Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Media History

ISSN: 1368-8804 (Print) 1469-9729 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cmeh20

Ploughboys and soldiers: The folk song and the gramophone in the british expeditionary force 1914–1918

Nicholas Hiley

To cite this article: Nicholas Hiley (1998) Ploughboys and soldiers: The folk song and the gramophone in the british expeditionary force 1914–1918, Media History, 4:1, 61-76, DOI: 10.1080/13688809809357936

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/13688809809357936

Ploughboys and Soldiers: the folk song and the gramophone in the British Expeditionary Force 1914–1918

NICHOLAS HILEY, *Head of Information, British Universities Film & Video Council, London*

Jack Dunn, son of a gun, over in France to-day,
Keeps fit, doing his bit, up to his eyes in clay;
Each night, after a fight, to pass the time along,
He's got a little gramophone that plays this song:

[CHORUS] Take me back to dear old Blighty,
Put me on the train for London Town.
Take me over there, drop me anywhere,
Liverpool, Leeds or Birmingham—well I don't care!
I should love to see my best girl,
Cuddleing up again we soon shall be;
Whoa! Tiddley-iddley-ighty, hurry me home to Blighty;
Blighty is the place for me.

These are the opening lines of 'Take Me Back to Dear Old Blighty', a song written and composed by A.J. Mills, Fred Godfrey, and Bennett Scott, and published by the Star Music Publishing Company in 1916 [1]. Soon afterwards the song was converted into a set of four illustrated postcards by the Bamforth company, who were careful to include two which showed the smiling Jack Dunn in a trench with his cigarette, his copy of the *Daily Mail*, and his wind-up Decca gramophone, dreaming of home. This image of the British soldier with his gramophone would not have surprised contemporaries, but, like the image of the soldier enjoying his *Daily Mail*, it has been sadly neglected by historians. It is time to recognize the enormous importance of recorded music both for communicating values and expressing emotions among the soldiers of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) [2].

These soldiers came from a culture in which the gramophone figured prominently. The market for recorded sound was surprisingly large. In 1904 some 600,000 recordings were sold in Britain, the majority of them 2-minute wax phonograph cylinders, but the next 10 years saw a substantial increase in demand as the public turned increasingly to gramophones, with their more robust disc recordings. In order to encourage the mass market for discs the Gramophone Company launched its budget Zonophone label, a series of 10-inch records that originally appeared at 3/6*d*. and later dropped to 2/6*d*. each. Between 1904 and 1914 some 9 million Zonophone records were pressed, and the Gramophone Company marketed them through a wide range of outlets, including tobacconists, bicycle dealers, and hardware shops. By 1914 the British public was buying

1368-8804/98/010061-16

4,000,000 recordings a year, the majority of them 4-minute discs, and access to recorded culture was no longer expensive [3].

This flood of cheap gramophone records helped to consolidate the reputations of popular performers such as Harry Lauder, the Scottish music-hall comedian. Lauder's songs were released on both the Zonophone and His Master's Voice labels, and the scale of his success as a recording artist is shown by the fact that in 1908 alone some 90,000 of his records were sold in the British market [4]. A dozen of them appeared in the Zonophone catalogue for 1912, along with some 900 other double-sided discs, with music ranging from 'Rose of My Heart', sung by Cynlais Gibbs, to 'Don't Sing a Song About a Rose to Me', sung by Billy Williams [5]. Access to recorded music had never been easier. In 1912 it was possible to buy a gramophone for as little as 30/–, whilst 5/– down and 5/– a month for nine months would make you the proud owner of a gramophone, ten 10-inch records, and 200 needles [6]. It has been estimated that by the outbreak of war there were around 3,000,000 disc machines in Britain, indicating that one household in three owned a gramophone of some sort [7].

The outbreak of war severely reduced the supply of machines, but it produced a significant increase in the purchase of records. The Gramophone Company alone saw its sales rise from 3,300,000 records in 1913 to 5,000,000 in 1919, and a significant number of these found their way to the BEF [8]. The history of this commercial recorded music has never been adequately written. Much greater emphasis has been placed on the soldiers' own compositions, especially their parodies and protest songs, until these have come to seem the only music truly expressive of the mood of the BEF. This prejudice against commercial recorded music is remarkable, but it is perhaps not surprising, for, even in 1914, there was a noticeable tension between what middle-class observers considered to be the true music of the people, namely folk music, and what we can now recognize as the actual music of the people, namely commercial popular songs largely disseminated through the gramophone.

The 20 years before 1914 had seen a considerable revival of middle-class interest in the countryside, and in the medium of folk song. This ruralism was a reaction to the development of urban mass society, and to the decline of the countryside which accompanied it. Paradoxically, the decline of the countryside was of enormous importance to the rural revival, for it allowed the middle-class ruralists to buy cheap abandoned cottages in which to satisfy their dreams of a simple life, and yet, through the railways, to keep in touch with their urban roots. The rural revival was nevertheless a revolt against modernity, and in particular against the life of the towns. In 1893 the artist Walter Crane spoke for many ruralists when he argued against urbanization and 'the hurried life of modern towns in which huge aggregations of humanity exist' [9].

Part of this attack on modern mass society was an assault on commercial song writing. In 1899, in his inaugural address as chairman of the Folk-Song Society, Sir Hubert Parry delivered a stinging criticism of commercial songs. He condemned modern popular music as 'unclean', 'repulsive', and 'insidious', full of 'sham', 'got-up glitter', and 'vulgarity'. He attacked it as part of 'the sordid vulgarity of our great city-populations': 'If one thinks of the outer circumference of our terribly overgrown towns where the jerry-builder holds sway; where one sees all around the tawdriness of sham jewellery and shoddy clothes, pawnshops and flaming gin-palaces; where stale fish and the miserable piles of Covent Garden refuse which pass for vegetables are offered for food—all such things suggest to one's mind the boundless regions of sham.' Parry included the music-hall song in his condemnation of this world of tawdry commercial-

ism, claiming that it was 'made with a commercial intention out of snippets of musical slang' [10].

The Folk-Song Society was an attempt to rescue the true music of the English people before it was finally swamped by the advance of this urban commercialism. The great theorist of early folk-song collecting was Cecil Sharp, a London music teacher who first encountered folk singing in 1903, at the age of 44. Sharp turned his face against the commercial songs of the music hall and began collecting folk songs during the school holidays. He also developed the theory of folk singing in his 1907 book *English Folk-Song: some conclusions*, where he took as the basis of his theory 'the English peasant', whom he regarded as 'the bed-rock of the national character' [11]. According to Sharp, the peasant had not been touched by the development of urban culture, with its international influences, and thus remained a repository of racial characteristics and a possible source of inspiration for a truly English musical style.

