24-27). However, where allusion to a song or other text is presumed to offer witness to the conditions of life in the time and conditions of its origin, and therefore to be historical evidence, the reader is more likely to read the deceit as a breach of the expectations generated by the mechanisms and expectations of reference (see *BSS* pp. 1, 3-4). Changes in conceptions of language function and the status of discourse itself help to explain some of the review responses discussed above, and some of the differences in premiss in the works cited below.

Apart from the works already listed in the *BSS* bibliography, the trajectory of works discussing textual forgery can be seen from the following list. Some of these items antedate the writing of *BSS* and the relevance of some of this material has only become apparent post-publication, as the volume and interconnnectedness of its concerns has built up. I will briefly survey their standpoints to see how the assumptions behind *BSS* fit in with: Richard Dorson, *Folklore and Fakelore* (1976); Eric Hobsbaum and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (1983); Alan Dundes, 'Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Fakelore: A

Reconsideration of Ossian, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, the *Kalevala* and Paul Bunyan'. *Journal of Folklore Research* 22:1 (April 1985), 5-18; Ian Haywood, *The Making of History* (1986); and *Faking It: Art and the Politics of Forgery* (1987); Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (1990); Susan Stewart, *Crimes of Writing* (1991); Paul Baines, *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-century Britain* (1999); Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques* (1999); K.K. Ruthven, *Faking Literature* (2001); James Porter, '"Bring Me the Head of James Macpherson": The Execution of Ossian and the Wellsprings of Folkloristic Discourse', *Journal of American Folklore* vol. 114 no. 454 (Autumn 2001), 396-435; Nick Groom, *The Forger's Shadow* (2002); Margaret Russett, *Fictions and Fakes: Forging Romantic Authenticity, 1760-1845* (2006); Mary-Ann Constantine *The Truth Against the World: Iolo Morganwg and Romantic Forgery* (2007); Jack Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-century Britain* (2008).

Most of this body of work deals in whole or part with forgery in the eighteenth century. This is relevant in so far as it sets the parameters of debate and self-justification for the Romantic period, though more exact and scrupulous notions of scholarly responsibility in folklore study developed by the end of the nineteenth century. From the dates and some titles, it can be seen that there was a bulge of interest in the 'forgery' of history and folk traditions in the mid-1980s, and also that some of the work forms a literary wing to historian Linda Colley's wide-ranging consideration of the making of national identity in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (1992). The earlier material was mostly deemed not directly applicable to *BSS* for one or more of three reasons: it was too early; it was not concerned with song, or its focus was primarily the construction of national identity, an area discussed in commanding detail by work other than my own (and referred to in *BSS*) by Katie Trumpener and others. However, the passage of another decade has made it more necessary to locate *BSS* within the growing critical mass of more general studies that increase the visibility of the issue of falsification in the Romantic period. Broadly speaking, I would maintain its allegiance with marxist historians and folklorists rather than those who would wish

to deconstruct distinctions in audience expectation by dismissing the categories of referentiality and truth claims as indistinguishable from other textual effects.

Two of the key issues of eighteenth-century debate relevant to *BSS* are claims to be uncovering historical material of antiquarian interest or contributing to the construction of local or national identity, and claims of the recuperation of writers from the past whose literary achievement ought to form part of such a construction. The first involves ballad collectors such as John Pinkerton, Thomas Percy, Peter Buchan and even Scott himself. The second covers creative writers such as Chatterton, Macpherson and Iolo Morganwg.

Before 1999, there was a demonstrable concern among historians of folk culture about the invention of tradition. Early anxieties often covered the broader spectrum of folk lore, as with Richard Dorson, whose main concern was story telling, building in 1976 on anxieties about 'fake lore' voiced by him as early as 1950. He deplores literary products being 'passed off as folklore' and reminds readers that some early twentieth century writers in the southern United States copied ballads out of Child's collections to illustrate their fiction.[9] Dundes shared both these anxieties and the concern for story telling rather than sung material. *The Invention of Tradition* is the title of a collection by Eric Hobsbaum and Terence Ranger in 1983. However, although Hobsbaum deals with the invention of traditions from the industrial revolution onwards and notes their role in social manipulation, song gets only a passing mention, either in his essay or across the volume.[10]

The invention and manipulation of putative folk song texts can be approached from two angles that have some relevance to *BSS*: the presentation of invented texts or parts of texts as if they were traditional during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the revisionary constructions of bodies of supposedly national song in the early twentieth century. Debate about authenticity has been a constant feature of folk song collection since its inception, and often those found most blameworthy by later critics were vociferous in the claims made for their scholarly virtue in their introductions, such as John Pinkerton, Peter Buchan, Thomas Percy, and Scott himself. Percy's procedures attracted the ire of Joseph Ritson, the critic

appealed to in *The Antiquary* and editor of collections cited by Scott (*BSS* p. 29). The way in which the demands of political usefulness warped the editing of song was made notorious by Dave Harker's polemical *Fakesong* in 1985. Among numerous studies before and since,[11] 1999 also stands out for Nick Groom's devotion of an entire volume to the editorial and collecting practices of Percy, the cornerstone of Romantic notions of the ballad. Such studies rightly problematize any naïve notions of 'pure' folksong (and I have tried to avoid such naivety in my initial definitions, for some definition was essential to the thesis of the book). However, Groom and others give no thought to allusive reference to song in metadiscourse in the course of these discussions of the laxity or hegemonic interest of editors. In *BSS* I have, nevertheless, attempted, where relevant, to address the effects of the social principles of those collectors, most often with reference to standards of decency (for example, pp. 19-20).

This approach inevitably sets *BSS* at odds with Chapter 4 of Susan Stewart's *Crimes of Writing: Problems in the Containment of Representation* (1991), on 'Scandals of the Ballad'. This theoretically subtle study argues that 'the artifactualisation of the ballad is coterminous with the commodification of literature' (p. 105) and that it was necessary to invent 'a historical rupture' to allow for 'the "discovery" of the ballad and the authentication of that discovery as in fact a recovery' (p. 107). While I would agree that much of the work of appropriation of the ballad that I discuss does indeed help to generate the rupture the novelists and essayists both enact and deplore, Stewart's analysis is dependent on a set of assumptions inimical to my project. Where she gives up on any attempt to give a 'true or more authentic account of the history of the ballad as a genre' and sees it from a post-structuralist perspective as 'a methodological imperative to avoid such a search' (p. 107) it has been a methodological imperative of *Ballads, Songs, and Snatches* to assume a recognition of heterogeneity of discourse that has some basis in fact, in the changing circumstances that produce texts. Moreover, she is not concerned with allusion or with the heteroglossia of creative texts that appropriate ballads and songs for their own discursive purposes, and she dismisses the variety and subtlety of Scott's practice as a novelist, restricting her comments to one

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footnote that argues that characters burst into song in Scott's novels 'as one bursts into song in musical comedy' (p. 99).

More recognisably literary writers (in anticipation of Stephen Daedalus at the close of *Portrait of the Artist*) were engaged in forging the uncreated conscience of their race. Discussion of them has concentrated on Chatterton and Macpherson, with Iolo Morganwg as a later addition. The first two, and Lady Wardlaw's 'Hardyknute', do feature in Scott's voraciously expansive system of allusion. For example, the epigraph for Chapter 36 of *Woodstock* (37 in later editions) is a loosely remembered quotation from the 'Ballad of Sir Charles Bawdin' without attribution to its author Chatterton. By omission, Scott implies that this is traditional, but his purpose is only to suggest a tempering of judgement with mercy suitable for the denouement of the novel. Chapter 30 of *The Antiquary* contains a discussion of the authenticity of Ossian which serves to validate the judgement of the sometimes over-credulous Oldbuck (*BSS*, p. 25). Scott also cheerfully employs snippets of 'Hardyknute' three times in *Woodstock* alone, and as an epigraph to Chapter 21 of *Old Mortality*. However, the lines he quotes are formulaic ones that actually do come from the ballad tradition Lady Wardlaw is imitating, so in a sense he by-passes the forgery, except as a well-known vehicle for a commonplace. These intertexts therefore do contribute, though in a minor way, to the construction of a misleading general sense of tradition.

It is significant that so much of my own discussion focuses on Scott. He (and Hogg) were both still operating in cultural contexts where folk song was still much more a living force appreciated at all levels of society (*BSS* pp. 14-15, 53-54). *BSS* concentrates on the appropriation of song tradition from a corpus of work in English, but the processes described clearly have analogues in the manipulation and creation of literary versions of history, even though Chatterton was inventing rather than reshaping his ballads, and the Ossian stories were undergoing translation from Gaelic and loose prose rendering from Macpherson. The concept of the false intertext could have been included in Groom's interest in any kind of writing that 'conjures the illusion of a source' and Groom claims that 'forgery waxed and waned at the same time as the Romantic movement'.[12] (The latter is not true of the

false intertext, as *BSS* demonstrates, and Groom, in spite of his interest in Percy, has nothing to say on either ballads or Scott.)

Modern treatments of Chatterton, Macpherson and Iolo Morganwg, the creators, respectively, of deceptive histories of western England, highland Scotland, and Wales, look for ways of palliating the earlier charges of falsehood. Constantine recognises that Morganwg, who both used Welsh oral tradition and composed 'mediaeval' pieces for which he spawned a number of spurious authors, can be seen as the author of 'creative works driven by nascent nationalism, or by a combination of political and religious zeal'.[13] James Porter's lively Bakhtinian defence of Macpherson envisages seeing him and Morganwg as part of a 'Celtic "tradition of invention"'.[14] From a theoretical standpoint less common in folklore studies, he also suggests we could see Macpherson as 'the first and last postmodern poet-antiquarian' (p. 424). Ian Haywood's wide-ranging *Faking It* (1987) was already displaying the theoretical assumptions which *BSS* briefly contests (*BSS*, p. 10). Following on from his narratological interests in *The Making of History*, he moves from the unproblematic statement that 'there is a sense in which any forgery is a species of fiction' to destabilize the borderlines between 'the genuine and the spurious' (p. 5) in a similar way to Stewart. K. K. Ruthven adopts a similar stance in *Faking Literature*, a general study across centuries, investigating 'the power of literary forgeries to disturb', and seeking to deconstruct the binary divide between literature and forgery.[15] The most extreme representative of this post-structuralist position is Nick Groom, who claims that 'literature, that most monumental fabrication, is no less forged than any shadowy literary forgery' (*Forger's Shadow*, p. 2).