As an opponent of urbanization and industrialization, Sharp was eager to make a distinction between what he called the 'town song' and the 'country song'. He dismissed the town song as 'the debased street music of the vulgar', and condemned as corrupt all those people who 'vulgarise themselves and others by singing coarse music-hall songs'. One of the most important characteristics of the town song was its composition by a single individual, for Sharp felt that this naturally produced songs which were limited both in outlook and appeal, and which reflected commercial pressures rather than communal values. In his opinion this form of composition also encouraged vulgarity, and he regarded coarse lyrics as an infallible sign that a song was an individual rather than a communal production [12].

In contrast to this commercialism, Sharp defined the 'country song' as 'the instinctive music of the common people', and he described its composition as a complex process involving the whole community. He admitted that these folk songs had initially been composed by individuals, but he described how they were then refined by the community, as different variations were produced by different singers and in response to different audiences. According to Sharp, only those variations that found general favour would be preserved and repeated [13], and the songs which survived were thus not individual compositions, but 'the spontaneous product of the sub-conscious mind of the community' [14].

A key element in Sharp's distinction between the 'town song' and the 'country song' was a belief that folk song was an oral tradition, and that folk singers had thus not been corrupted by mass literacy. One of the important developments in folk-song collecting in the 1900s was indeed the growing belief that folk song belonged to an oral culture that was insulated from the corruption of the towns. This had not always been the case, for, 20 years earlier, Sabine Baring Gould had often been assured by folk singers that their ancestors had not only composed their own tunes, but had sometimes fitted them to words 'acquired from a broadside' [15]. However, this interpretation was anathema to Sharp and his followers, who regarded broadside ballads as the work of 'the literary hacks of the towns', capable only of corrupting the pure folk-song tradition [16].

The question of literacy was very important to the folk-song collectors, for they wanted to return to a time when society had been stable and deferential, and they associated that stability with oral rather than with written culture. General literacy was seen as a corrupting influence intimately associated with industrialization and urbanization, and the middle-class ruralists of the 1890s attempted to find the stability and deference that they wanted in an oral culture that they believed still survived in rural areas.

As a result, the myth of the illiterate folk singer grew in strength. As might be expected, contemporary folk singers possessed not only manuscript notes of songs, but also collections of printed ballad sheets and newspaper clippings containing the words to songs in their repertoire. However, the collectors were so insistent upon folk memory that these resources were carefully concealed, as folk singers realized that it was better to appear to have a considerable memory than a large collection of ballads [17]. The folk singers were obliged to fit into a pattern of oral transmission, and one collector, Lucy Broadwood, went to great lengths to imply that one of her principal sources was illiterate, although the words to almost all of his songs had already appeared in print [18].

By the 1910s folk-song collectors were insisting that the 'country song' was not only 'born of the people', but also 'that "the people", in this instance, stands for a stratum of society where education of a literary kind is, in a greater or lesser degree, absent' [19]. The illiterate peasant became a vital part of folk-song theory, and yet the whole idea of 'the English peasant' was a myth, for, by the time that the folk-song collectors began work, there were no subsistence-farming peasants in southern England, only rural wage labourers [20]. The mythical qualities of Sharp's analysis did not go unnoticed at the time, and one reviewer attacked his vision of a rural idyll, condemning the simplicity of folk song as nothing more than the simplicity 'bred in men who have happened to live in a simple environment' [21]. Yet the myth of folk song as the song of the people endured.

Folk-song collection was thus a complex process, for the aim was to preserve only those songs that fitted Sharp's definition of a 'country song'. The collector Maud Karpeles recalled how in the 1900s a singer would not at first produce these songs, but 'more often than not he would have to unload a selection of Victorian ballads before the eagerly awaited folk song rose to the surface' [22]. It was also necessary to filter out the singer's favourite vulgar songs, for these could not be printed and in any case were considered to reflect the corruption of the towns. Alfred Williams thus recalled how, as a collector in the 1910s, he encountered 'many "rough" songs': 'I have more than once, on being told an indelicate song, had great difficulty in persuading the rustic, my informant, that I could not show the piece, and therefore I should not write it. "But why not?", I have been asked. "There was nothing wrong with that."' [23]

Sharp followed this pattern in his collecting, and not only filtered out music-hall songs, but also made changes in the songs he collected to make them consistent with his own sensibilities and with the folk-song ideal [24]. Folk singers were also expected to show deference to the middle-class folk-song collectors, who were not willing to listen to any opposing views. In 1907 Cecil Sharp and Francis Etherington thus visited an Exmoor shopkeeper who was reputed to be 'a good singer of old songs', but were disappointed to find that all he knew were commercial songs. In addition, Sharp was disgusted to find that the man was 'a talkative politician of a rather Jingo sort', and, being a Fabian Socialist, he got into an argument with him before leaving in a huff [25].

This method of folk-song collection and improvement naturally shaped attitudes to mechanical recording. In 1899 Sir Hubert Parry had urged the Folk-Song Society to use the phonograph in preserving the old tunes [26], but British folk-song collectors were slow to adopt this instrument, and remained suspicious of any form of recording equipment [27]. In 1908 Percy Grainger wrote an article for the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, which openly praised mechanical recording as the best way to preserve old tunes. As he observed, many folk singers 'were familiar with gramophones and phonographs in public-houses and elsewhere' and, as a result, this method of collection

had become 'far less upsetting ... than having their songs noted in the ordinary way' [28]. Yet phonographs were still little used by folk-song collectors, who preferred to believe that their informants were insulated from commercial gramophone culture.

Cecil Sharp and his followers consistently resisted mechanical recording. It is probable that ruralists such as Sharp mistrusted the phonograph as a piece of industrial machinery, but an additional problem was the fact that the phonograph did not allow the collector to mediate between the folk singer and the wider public. In 1908 Sharp thus wrote to Grainger to explain that mechanical recording had a number of drawbacks in folk-song collection, for the true artist recorded not what was in front of him, 'but only that part of it that he sees, and even that, not *as it is*, but as it *appears* to him'. The folk-song collector Anne Gilchrist agreed with this view, declaring in the same year that a trained musician could transcribe a folk song 'with more real *truth*' than a recording machine [29]. In other words, the problem with the phonograph was that it did not permit the collectors to impose their own idea of folk music upon the material they were collecting.

The folk-song collectors wished to use their retrieved material as the basis of a new, national musical culture, but there was a paradox in their attitude to the urban masses who were to learn this music through schools and concerts. Cecil Sharp and his followers might believe that they could teach their idea of folk song to the urban working classes but, in fact, the urban working classes had already rejected folk song in favour of the lively musical culture of the music halls. Indeed, if we look at the prevailing forms of mass entertainment in the towns, such as the music hall, we do not find any yearning for the countryside. When the countryside appeared on the music-hall stage of the 1890s and 1900s it was a profoundly unattractive place, which the characters in music-hall songs and sketches 'were extremely reluctant to visit, and ... fled whenever they happened accidentally to get there' [30].

Far from being the repository of true English values, the countryman was regarded as an uneducated bumpkin. Gus Elen's song 'The Cockney's Garden', better known as 'If it Wasn't for the 'Ouses in Between', is a fine example of the music-hall's contempt for the countryside. This song was premiered in 1894 at the start of the middle-class rural revival, and it tells of a cockney who gets middle-class rural pretensions in his terraced house [31]. The song ends with the following verse and chorus:

> I wears this milk-man's nightshirt, and I sits outside all day,
> Like the plough-boy cove who's mizzled o'er the Lea;
> And when I goes indoors at night, they dunno what I say,
> 'Cause my language gets all yokel as can be.
>
> [CHORUS] Oh! it really is a werry pretty garden,
> And soap-works from the 'ouse-tops could be seen;
> If I got a rope and pulley,
> I'd enjoy the breeze more fully,
> If it wasn't for the 'ouses in between. [32]

On the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 it was this musical heritage, not that of folk song, which supported the popular culture of the BEF. The British soldiers relished the irreverent, the nonsensical, and the ephemeral, much to the disgust of those who wished them to have more manageable musical tastes. As one military musician later observed, the ordinary soldier's musical tastes were formed by 'the barrel organ, the gramophone, the cinematograph orchestra and the music hall': 'When he does sing, it is as a rule the ephemeral trash of the music halls or the latest sentimental ballad, from

which, after a short six months at most, he turns with loathing, and it is no more heard.' [33]

A good example of this 'ephemeral trash' was the song 'It's a Long Way To Tipperary', which came to epitomize the soldier's musical tastes, but has been much misunderstood. 'Tipperary' was not strictly a wartime song, for it was composed around 1910 by a fishmonger and music-hall comic named Jack Judge, with assistance from Harry Williams. Their sentimental song about the loved ones left behind was rejected by several music publishers but, in 1912, it was finally bought by B. Feldman and Co. of London, who made their own slight alterations before putting it on the market. However, 'Tipperary' enjoyed only a minor success and the sheet music sold very slowly before the outbreak of war in August 1914 [34].

The regular troops of the British Expeditionary Force certainly knew 'Tipperary', but it was only one of a repertoire of songs that included such old favourites as 'Soldiers of the Queen' and 'Good-Bye, Dolly Gray'. In fact, according to one ex-soldier, 'it is doubtful whether "Tipperary" was then more popular ... than any other of a dozen songs which served their purpose as good marching tunes' [35]. However, in August 1914 George Curnock, a war correspondent for the *Daily Mail*, heard the soldiers of the BEF singing 'Tipperary' as they passed through Boulogne, and, although he did not know the song, he decided to feature it in his dispatch [36]. Lord Northcliffe, the proprietor of the *Daily Mail*, recognized the symbolic value of the song and, as one *Daily Mail* employee noted, gave instructions that his paper was 'to boom it, to print the music so that everybody shall know it' [37]. The song quickly became associated with the BEF. When 'Tipperary' was released as an Edison Bell Winner record in September 1914, along with 'Hello! Hello! Who's Your Lady Friend', the catalogue publicity noted that 'our lads made these songs their refrain on arriving at Boulogne': 'We need not apologise for including them.' The Gramophone Company even issued a studio reconstruction of 'British Troops Passing Through Boulogne', which featured the soldiers singing 'Tipperary' [38].

'Tipperary' thus received enormous publicity, and by the end of November 1914 more than 2,000,000 copies of the sheet music had been sold [39]. Yet its appeal with the BEF quickly faded. The soldiers' musical culture depended on a high turnover of ephemeral songs and, as one soldier admitted, '"Tipperary" was never greatly sung': 'It merely "happened" that George Curnock heard "Tipperary" instead of another equally popular, which the same troops started up a few miles farther on.' [40] The enormous domestic popularity of the song also helped to kill it off with the soldiers, who grew tired of having it forced upon them by every recruiting band and patriotic performer. 'Before the end of 1914', recalled one writer, 'the new Armies were nauseated; even Colonial troops very rarely sang it after June, 1915': 'Attempts to start it were often howled and whistled down.' [41] If the song survived in the BEF after 1915 it was only in soldiers' parodies such as 'That's the Wrong Way to Tickle Marie' [42].

The example of 'Tipperary' shows how easy it was to misinterpret soldiers' songs. The soldiers of the BEF relished the constantly changing pattern of commercial popular songs, and took from it what they needed to express their different moods. In the case of 'Tipperary' it was a certain wistfulness, but by 1915 this song had been supplanted by other compositions such as 'Let the Great Big World Keep Turning', 'Keep the Home Fires Burning', and 'The Long, Long Trail'. 'If You Were the Only Girl in the World', which George Robey and Violet Loraine sang in *The Bing Boys* in 1916, was said to be familiar to every man who was of military age during the war and, when Columbia published its first list of best-selling records in October 1916, it is not surprising that it

included Robey and Loraine singing 'If You Were the Only Girl in the World', along with 'The Long, Long Trail' and 'Pack Up Your Troubles'. These dream-like pieces of romantic escapism were very popular with the BEF. It is noticeable that very few of the soldier's own compositions were of a sentimental type, but, as one writer admitted, this was 'partly because he was so well supplied by the music halls with tearful ballads' [43].

The concept of soldiers' songs became better established during the war, as can be seen from the releases of the Columbia Gramophone Company on its cheap Regal label. This label was launched in February 1914 with 10-inch records costing just 1/6*d*., and in May 1915 Columbia released two sides of 'War Marching Songs' on the Regal label, played by the King's Military Band [44]. These were well-established brass band favourites, such as 'British Grenadiers', but in September 1915 the company released a 'Medley of War Songs', played on the concertina by Albert Prince, which was obviously designed to reflect the current wartime taste. These included 'Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts for Soldiers' and 'Here We Are Again', both of which were to have enduring popularity in collections of wartime songs [45]. The record itself did not identify these as specifically soldiers' songs, but in June 1917 the Columbia company released a Regal record of the 'Silver Stars Band' playing its '1917 Medley: The Songs the Boys are Singing'. This medley of eight commercial songs included such durable favourites as 'Pack Up Your Troubles', and was clearly designed to reflect the musical tastes of the BEF as a coherent market [46].