Since Groom admits that 'it could be argued that this book, by tricking away the authentic, is a part of the condition or crisis it is purporting to diagnose' (p. 15) I have no scruple in adopting precisely that position. Jack Lynch, contributing to the 'growth industry' of the 'study of hoaxes' in 2008, is able to distinguish three categories of discussion; simple fraud or non-fraud? decisions, revisionist investigations of categories of judgement on individual writers, and 'post-structuralist casuistry'.[16] Lynch is working on the eighteenth century, but his

assumptions chime in with those of *BSS* and his final chapter asks similar questions to those of *BSS*, and of Timothy Spurgin as reviewer: 'Why, finally, does any of this matter?' (Lynch, p. 171). His answer is that deception mattered because it affected historical values, and that forgery, by inducing mistrust, undermined the fabric of society, a position taken by Bentham in 1825 (pp. 176-77, 185). He uses a Foucauldian model to explain how the reader's consciousness of the 'author function' enables the understanding of which set of reading codes to employ. If Lynch is theoretically closest to the material of *BSS*, Grafton is perhaps more applicable to the writers discussed in some of his more specific insights. Like Haywood, he investigates the nature of fictionality and compares Chatterton's methods to those of a novelist 'with their substitutions of an imaginary narrator and a later editor'.[17] Scott would be a prime example of such practice, and Gaskell an example of the tendency Grafton detects to impose false texts as the result of the writer's hegemonic self-defence. The false intertext could be seen a part of the process whereby 'the forger seeks to protect himself and us from the critical power of our own past and that of other cultures' (p. 126). Like Lynch, Grafton's moral position is that 'a culture that tolerates forgery will debase its own intellectual currency' (p. 126). The closest work to *BSS* in terms of the texts considered is Margaret Russett's *Fictions and Fakes*. She discusses both ballad forgery and Scott and Hogg, but only in the context of 'the larger project of historicizing authenticity'[18] through an examination of authorial personae.

I would argue, therefore, that there is, since the conception and writing of *BSS*, another critical context into which it should be fitted. Some of this continuing anxiety about ownership of text could well be attributed to the increasing dominance of electronic communication and the minefield it represents for any attempt to police intellectual property rights. Nevertheless, significant as this extra context may be, it is clear that these studies focus on the alterations made by collectors and anthologists, or on the construction of a whole corpus of work with a false provenance, or, more theoretically, on the nature of fictionality or the construction of national identity. None combines insights into ballad and song texts with a consideration of authorial strategies, literary effects, and audience

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stratification. Nor are their approaches much concerned with issues of class or gender. Thus, all of these studies serve to outline a gap filled by my own discussion not of false texts but of false *inter*texts, i.e. material that could be considered 'forged' or 'inauthentic' but positioned within a more complex discursive matrix.

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7. Practice and Pastiche

I have argued that false intertexts, 'even as generalized imitations of a kind of discourse [...] are usually feeble and misleading' (*BSS* p. 5). Why did Scott and his followers not write more convincing fakes? K. K. Ruthven argues in a way consonant to *Ballads, Songs and Snatches*, that 'dense webs of mediation separated modern readers of printed texts from those oral cultures in which ballads were not written and read but sung and heard' but goes on immediately to say that 'ballad-faking is one of the easier forms of textual factitiousness to master' (Ruthven, p. 17). The basis of this comparative judgement is never presented, and the claim is undermined by the premiss of the first part of the sentence, which explains very concisely why it is difficult. Scott, his predecessors and his contemporaries agreed that it was difficult, were aware of the possibilities of imitation, and discussed its moral and aesthetic implications.

Much of this discussion concerns folk song collection and editing, on which it was not necessary to dwell for the purposes of *BSS*, as noted above. Nevertheless, it is worth considering here the principles behind ballad imitation. This will enable both an answer to the question above, and the establishment of the basis of my own claim to be able to discriminate genuine intertexts from false ones. Negative evidence in the form of an apparent lack of an independent original for an intertext cannot be conclusive. For *Ballads, Songs and Snatches* to have reasonable authority it was necessary to be able to distinguish genuine quotation from invention. In the book, this authority was based on demonstrable knowledge of a wide range of traditional and popular texts, but no attempt was made to explain the reliability of my critical instincts in detecting divergences from the generic parameters that enable the reader to identify the traditional song or ballad (defined on pp. 5-6). One way of testing this is to examine whether I could myself compose songs that would pass muster as folk songs. Two brief exercises to demonstrate this follow. It is important to recognize that although I do sometimes compose my own tunes, both the examples cited in the appendix Ballad Writing by the Author as Practitioner were composed to pre-existing ballad tunes. As Bertrand Bronson

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testifies. 'the tune is what keeps the ballad syntax simple and straightforward'.[19] Where no mention of a tune is given by the authors discussed in *BSS* it is unlikely that one was used in the writing of the false intertext, since the claim of a musical dimension is itself an authenticating statement. One effect of this lack is an over-compensation in terms of metrical regularity, so that the isochronicity of imagined performance is made more obvious to the reader's ear. The validity of this supposition could be supported by the practice of a fiction writer from outside the period and area covered by the book, the early twentieth-century American James Boyd. who invented folk song 'intertexts' to ensure a fit with his own text, and made the rhythms more emphatic to convey the sense of a tune (Hudson, p. 275).