The BEF was indeed an important and coherent market for popular songs, linked to, but nevertheless separate from, the London market. As ever, the soldier on leave needed ephemeral entertainment, and the London revues and musical comedies flourished during the war. However, as one ex-serviceman recalled, when the British soldier returned to the trenches 'he had one consolation which was not available for soldiers in earlier wars—he had the gramophone, and it was for him a link with, and a reminder of, home': 'A good many men who wearied their comrades with the endless repetition of a single piece were content to be regarded by them as brainless monomaniacs, for the music was in reality a sort of magic incantation which took them back temporarily to a magic night or a magic hour of the last leave.' [47]

The British soldier's musical instrument was the gramophone, and it was in this form that much popular music was transmitted to the soldiers of the BEF. One officer recalled receiving a portable Decca gramophone and six records 'while the battalion was in reserve billets at Bouzincourt, near Albert, in January 1917'. One of the records was a double-sided Zonophone of 'Where My Caravan has Rested' and 'A Little Love, a Little Kiss', played by Elsie and Dorothy Southgate, and he recalled the 'honest pleasure' with which the officers' mess received it: 'I wish Miss Southgate and her sister could have seen us sitting in one of those incredible billets and sopping up the sugary melodies with shameless delight.' As he admitted, their whole routine was changed by the coming of the gramophone:

> Our beloved colonel ... was quickly converted to the Decca, and in his autocratic way began to insist on hearing his favourite records every evening, till our music became as much a matter of routine as the evening reports from the orderly room or the last whisky and soda before bedtime ... No one went on leave without bringing back records, we ordered a good many by post, and we never had the heart to get rid of any; but on the contrary we 'made' a large pile of rather indifferent ones which some other battalion had been forced to dump in a billet that we took over. The Decca was a serious addition to the

> load of the mess cart, but ... whenever we came out of the front line, at two, three or four o'clock in the morning, we had to hear 'Let the Great Big World Keep Turning', or the 'Tristan Liebestod' ... or the 'Kreutzer Sonata' ... or a particularly jolly piece of restaurant music called 'Dandy', which I had brought back from Paris leave, or something similar, that seemed to suit our mood of relief and exhaustion, before we turned in to bed. [48]

The repetition of this pattern throughout the army meant that the BEF required a constant supply of new songs from London. As the soldier returning to the front waved goodbye to his family and friends, recalled one ex-serviceman, it was a certainty 'that in his kit he took back with him a record of "Everybody Calls Me Teddy" or some such foolish song, and insisted on playing it so often that his friends became weary of it and him' [49]. At the very least a soldier returning from leave was expected to be able to sing snatches of the latest songs from the London revues, even if he had not yet been able to obtain the gramophone record [50].

Yet light review songs were not the only ones brought back to the BEF. By 1917 the soldier on leave did not have much enthusiasm for songs with military themes. 'He did not think these things to be in bad taste', recalled one soldier, 'but he did not particularly want to be reminded of what had become the routine of his daily life': 'He was amused by the oddities of war-time life at home, and, when rationing had been instituted, he adored hearing Heather Thatcher sing 'Coupons for Kisses'. But he was not moved by any more patriotic appeals or denunciations of the enemy. While he was on leave he wanted to get away from all that.' [51] By 1917 there was evident war-weariness in such popular songs as 'Carry Me Back to Dear Old Blighty' and 'Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag', and this spirit was amplified in soldiers' parodies such as 'I Wore a Tunic', based on the song 'I Wore a Tulip', and 'Hush! Here Comes a Whizz-Bang', a parody of the revue song 'Hush! Here Comes the Dream Man'. 'I Wore a Tunic' was supposedly directed at civilian munition workers doing well out of the war, and began:

> I wore a tunic,
> A dirty khaki-tunic,
> And you wore civilian clothes.
> I fought and bled at Loos
> While you were on the booze,
> The booze that no one here knows. [52]

However, this level of vicious criticism was unusual, and it was admitted that even in 1917 the parody 'I Wore a Tunic' 'had but a "limited run"' [53]. There were other examples of this sort of parody, such as the revue number 'They Didn't Believe Me', which the soldiers changed into a deliberately anti-heroic song, but such bitter songs were far from common. War-weariness more often found expression through songs of sentimental yearning than of protest.

Sentimental yearning was an enduring element in the song repertoire of the BEF, for, as one military musician later observed, 'the soldier soloist has, as a rule, but two types of song: the tragico-sentimental and the "popular" comic' [54]. Many of the songs which the soldiers of the BEF sang in estaminets and billets indeed had a full-blown sentimentality, and one of the most popular marching songs of late 1916 was admitted to be 'The Roses Round the Door' [55]. According to one soldier writing in 1917, the most popular song with the BEF at that date was 'Annie Laurie'. 'The only other tune that approaches it in popularity', he wrote, 'is the harmonised version of "Home Sweet Home"'. Other popular songs that received an improvised harmony included

'Genevieve', 'Silver Threads Among the Gold', 'The Bonny Banks o' Loch Lomond', 'Kathleen Mavourneen', and 'Somewhere a Voice is Calling', showing how the tastes of soldiers turned towards the sentimental ballad rather than to the bitter parody [56].

The '"popular" comic' strain was also in evidence, and it was acknowledged that the songs that were really popular with the BEF included 'Gilbert the Filbert', 'Yip-i-addy-i-ay', 'Hullo! Hullo! Who's Your Lady Friend', and 'Hold Your Hand Out, You Naughty Boy' [57]. These were London music-hall and revue numbers, but it should not be assumed that the soldiers simply picked up those songs which the civilians at home enjoyed. As a post-war writer acknowledged, 'many of these great war-time ballads were popularised by the soldiers before they even reached the London music hall': 'Men off to France sang "Keep the Home Fires Burning", and the news came back from "over there" that the Army had taken that song to its heart.' [58] The gramophone was indeed a medium of communication between soldiers and civilians and, in April 1918, Louis Sterling, the manager of the Columbia Gramophone Company, indicated the scale of demand from the BEF:

> We are shipping many thousands of records per month to the boys at the front, and the orders for these records almost invariably call for 50 per cent popular music, and the remainder good standard selections and operatic numbers. The demand for the so-called patriotic popular number has practically passed into oblivion, the boys at the front calling for the straight popular selections. [59]