Apart from the failure to pay attention to the musical dimension of supposed songs, why is faking a ballad not as easy as Ruthven imagines? With regard to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this is not a matter of simple incompetence, but the result of a set of disabling assumptions on the part of the writers (assumptions that were dying out by the second half of the Victorian period, to be replaced by other, competing, ideas about origins). These assumptions spread over a wide spectrum of social classes, but in differing proportions. As noted in *BSS*, several of the authors discussed (especially Scott and Hardy) had strong receptive competence with regard to the language and genres of traditional song, and several of them (e.g. Hogg) could be regarded as coming from communities in which they could (and arguably did) organize their productive competence along traditional lines. Nevertheless, their folk-type songs seldom achieved oral currency beyond their immediate circle, and, where they did, were and are referred back to print culture rather than being submitted to the processes of diversification through oral transmission (see p. 7). An example of this is Scott's 'Jock of Hazeldean', based on one traditional verse, and sung more widely today in revivalist folk clubs than is its original. 'John of Hasilgreen' (Child no. 293). However, the bulk of this verse lies beyond the province of the monograph, as it was composed to stand alone rather than to illustrate its fictional surroundings. One example actually used in a novel. Kingsley's poacher song 'The Bad Squire' (*BSS*, p. 79), has also been revived by participants in the modern folk world in a search for new material. This

is a tribute to its offering what is perceived as a plausible working-class viewpoint, but it is also the result of a late-twentieth century construction of what the angry labouring-class voice of the Victorian period ought to have sounded like. In other words, it replicates Kingsley's own decision to speak for a group to which he did not belong.

The conceptual hindrances to writing intertexts that would be a convincing substitute for authentic material are those that also governed faking straightforward texts. First, the conception of song progressing away from a primitive origin to more sophisticated forms of art affected both writers from the still-productive traditional community (e.g. Hogg) and those who were more strictly consumers and marketers of tradition (e.g. Scott, Hughes). Scott saw the growth of 'a more ornamental and regular style of poetry than had been attempted by the old minstrels' from the time of the Renaissance onwards and declared that 'the facility of versification, and of poetical diction, is decidedly in favour of the moderns'.[20] He also argued, paradoxically, that any imposture by him would have been of higher quality than the genuine article: 'had I meant to put a trick upon the Public, I would have taken care it should have been attended with more poetical interest from its poetical merit than these dull songs'.[21] Secondly, there was a common conception in at least the higher classes that ballads had been produced by a kind of composer with a specialist vocation and assured social position—the minstrel—rather than by an ordinary member of the community or a broadside hack. This idea was popularised in relation to ballads by Percy in his influential collection *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765). Orality might be valued as potentially capable of preserving the original composition, but also liable to gross corruption. In no way was it viewed as positively creative as it would be by modern folk song scholars. This meant that the best text (best by eighteenth and nineteenth century aesthetic standards) was likely to be the most authentic, and one of the duties of an editor was therefore to improve a demonstrably or even probably corrupt or incomplete text in the hope of returning to an authentic original. A desire to construct an image of locality (often inspiringly national) and of period was also liable to warp editorial choices: the untrustworthy Peter Buchan recommended his

Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland (1828) to those interested in the past and those 'who wish to cherish a national spirit'.[22]

With regard to collecting traditional material, Scott thought faking it was wrong. He claimed to have taken no liberties with the texts of his *Minstrelsy* texts further than adapting 'the best or most poetical reading', restoring the rhyme, and removing obvious corruptions. In a letter to Cleator, he said,

> I have been very desirous as far as possible to ascertain the authenticity of the old poems which I have given to the world, as literary forgeries have been but too often and too justly imputed to the Scottish antiquaries (*Letters*, 1, 141).

Charles Zug summarizes Scott's editorial practice thus: 'to the modern ballad collector, Scott and his contemporaries were all forgers, in that they rarely hesitated to restore, improve, or conflate their original texts', but for Scott, a forgery was an imitation passed off as genuine (Zug, p. 52). Moreover, modern poems written in imitation of the ancient ballad and declared as such could be read by back-formation as offering evidence about older cultures through the research necessary to construct them.

While bearing in mind that the best of fakes will not be recognisable as such at all, there are features that give away the imitation: 'distressed' orthography, with doubled letters and extra 'e's: excessively specific and recherché vocabulary and references, rather than the common core vocabulary likely to be appropriate to period and locality: complex nested grammar which is difficult to pick up from oral rendering, rather than co-ordination and parataxis; metrical smoothness or stanzaic complexity (though not all ballads are in ballad metre); either an avoidance of the formulaic, or a mechanical employment of it; flowery, decorative description and (for a ballad) dwelling on emotion to the detriment of plot flow; spelling out every link in the story: excessive moralising beyond the warning code characteristic of some broadside ballads. The discussions on pp. 29 and 79 of *BSS* employ these criteria. Zug summarizes Scott's 'understanding of the internal characteristics of forgeries': historical inaccuracy, laboured orthography, either excessively archaic phraseology or contemporary poetic diction, over-regular metre or complex stanzas, bathos or over-refined feeling. He seemed less aware of 'other identifying features

such as excessive description, smooth transition between scenes or episodes, or the lack of a dramatic focus on an "emotional core"' (Zug, p. 57).