The soldiers were well supplied with expressive music by the music-hall revues, sheet-music publishers, and recording companies. Yet this gramophone-based culture was largely ignored by middle-class critics, who continued to treat the soldier as a ploughboy in uniform. There was indeed a remarkable wartime effort to rekindle the folk culture of the British soldier. In April 1915 Cecil Sharp himself compiled a book of folk songs which were 'suitable for chorus singing' and could thus be used in the army [60]. He hoped that these folk tunes could also be played on the march by military bands, although he was eventually forced to admit that they had failed to catch on because the 'average Tommy' was 'too much of a townsman' [61]. More remarkably, in May 1917, Caroline Daking of the English Folk Dance and Song Society was actually invited to France by the head of the YMCA at Le Havre, to experiment with the teaching of folk dancing to the troops [62]. This proved to be a greater success than the folk singing and, in September 1917, a YMCA branch of the English Folk Dance and Song Society was formed at Le Havre [63]. Soon afterwards Caroline Daking was invited to YMCA headquarters in France, and asked 'to organise + establish folk dancing in all base camps' [64].

By 1917 the prevailing image of the soldier owed little to reality. The YMCA ignored the fact that the ordinary British soldier was from an urban background, and claimed that 'in imagination, he can see his village home' [65]. The culture of the ordinary soldier, by this interpretation, was not that of the gramophone, the public house, and the music hall, but that of the maypole, the folk dance, and the country song. The British army's folk-dance unit spread this message throughout the BEF by working through army gymnastic instructors and, during 1918, it established 'Folk Dance Centres' at five different towns just behind the British lines [66]. As Caroline Daking reported, 'we concentrated on the convalescent depôts, but at the same time took as many classes as possible in other camps and gave demonstrations when they could be arranged'. By July 1918 the folk-dance unit contained 12 people, but there were eventually some 17 full-time workers, and about 80 demonstrations had been given by the end of the year [67].

The British army's folk-dance unit even survived the end of the war and, in December 1918, it followed the army of occupation into Cologne [68]. Cecil Sharp was rather worried by the fact that folk dancing was being taught to large groups of soldiers, and confessed that he had been 'very uneasy in my mind over this wholesale teaching of our beautiful, delicate dances to hundreds of men at a time, for I knew that this must inevitably lead to their vulgarisation and debasement' [69]. Yet the teaching was done very carefully. In mounting a folk-dance demonstration, noted Daking, the soldiers 'were told not to turn round, but to imagine that they were out of doors with the trees behind them'. They could then be given 'a little about origins and folklore' and, in this atmosphere, Daking observed that 'the audience went down before the novelty of the whole thing, and seemed to be lost in the spirit of it all': 'Sitting round the hut with the dancing space cleared in the centre, they seemed really able to imagine themselves on a village green in Blighty.' [70] The attempt was principally to revive the racial folk-memory of the English soldiers, but Daking nevertheless admitted that the best way to start the demonstration was 'to dig out the Australians first as they are always ready for anything and are not shy' [71].

Bizarrely, Daking regarded army life as close to that rural idyll which the folk-song movement hoped to recapture. As she wrote naively in 1918, army life was 'often a little hard', but still 'one is away from so much which is artificial, and our sound English music seems somehow to be so satisfactory'. Her writings show that she indeed regarded the soldiers as ploughboys in uniform, and claimed that they enjoyed folk dancing 'because it is their own folk art, and though they may not know it, it is in their blood' [72]. This idea of using folk art to appeal to the true nature of the soldier was a very strong one, and it was believed that an appeal to the soldier's rural heritage could even overcome political unrest. At one point, apparently at the end of 1918, the commander of one BEF unit suspected that his men were about to mutiny, and so 'applied for a couple of Folk Dancers for one week'. The YMCA folk-dance unit sent two people, and it seems that the incipient mutiny subsided in a flurry of folk dancing [73].

The problem, as we have seen, was that the British working classes simply did not yearn for a lost rural idyll, and when the ordinary soldier dreamed of home his feelings were most likely to be expressed in popular songs about returning to 'My Old Kentucky Home', going 'Down Home in Tennessee', or heading for 'Arizona':

> There's a ranch in Arizona,
> That is the place where I'd like to be ...
> There's a girl in Arizona
> Who loves me very tenderly. [74]

The popular image of home contained elements far removed from English ruralism, and when Columbia published its first list of best-selling records in October 1916, it is significant that it included both 'My Old Kentucky Home' and no fewer than three versions of 'Down Home in Tennessee' [75]. Even when the soldiers included dreams of home in their own compositions it was clear that the images came from the gramophone rather than from the folk song. They didn't sing of returning to the village green, but of going 'Way Down Yonder in the Cornfields':

> Way down yonder in the cornfields,
> Down by the sea,
> Where the water melons grow,
> Back to ma home. [76]

However, the attempt to depict the British soldier as the inheritor of the folk tradition

did not end with the Armistice in 1918. The possible connection between soldiers' songs and folk song was noticed by contemporaries, and before the war was over it was already suggested that the soldiers' compositions might even become the folk tunes of later generations [77]. However, this reinterpretation did not find full expression until 1930, when John Brophy and Eric Partridge produced their book *Songs and Slang of the British Soldier: 1914–1918*. This collection of slang expressions and soldiers' compositions was presented as an objective study of the popular culture of the BEF but, in fact, it belonged firmly to the folk-song revival, for Brophy and Partridge openly asserted that the soldiers' compositions 'are genuine "folk-songs"' [78].

Brophy and Partridge demonstrated their indebtedness to the folk-song tradition by introducing a careful censorship to their collection of material. As they admitted, 'one or two songs, including "I Love My Girl", have been entirely suppressed, as being merely lewd and not essentially soldiers' songs': 'They are the sort of thing loutish adolescents delight in, and can with some probability be dated as pre-war.' [79] As with the earlier folk-song collectors, Brophy and Partridge were easily able to rationalize their objection to these bawdy songs by arguing that they could not be communal compositions, and 'may be more probably ascribed each to a single author' [80]. It is interesting that the only bawdy song included in their collection was 'Mother Hunt', whose words they could not print. By a somewhat convoluted argument they claimed that 'Mother Hunt' was included because it did not derive from the 'loutish adolescents' who sang 'I Love My Girl', but was occasionally sung before the war by 'the lads of the village', and was thus rendered acceptable [81].

This identification of the soldiers with 'the lads of the village' was the key to Brophy and Partridge's reinterpretation of soldiers' compositions. These wartime productions, they claimed, were not only anonymous but 'even the method of their composition is unknown'. The only model which could be used was thus that of the folk song, and it was thus suggested that the songs had begun with the composition of a single line of parody, which 'if it was appreciated ... would be taken up generally, and other minds, expanding the idea, would improve the phrase and lengthen it into a complete version' [82]. It seems quite possible that the origins of many parodies were gramophone records in which the words were not wholly audible, and replacements had to be invented before they could be sung. As one ex-officer recalled, his mess played Harry Tate's 'Fortifying the Home' on their Decca so often that they knew it by heart—'except for one phrase which to this very day has baffled me' [83]. Unfortunately, Brophy and Partridge were far too close to the folk-song tradition to imagine such a mechanical possibility.

Naturally, Brophy and Partridge also banned from their collection all the commercial productions of the music hall which, as the folk-song collectors had pointed out, were the work of only one or two individuals. However, there were some strange exceptions to this. For instance, Brophy and Partridge included a song called 'Send Out the Army and the Navy', claiming it had been composed by a soldier. Yet this song, whose chorus included the lines 'Send out me mother, me sister and me brother, but for gawds sake don't send me', was in fact a commercial music-hall song. Its title was 'The Conscientious Objector', and it had appeared in the revue 'Round the Map' which opened at the Alhambra in July 1917. Even if this song had its inspiration in the services, it was popularized through this show, and by the subsequent release of a gramophone recording [84].

Brophy and Partridge's analysis was copied by other writers on soldiers' compositions which, in 1935, were openly declared to be 'war-time "folk songs"'. As another commentator explained rather romantically, the favourite songs of the BEF had been

'drawn not from music-hall or musical comedy, but from a mysterious reservoir of what can only be described as folk-song'. He even put 'Mademoiselle from Armentiers' into this category, describing this famous piece of bawdy as 'a very old song, dating from before the war, perhaps from as long ago as the time of Marlborough—possibly from even before that'. This was an obvious attempt to place the soldiers' songs in an oral culture, and thus to reinforce their link with the folk-song tradition [85].

The same anonymous writer also attempted to show that these soldiers' songs had been communal compositions. He even extended his definition of 'war-time "folk songs"' to include 'We are Fred Karno's Army', a song that took its title from the great music-hall comedian whose troupe included Charlie Chaplin [86]. In its best-known version this song declared, to the tune of 'The Church's One Foundation', that:

> We are Fred Karno's army,
> The ragtime infantry:
> We cannot fight, we cannot shoot,
> What earthly use are we!
> And when we get to Berlin,
> The Kaiser he will say,
> 'Hoch, hoch! Mein Gott,
> What a bloody fine lot
> Are the ragtime infantry!' [87]

However, 'We are Fred Karno's Army' existed in many different versions, in which different units of the BEF linked themselves with the traditions of the music hall and its popular heroes. The version sung by the Royal Engineers thus claimed that 'Fred Karno is our Captain / Charlie Chaplin our O.C.' [88]. The author acknowledged these many different versions of the song, and fitted them into the folk-song tradition by observing that 'it is unlikely that we shall ever know whether some gifted individual wrote the first version'. In other words, they displayed the vital characteristics of oral tradition and communal creation and thus were marked as true folk songs [89].

Luckily, the work of these folk-song revivalists is not the only source of information on what the soldiers of the BEF sang. The collections of wartime songs published during this period continued to place the emphasis firmly upon commercial compositions rather than these 'war-time "folk songs"'. When the *Daily Express* published *Songs that Won the War* in 1930, it did reflect the spirit of the times by including a whole section of 'Songs composed and parodied by the soldiers', containing such bitter compositions as 'I Want to go Home', 'When this Rotten War is Over', and 'Hanging on the Old Barbed Wire'. Yet the book opened with the words and music to 24 'Published songs popular during the war', including such commercial wistfulness as 'If You Were the Only Girl in the World', 'God Send You back to Me', and 'On the Other Side of the Big Black Cloud (Is the Land Where Your Dreams Come True)' [90].

More significantly, when Columbia released two records of 'Dug-Out Ditties' on the Regal label in November 1930, sung by a group of sessions musicians calling themselves 'The Jolly Old Fellows', they did not contain any soldiers' compositions at all. The 17 songs were exclusively commercial productions, in which the pain of parting was transformed into the yearning of 'If You Were the Only Girl in the World', and bitterness was dissolved into the stoicism and irony of 'Pack Up Your Troubles' and 'Oh! It's a Lovely War' [91]. The two records of 'Songs of the Western Front', produced soon afterwards by 'Four Happy Tommies and Nat Star's Orchestra' on the Sterno label, showed a slightly different balance. This selection did include eight soldiers' composi-

tions, including the bitter recitation 'Some Say Good Old Sergeant Major' and the song 'Hanging on the Old Barbed Wire'. However, these appeared only as an odd line or two among the 25 commercial songs that were included on the records, and the bitterness of these soldier's compositions was more than offset by such light productions as 'Hello! Hello! Who's Your Lady Friend' and 'Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts for Soldiers' [92].

Again, when the magazine *Answers* produced a special supplement of 'The Songs Our Soldiers Sang' in November 1935, it included 18 commercial compositions and only two brief soldiers' songs; 'Plum and Apple' and 'Old Soldiers Never Die', both of which had been rewritten for commercial release. There is no reason to doubt the evidence of these collections of wartime songs, whose message seems clear. The soldiers' parodies and original compositions were a vital part of the war experience of the BEF, and remained in the memory of British ex-soldiers. However, they were only a minor part of the song repertoire of the BEF, most of which was made up of purely commercial songs, which had been performed in London music halls and variety shows, printed as sheet music, and then shipped to France by the thousand in the form of gramophone records. The soldiers' compositions fulfilled a need, but the musical heritage of the BEF was largely composed of sheet music from B. Feldman and Company or Francis, Day, and Hunter, and cheap gramophone recordings issued on Columbia's Regal label, the Edison Bell Winner label, or the Gramophone Company's Zonophone label.

Unfortunately, the reinterpretation of soldiers' songs did not stop in the 1930s, for the 1940s and 1950s saw another attempt to rescue authentic British culture from the threat of commercialism, now represented by gramophone records of American popular music. An important influence was a man named Jimmy Miller, who became better known as the singer 'Ewan MacColl'. Miller had worked with Joan Littlewood's Theatre Workshop, before leaving to team up with A.L. Lloyd in the collection of surviving industrial folk songs [93]. The new folk-song revival had much in common with the old, and MacColl focused his attention on British folk song, believing that folk singers should strive for a national identity. Yet there were important differences between the new collectors and the old, such as the concentration on an urban rather than a rural tradition. In establishing the new orthodoxy, A.L. Lloyd thus argued that even when the first folk-song collectors had begun work, 'the actual creation of folk song survived better in the mining and mill areas than in the rural districts' [94].