However, Scott's own practice as editor involved all of the above (p. 58). He could be fooled—Robert Surtees palmed off three ballads of his own onto Scott, but it was the false provenances Surtees provided that misled him. Scott's 'Introductory Remarks on Popular Poetry' suggest an artistic mistrust of many features of the materials he valued for their historical interest—'the tenuity of thought and poverty of expression, by which old ballads are too often distinguished', the use of common rhyming pairs and floaters, and formulaic writing that employed a 'slovenly use of over-scutched phrases' even though he saw 'the extreme simplicity of the ballads' as a guarantee of their authenticity (*MSB*, vol. 1, 8-9, 52). All this suggests that Scott would have been working against the grain of his own critical taste to recreate convincing ballads. A century later, in 1907, Andrew Lang (who edited Burns's songs and collected songs and folk tales) published a 'Recipe to forge a Border Ballad':

> Select a good rousing incident [...] Write it with as many rhymes in *e* as possible. Avoid profusion of obsolete words. Carefully abstain from dropping into poetry. Add a few anachronisms, and distort historical facts to taste; employ regular ballad formulae sparingly and with caution, strain off, dish, and serve up with historical notes, adding to taste fables about your source *a la* Surtees (quoted in Zug, 62-63).

In spite of the differences in tone, what these two quotations suggest is that over the course of a century collectors who were also creative writers had a lively and detailed sense of what they thought a traditional ballad looked like, a recognition that it could be imitated, and an belief that imitations that sought to impose non-authentic texts on an audience expecting genuine ones were to be morally condemned. This is apparent in the terms of contemporary debates about collecting practices such as 'fraud' and 'imposture'. This judgemental strain is still prominent and is indeed still a key principle behind modern collecting, even though folk song and folk lore scholars are happy to grant status to individual versions and even unique performances of texts that are demonstrably being formed by traditional practice. Richard Dorson's *Folklore and Fakelore* and Dave Harker's

Fakesong are deprecating what they regard as falsification. I would share their own position, though, as we have seen, recent literary and historical studies have been readier to problematize the definitions. Titles like Ruthven's *Faking Literature* (2001) or Groom's *The Forger's Shadow* (2002) are ironized covers for texts that not only deconstruct the assumptions that simple distinctions can be made but also challenge the assumption that the distinction is worth making. There is a clear divergence between the principles of the disciplines of folk studies and literary history nowadays.

Those involved in current folk singing are usually happy to conflate, edit and add material to tradition for the purposes of making what they consider to be a singable song. This is only regarded as faking if false claims are made about origins, for example, in the sleeve notes for an album. John Kirkpatrick, a leading British revivalist folk performer and teacher, explains his practice in a recent interview:

> With every traditional song I do [...] I look at as many different versions of the song as I can dig out, and see what light that sheds on the original source that led me there. This gives me a feel for the full story. I tot up whatever elements I feel are missing and steal them from orally collected versions from either England, preferably, or, occasionally, America. The language is always much more in keeping with my idea of what a folk song should sound like! Sometimes nothing will alter from what I started with, but usually [...] this process means I do a lot of tweaking. [...] If the section of the story that I am looking for does not exist in what I consider to be an appropriate form, I have no qualms about inventing a line, or even whole verses to get the song into the shape I need.[23]

Clearly, the burgeoning of print and electronic resources allows the modern performer a wealth of comparative reference not open to earlier performers. Kirkpatrick's procedures are comparatively widespread among singers, and my own are exactly the same. This opens up another stage of recomposition by each individual performer, with a wider range of access to recorded practice in both written and oral (but electronically recorded) forms. The modern revivalist practitioner is also often a practical scholar. It is a culmination of the comparative process for which the publication of F. J. Child's *English and Scottish Ballads* in

1857-9 was a milestone. This marked a change in conceptions of ballad scholarship as well as opening up, with later editions, a huge range of comparative texts for the literate. It also opens up a minefield with regard to the Performing Rights Society and the licensing of spaces for performance in Britain. Paradoxically, one is in a sounder position legally if performing a personally-penned 'fake' ballad than if performing one learnt orally. Susan Stewart cites the *Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* as authority for denying the possibility of creating traditional-type ballads ('no verse of this sort can be produced under the conditions of modern life' quoted in Stewart, p. 102) but the only one of the four parts of the definition offered that does prevent this is the notion of submission to oral tradition. A wide receptive knowledge of tradition and an internalisation of its parameters enables a productive competence in John Kirkpatrick, and, indeed, in me, when composing, adapting or performing.