It was no longer forbidden to see commercial influences in folk song and, in a process that would have frightened Cecil Sharp, the attributes of his English peasants were transferred to music-hall songwriters and performers. The music-hall song was now accepted into the canon as 'a sort of bastard folk song of an industrial–commercial–imperial age'. They were indeed claimed as 'more indelibly English' than their commercial successors, and an analysis of music-hall song was developed which reflected the older ideas of the folk-song collectors. A form of communal creation was again suggested, by which the best music-hall songs grew out of the shared experience of composer, singer, and audience, and incorporated pre-industrial folk memories. It was naturally argued that music-hall songs had to undergo careful selection, so that those which managed to preserve 'an older ... rural magic' could be preserved, and those which were 'diluted and commercialised' could be condemned [95].

It was in this spirit that the musical culture of British soldiers in the First World War was looked at afresh. In 1958 the BBC producer Charles Chilton visited the western front, and began planning a radio feature that would be based around the soldiers' songs of the First World War. This appeared in 1961 as 'The Long, Long Trail' and, in turn, became the inspiration for a stage production by Joan Littlewood and the Theatre

Workshop group, entitled 'Oh! What a Lovely War', opening in 1963. This inspired Brophy and Partridge to re-issue their classic work, a revised version of which appeared in 1965 as 'The Long Trail: what the British soldier sang and said in 1914–1918'. Then, in 1969, the stage version of 'Oh! What a Lovely War' was in turn followed by a film version, directed by Richard Attenborough, and these four productions—the radio feature, the stage play, the book, and the film—set the musical culture of the BEF in a new context. The common soldier was now admitted to be urban and working class, and his musical culture was acknowledged to be that of the music-hall revue and the gramophone record. Yet the focus was firmly on the soldiers' own compositions, which were once again elevated to the status of the old folk songs [96].

Given the left-wing leanings of the Theatre Workshop, 'Oh! What a Lovely War' naturally emphasized the futility of the conflict, and firmly identified the soldiers' compositions as protest songs. Yet, as we have seen, the soldiers' compositions were seldom protest songs, and during the war one soldier had carefully explained that 'although occasionally persons and institutions are sarcastically or caustically treated ... they contain no more harm than the topical allusions of a revue song' [97]. The evidence suggests that the musical needs of the BEF were largely satisfied by commercial songs, disseminated through gramophone recordings, to which their own compositions were simply a supplement.

There seems no reason to doubt that commercial musical culture was as sustaining and familiar to British soldiers in uniform as it had been to them in civilian life. Gramophone recordings and sheet music provided the BEF with humour, romance, and a certain wistfulness that could lift the grief of parting. Commercial songwriters conjured up images of the loved ones left behind, and the homes to which the British soldiers would return, and it did not matter that their physical geography was Ireland, as in 'Tipperary', or the southern USA, as in 'My Old Kentucky Home', or the wild west, as in 'Arizona'. The emotional geography remained the same, and only when it came to expressing their sexuality, their bitter discontent, or the horror of war, did British soldiers need to choose songs from another tradition. It was then that they turned to 'Mother Hunt', 'I Want to go Home', or 'Hanging on the Old Barbed Wire'. Yet these only supplemented the much larger corpus of commercial songs. The soldiers of the BEF were not ploughboys in uniform, and we should not be surprised that their favourite music belonged to the commercial mass culture of the towns. That, after all, is what they were fighting to preserve.

Correspondence: Nicholas Hiley, BUFVC, 77 Wells Street, London W1P 3RE, UK. Tel. 44 (0)171 393 1508.

NOTES

[1] S.L. Giraud, *Songs that Won the War:* Daily Express *community song book No. 3* (London, 1930), 19–21, 'Take Me Back to Dear Old Blighty'.

[2] For the soldier enjoying his *Daily Mail*, see N. Hiley, "'You can't believe a word you read': newspaper-reading in the British Expeditionary Force, 1914–1918", *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History: 1994 Annual*, M. Harris & T. O'Malley, eds (Westport, 1996), 89–102.

[3] P. Martland, *Since Records Began: EMI the first 100 years* (London, 1997), 64, 67–68.

[4] Martland, *Since Records Began*, 67.

[5] *Zonophone Record Catalogue Season 1912–13* (London, 1912), catalogue numbers A 48 and 832.

[6] See adverts in *News of the World* (27 October 1912), 12–13.

[7] Martland, *Since Records Began*, 68.