Nevertheless, both for us and for the writers discussed in *BSS* there are mental barriers that have to be put aside when literate composers imitate what did not arise as primarily a literary form. The use of formulae has seemed anathema to post-Romantic views of originality, though the simplistic assumption that the Romantic period invented the modern conception of originality is now being reviewed. The relations between primary 'creative' production and re-production are interrogated by Rob Pope in general terms that are particularly relevant to pastiche of forms with formulaic elements like the traditional ballad.[24] The specifics of formulaic creation are discussed from a folklorist's viewpoint by James H. Jones, Flemming G. Andersen, and Ruth Finnegan. Jones argues that a knowledge of commonplaces and set phrases allowed singers in the oral tradition to create 'new commonplace-like lines' and hence 'achieve originality by improvising'.[25] In a more highly theorized piece citing case grammar and dependency grammar concepts, Andersen sees the formulas as the (second-level) 'grammatical components of the specialized poetic language' and 'proper ballad formulas' as 'more or less variable actualisations of single deep structures', with an emphasis on actions as a result of making the verb the keystone of that grammar (Andersen, pp. 9, 26).[26] He also sees ballad formulae as fulfilling a 'supra-narrative' function by evolving certain

overtones through their repeated occurrence in comparable situations, and argues that 'the supra-narrative level is where the singer may perhaps best display his talent as an individual interpreter of the tradition' (p. 33). Rethinking the processes of ballad composition in a more sophisticated way can therefore take us beyond the prejudices against supposed crudeness and poverty voiced by Scott. It may therefore be easier for later folk song scholars to write traditional-looking ballads than for writers with some sense of liminality between oral and print traditions to do so, whatever their sense of the nature of progress.

The Appendix presents two examples of my own ballad pastiche. The first, 'King Barbary', originated from a suggestion from Dave Townsend (the co-producer, with me, of *The Mellstock Quire*) that the story of King Barbarossa would make a good ballad. For a practitioner with ten years experience, as I then was, composing the song was a relatively brief exercise occupying about an afternoon, using a known tune for 'Sir Patrick Spens', which dictated the verse form. However, it took about ten times longer to write the explication given here, because this involved tracing examples of a number of formulae internalised by long acquaintance. The aim was to retain the primacy of the story, but naturalised as if for an audience ignorant of Continental history and geography, to use largely common core vocabulary characteristic of the period at which many Child ballads gained print currency (i.e. the eighteenth/nineteenth century) without being incomprehensible to a modern folk club audience, to use formulae but with some freshness of adaptation to the dramatic situation, and to reproduce some of the metrical and rhyme features of the sung ballad. The colour coding of the appendix version indicates examples of these features, with reference to analogues in recorded tradition, mostly from Child.

In terms of the theory, I can demonstrate that I know how to organise formulaic features into a ballad. However, it was worth testing whether such a composition could appear convincing in practice. Could it be integrated into a (revivalist) traditional performance matrix without causing a sense of discontinuity? To test this, I conducted a small questionnaire survey in the early months of 2003 in the Oxford Folk Club and Chipping Norton Folk Club. The subject was my

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redaction of 'Captain Kid's Farewell to the Seas' (*Oxford Book of Sea Songs* p. 75), designed to reduce the twenty-two-verse original into a more manageable compass. The methodology and results are presented in detail in the Appendix, but overall it was clear that the experienced amateur or semi-professional performers of traditional song who participated in the questionnaire were unable to distinguish unerringly between my own composition and that of the earlier 'goodnight' ballad. Indeed, there was a slight bias in favour of the idea that my own writing appears more traditional than tradition.

The exercises detailed in the Appendix demonstrate through praxis that convincing pastiches can be generated by a modern writer. To do so needs knowledge. The theory of the false intertext can thus be linked to a practice of composition based on internalised experience of tradition which works in tandem with empirical scholarly research. In principle, the completely successful false intertext is achievable (though its success would always be unrecognised). *BSS* engages with those areas where play spills over into misrepresentation, and it had its origins in the critical faculties honed by performance.

8. Conclusion

The body of published work submitted here is unique in its interdisciplinary application of folksong studies and literary criticism. It extends work on allusion in nineteenth-century prose to popular material seldom studied in depth because of its protean nature and, on occasion, its indecency. Detailed scholarship establishes the probable sources of folk and popular song allusion in a wide range of Romantic and Victorian realist writing. The appendices present for the first time the musical context of a Scott set piece, and a printed version of Hardy's collection of folk songs. This factual research alone serves to dispel earlier misconceptions about some authors' work; for example, it proves that where Hardy makes specific reference to actual folk song this is hardly ever to the tragic ballads that are supposed to have influenced him.

The presence of a detailed, thorough account of sources within one volume enables comparisons between works making explicit or implicit claims to be representing the life of the labouring classes truthfully. The book's main focus is the examination of the differing ways and degrees to which all of the authors discussed are appropriating and mediating the traditional or popular intertexts (sometimes for purely playful purposes) to suit audiences whose social interests they share. By using a Bakhtinian discourse analysis, *Ballads, Songs and Snatches* demonstrates a link in fiction between knowledge of tradition and layers of rewarding textual density. The major case studies are of Walter Scott and Thomas Hardy. The book also exposes the more perfunctory and sometimes misleading practices of other writers. The conclusions about the relative conservatism of those discussed are consonant with established views, but the method of demonstrating this, through the discussion of the use of the largely labouring-class verbal art of traditional song, is one not attempted on this scale before.

Some fiction and non-fiction writers are shown to seek to embody working-class culture in verses that appear in the text as quotations from a traditional source, but which have actually been composed wholly or

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substantially by the authors. These thus appear to be intertextual evidence from objective historical sources, but they are not. Such compositions I have named 'false intertexts'. This new term contributes to the suite of ways in which we can conceptualize the relations between the authority claims made in texts and the responses of their readers. It can also be related to the expansion of forgery studies, though the book's consideration of the effect of deceptive allusion within a matrix of realist writing involves a different kind of analysis from investigations into how individual works can be considered as fraudulent *texts*.

All these instances of actual or pretended allusion allow for a variety of response according to the knowledge of the reader. A realisation of the significance of the radical and sexual subtexts inherent in either the quoted words or the original songs is dependent on recognition of the source. *BSS* and 'The Cheek of the Young Person' undermine simplistic assumptions about the homogeneity of the implied nineteenth-century high-culture audience and demonstrate ways in which Scott, Dickens and Thackeray deliberately exploit gender-based differences in knowledge. This interest in potential readership response is expanded in 'With Mike Hunt', in which the informed modern critic is presented as complicit in the sexual innuendo of the discourse of song-and-supper clubs, and as forming part of an audience for a continuing strand of subversive and highly gendered subculture that demands a nuancing of Raymond Williams's influential three-fold model of ideological development.

Thus, *BSS* and the two articles use what appears to be a relatively narrow focus on folk and popular performance material as the basis of analyses that address central critical concerns: questions about nineteenth-century class and gender ideology, and questions about received constructions of audience and of critical distancing.

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APPENDIX
Ballad Writing by the Author as Practitioner

Key

BROWN for reconstructions of conceptual limitation

BLUE for mild archaisms in individual vocabulary items or grammatical structures

PINK for phrasing and narrative units that are demonstrably formulaic

GREEN for formal features of the versification and structures characteristic of

ballads

C numbers refer to standard numbering in F. J. Child's *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* and Roud numbers to the Roud Folk Song Index database available electronically via

http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/query.cgi?query=

KING BARBARY [C177, where 'Barbarye' is the home of the Muslims; as a name, see C100D, where the hero has just come from Spain]

King Barbary has made a vow

For to fight with the heathens in Spain

[archaic expansion of conjunction introducing subordinated infinitive structure]

[C60: 'The kyng of Spayne is a foule paynim, And 'leeveth on Mahound'; vagueness of geography in C53A and C53B]

And he's builded himself a bonny brown ship

[archaized weak verb formation]

[building of ship C252A]

For to carry him over the main.

The King, he sat in his high court hall

 [duplication of grammatical subject]

 A-drinking the blood red wine.

 [indication of luxury with ominous overtones, C58A, etc.]

There was music and minstrels and dancing and all,

 [ironic contrast between public and private feeling, C16A]

 And the lords and the ladies so fine.

'Oh, who will leave High Germany

 [Continental Germanic states, as opposed to the Lowlands; see Roud nos 904 and

 1445; for a text of the latter, C. Sharp (ed.) *English County Songs*, p. 12]

 And will leave all his gear and his gain?

 [alliteration]

And who will leave his lady so fair

 For to fight with the heathen in Spain?'

*And then up spoke his little lords all,

 [*incremental repetition]

 [formal speech introduction]

 [Roud no. 2172; influential rendering of C58 by revivalist singer]

 By one, by two, by three,

 [C74B, C260A]

'Oh, it's we will leave our ladies and our land,

 [alliteration]

 And we'll sail to a far country.'

*And then up spoke his lady fair,

 [minimal reversal of word order; archaic]

 With the salt tear in her eye,

 [C41A, C83D, C226B, C252A]

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'Oh, if you go to sea, to sea,

    [phrasal repetition for emphasis]

       I fear that you all must die.

♠For I dreamed a dream the other night,

      And I vow it grieves me sair;

        [prophetic dream of disaster, C161C, C178A]

        [dialectal spelling]

I saw the little fishes swim o'er your armour so bright

[an example of a highly hypermetrical line—14 syllables instead of 8—which can

nevertheless be fitted into the tune isochronically]

      And the green weed in your hair.'

  [assonance]

[♠drowned lover returns in dream: 'the salt sea weed was in his hair', some

versions of Roud no. 681, 'Lowlands']

♣So he's gone down to his bonny brown ship

      And he's put her to the fire

And he's called out to his stable groom

      To saddle his bonny brown mare.

  [♣command to saddle and contrast between horses, C200B, C209D, C222A]

  [commendation and horse colour, C63B]

'And here is to my lady fair--

      For it's long ere I'll be home—

Here are the keys of the kingdom,' he said,

      To keep until I come.'

[handing over control of estate to partner, C93A; key to kingdom of High Germany

C288A]

♥ 'And it's how shall I know when you're far, far away

If you want for anything?'

'I'll send you a man and I'll send you a boy,

And I'll send you a gay gold ring.'