[8] Martland, *Since Records Began*, 74.
[9] W. Crane, 'Of the revival of design and handicraft', *Arts and Crafts Essays: by members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society* (London, 1893), 13–14.
[10] H. Parry, "Inaugural address", *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* (1899), 1–3.
[11] C. Sharp, "The folk-song fallacy: a reply", *English Review* (July 1912), 545.
[12] C. Sharp, *English Folk-Song: some conclusions* (London, 1907), x, 4, 33, 102, 137.
[13] Sharp, *English Folk-Song*, 10–11, 29–33.
[14] Sharp, "Folk-song fallacy", 549.
[15] S. Baring Gould, *Old Country Life*, 2nd edn (London, 1890), 266.
[16] Sharp, *English Folk-Song*, 101.
[17] R.S. Thomson, *The development of the broadside ballad trade and its influence upon the transmission of English folksongs*, PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1974), 215–216.
[18] M. Yates, "Percy Grainger and the impact of the phonograph", *Folk Music Journal* (1982), 271, 275, n. 15.
[19] F. Kidson & M. Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance* (Cambridge, 1915), 10.
[20] D. Harker, "Cecil Sharp in Somerset: some conclusions", *Folk Music Journal* (1972), 228.
[21] E. Newman, "The folk-song fallacy", *English Review* (May 1912), 263.
[22] M. Karpeles, "Cecil Sharp: collector and restorer of English folk music", *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* (December 1959), 180.
[23] A. Williams, *Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames* (London, 1923), 16.
[24] Harker, "Cecil Sharp in Somerset", 234–239.
[25] A.H.F. Strangways & M. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* (London, 1933), 41; F.M. Etherington, "Cecil Sharp: some personal reminiscences", *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* (December 1959), 195.
[26] H. Parry, "Inaugural address", *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, 1899, 3.
[27] M. Yates, "Percy Grainger and the impact of the phonograph", 265, 271.
[28] P. Grainger, "Collecting with the phonograph", *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* (May 1908), 147.
[29] Yates, "Percy Grainger", 267, 269.
[30] C. Macinnes, *Sweet Saturday Night* (London, 1967), 30, 122.
[31] *Era* (1 December 1894), 16, Gus Elen's new song.
[32] P. Gammond, ed., *Music Hall Song Book: a collection of forty-five of the best songs from 1890–1920* (Newton Abbot, 1975), 46–48.
[33] J.C. Somerville, "Choral singing in the army", *Music and Letters* (January 1921), 50.
[34] "'It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary'—an army marching-song", *Musical Times* (1 December 1914), 697; C. Arnot, "This one will run and run", *Independent Magazine* (18 September 1993), 60–61.
[35] *Twenty Years After*, Part 12 (22 January 1935), 429, "Songs of the Great War".
[36] G.C. Curnock, "Birth of a world song", *The Great War ... I Was There*, Part 1 (29 September 1938), 32–33.
[37] T. Clarke, *My Northcliffe Diary* (London, 1931), 67.
[38] K. Adrian & A. Badrock, *Edison Bell Winner Records*, 2nd edn (Bournemouth, 1989), Winner catalogue number 2702: Descriptive record: British troops passing through Boulogne, Gramophone Company catalogue number C. 305.
[39] "It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary", 697.
[40] F.T. Nettleingham, *Tommy's Tunes: a comprehensive selection of soldiers' songs, marching melodies, rude rhymes, and popular parodies* (London, 1917), 14–15.
[41] J. Brophy & E. Partridge, *Songs and Slang of the British Soldier: 1914–1918*, 3rd edn (London, 1931), 231.
[42] Nettleingham, *Tommy's Tunes*, 23; Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 243.
[43] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 13; Martland, *Since Records Began*, 112–113.
[44] A. Badrock & F. Andrews, *The Complete Regal Catalogue* (London, 1991), 58, Columbia catalogue number G. 6884, deleted in March 1929.
[45] Badrock & Andrews, *Regal Catalogue*, 67, Columbia catalogue number G. 7013, deleted in March 1921.
[46] Badrock & Andrews, *Regal Catalogue*, 92, Columbia catalogue number G. 7390, deleted in July 1924.
[47] *Twenty Years After*, Parts 12–13 (22 January/29 January 1935), 432–434, "Songs of the Great War".
[48] C.R.S[tone]. A Decca romance, *The Gramophone* (August 1923), 56. I am grateful to Dr Peter Martland for this reference.
[49] *Twenty Years After*, Part 13 (29 January 1935), 438, "Songs of the Great War".
[50] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 233.
[51] *Twenty Years After*, Part 13 (29 January 1935), 435, "Songs of the Great War".

[52] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 48.
[53] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 11.
[54] J.C. Somerville, "Choral singing in the army", *Music and Letters* (January 1921), 50, 52.
[55] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 208; D. Winter, *Death's Men: soldiers of the Great War* (Harmondsworth, 1979), 162–164.
[56] Nettleingham, *Tommy's Tunes*, 15.
[57] *Twenty Years After*, Part 12 (22 January 1935), 429, "Songs of the Great War".
[58] D.M. Dell, "Singing these they marched to victory", *Songs Our Soldiers Sang*, supplement to *Answers* (16 November 1935), ii.
[59] *Talking Machine World* (April 1918), quoted in Martland, *Since Records Began*, 112.
[60] *English Folkdance Society's Journal* (April 1915), 57, Notes.
[61] D. Harker, *Fakesong: the manufacture of British 'folksong' 1700 to the present day* (Milton Keynes, 1985), 204.
[62] English Folk Dance and Song Society (hereafter EFDSS), Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London, Cecil Sharp Correspondence, Folk dancing: YMCA in France, 1.
[63] EFDSS, Report for 1917, 3–4.
[64] EFDSS, Cecil Sharp Correspondence, Folk dancing: YMCA in France, 1.
[65] E. Rhys, ed., *The Old Country: a book of love and praise of England* (London, 1917), 2.
[66] W.D. Croft, "Fifteen years' progress", *Journal of the English Folk Dance Society* (1927), 8.
[67] D.C. Daking, "The very best job in France", *Red Triangle* (July 1918), 448: English Folk Dance and Song Society, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London, Report for 1918, 6–7; D.C. Daking, "A Report", *English Dance and Song* (March/April 1940), 45.
[68] W.S. Shaw, "Cecil Sharp and Folk Dancing", *Music and Letters* (January 1921), 8.
[69] EFDSS, Cecil Sharp Correspondence, C. Sharp to D.C. Daking (16 October 1918), 1.
[70] Daking, "Very best job", 448.
[71] Daking, "A report", 44.
[72] D.C. Daking, "Folk dancing in France", *Music Student* (December 1918), 133.
[73] EFDSS, D.C. Daking, The log of the fine companion [1914–1940], containing copy of her 1940 article with handwritten amendment.
[74] *Songs Our Soldiers Sang*, 14.
[75] Martland, *Since Records Began*, 112–113.
[76] Giraud, *Songs that Won the War*, 95.
[77] F.T. Nettleingham, *More Tommy's Tunes: an additional collection of soldiers' songs, marching melodies, rude rhymes, and popular parodies* (London, 1918), 9–10.
[78] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 4.
[79] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 4.
[80] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 6.
[81] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 81
[82] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 4–5.
[83] C.R.S[tone], "A Decca romance", 56.
[84] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 66.
[85] *Twenty Years After*, 430.
[86] *Twenty Years After*, 430.
[87] Brophy & Partridge, *Songs and Slang*, 26.
[88] Nettleingham, *Tommy's Tunes*, 42.
[89] *Twenty Years After*, 430.
[90] Giraud, *Songs that Won the War*. The titles of soldiers' compositions differ from collection to collection, but are given here in their most common form.
[91] Badrock & Andrews, *Regal Catalogue*, 236, 238, Columbia catalogue numbers MR 172 and MR 193.
[92] Sterno catalogue numbers 561 and 614.
[93] Harker, *Fakesong*, 235.
[94] A.L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (London, 1967), 21–22, 31, 34.
[95] Macinnes, *Sweet Saturday Night*, 87, 146, 151.
[96] A. Danchev, ' "Bunking" and debunking: the controversies of the 1960s', *The First World War and British Military History*, B. Bond, ed. (Oxford, 1991), 281–286.
[97] Nettleingham, *Tommy's Tunes*, 18.