[♥stanza combines narrative units of communication at a distance: boy as messenger, C91A, C99A; gay gold ring as token from distant lover, C5A, C92A, C107A, C252A]

[incremental repetition]

And he's rode south and he's rode west,

And he's rode south again

[geographical triad, C215A; varied directions of travel, C69F, C112A]

Until that he came to the bonny broad stream

That runs 'twixt France and Spain.

♦And the very first step that the brown mare took,

The water, it came to the bridle,

And the very next step that the brown mare took,

The water rose over the saddle.

[incremental repetition]

[♦disastrous forcing of horse into stream, 215D, 216A]

But he gave her the whip and he gave her the spur,

And he drove her farther in,

And the water rushed high and the water rushed low,

[repetition of syllabic and grammatical structure]

And it parted the mare from him.

[litotes effected by indirect account of character's death, C216A, C161B]

When twelve long months were passed and gone,

Twelve long months and one day,

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[traditional time interval, C91C, C92A]
There's come home to his lady fair
    A young man and a boy.

'It's news, it's news from King Barbary
  [formal introduction of tidings, C250A]
    That his brown mare is drowned in the stream,
And he'll never come back for to tell you it himself,
  [indirect account of death, C49A, C72A, C216A]
    But he sends you a gay gold ring.'
[as verse 9]

For three long nights and three long days
    The salt tear filled her eye,
[as verse 5; and specifically for the dead, C83D]
And it's not that my love is dead, she said,
    But it's I that gar'd him die.
[archaism]

Now she and her love lie both in one guise
[archaism]
    And their eyes both wet and cold,
But his are wet with the stream water
    And hers are wet with the salt.
[imperfect rhyme]

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CAPTAIN KIDD

My name is Captain Kidd, I did sail, I did sail,
My name is Captain Kidd, I did sail.
    My name is Captain Kidd;
    What the laws did still forbid
Unluckily I did while I sailed, while I sailed.

Because I showed no fear, England's King ...
    Listed me a privateer
And out of London we did steer, when we sailed.

All the money of my own I did spend ...
    But the Parliament and Crown
Not penny would lay down to help us sail

So my crew for to maintain as we sailed ...
    I robbed all ships on the main
And much treasure I did gain, as I sailed.

Many leagues from shore, as I sailed ...
    I murdered Thomas Moore
And I laid him in his gore, as I sailed.

Because a word he spoke as I sailed ...
    His cursed skull I broke
With a bucket, at one stroke, as I sailed.

Two French ships we did seize as we sailed ...
    And we brought them to their knees,
Foes by all the law's decrees, as we sailed.

But we taken were at last for piracy ...
  And into prison cast
And the sentence it was passed, we must die.

Some thousands they did flock to see us die ...
  Into Execution Dock
Where we did stand the shock and did die.

Now my corpse lies in the mould in prison ground ...
  But those who seek my gold
Will find my ghost a sword can hold for evermore.

Copyright C. M. Jackson-Houlston, 13.12.2002
For original see Roy Palmer, *The Oxford Book of Sea Songs*, 75-80.

Method

The rewriting sought to reduce the 22-verse original to 10 verses, as a length more acceptable to modern audiences. The tune used is that commonly employed for 'Admiral Benbow'; it is well-known, and invites audience participation (including spontaneous harmonies). I took five verses of the original and composed another five on the basis of the original and the brief biography of the seventeenth-century pirate given by Roy Palmer. The questionnaire was distributed immediately before performance of the piece. The eight respondents who volunteered were all experienced performers whose repertoire includes traditional material, but none of them knew the original words. They were told simply that some of the verses were from an early broadside ballad and some by me (not that there was a 50/50 split), and asked to allot each verse to either the original or to me. Forms were anonymised, and there were no ethics issues.

Although slightly complicated by a respondent who decided to introduce a 'don't know' category, the results show that the respondents were all unable to

distinguish unerringly between my own composition and that of the earlier 'goodnight' ballad. On average, 47% of the judgements were correct, a figure very close to the 50% that would have been achieved by random guesswork, with a slight bias in favour of the 'traditionality' of my own composition. Only half realised that I had written the final verse, in spite of the fact that its content is unballadic (though it is firmly based on folk*lore*) because it moves away from the conventional closure of a 'goodnight' with the hero's death and/or moral exhortation to avoid his faults. My version gives him a post-mortem existence as a ghost. Clearly, the traditional phrasing 'now my corpse lies in the mould' and anxieties about the bestowal of the body 'in prison ground' were sufficient to carry the audience across the genre uncertainty.

Questionnaire Analysis

'/' = correct; 'x' = incorrect

Verse	Source	Respondent 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total % correct
1	Anon	/	/	/	/	/	x	?	/	75
2	CJH	x	x	x	x	x	/	?	x	12.5
3	CJH	x	/	/	x	x	/	/	x	50
4	CJH	/	x	/	/	/	/	?	/	75
5	Anon	x	x	/	/	x	x	?	/	37.5
6	Anon	x	x	/	/	/	x	?	x	37.5
7	CJH	x	/	/	x	/	/	x	x	50
8	Anon	/	/	/	/	x	x	/	x	62.5
9	Anon	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	12.5
10	CJH	/	x	/	x	x	/	?	/	50
% correct		40	40	90	50	40	60	20	40	