Adapted by the author from: Angela McShane *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth Century England: A Critical Bibliography* (2011)

1.

Introduction

The political broadside ballads of the seventeenth century were the cheapest and most accessible of political print forms in the early modern period, both informing and reflecting the views of the broader political nation. By turns polemical, satirical, despairing, mocking and angry, these songs - printed on one side of a single sheet and usually between 14–24 verses in length - offer fascinating perspectives on a tumultuous political and cultural landscape. The ballad titles listed in the *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth Century England A Critical Bibliography* (henceforward PBB) were all printed and published between 1639 and 1689: a period that comprised the horrors of civil war, the experimental disruptions of interregnum regimes and the beginning of a long-running series of wars with the Dutch and other expansionist powers in the New World. The restoration of the monarchy did little to heal the scars of the civil wars and soon religious and political divisions were deepened by the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, which saw the emergence of 'party' politics. The so-called 'Glorious Revolution' brought with it a new civil war in Ireland (which, like the tunes, was to last centuries), and European war against what balladeers invariably considered the eternal enemy: France.[i] No member of the national body politic, man or woman, however lowly or young, remained untouched by these events. Nor did they suffer in silence. Blithely ignoring the old maxim 'meddle not with state affairs', a thousand and more distinct broadside ballad titles helped them describe or comment upon the social, political and religious divisions of this intensely traumatic period.

Printed in London for the most part, ballads were multi-media print products: many were illustrated and all were intended for oral - though not necessarily musical - transmission. They were so ubiquitous and unremarkable to early modern people that they rarely bothered to mention them – a matter of some frustration for the historian. They were extremely vulnerable to bad usage as they were pasted or pinned up on walls or posts, folded and pocketed to destruction, or ended their lives as tops for jars, in household privies or as printer's waste used for binding or overprinting. Yet, despite their topicality and the ephemerality of their material form, thousands have survived for hundreds of years, sometimes only in the barest scrap, bringing us songs about contemporary heroes and villains, war and peace, 'Right, Religion and Law'.

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I.   What are 'political broadside ballads' and why catalogue them?

From the outset of this research project, my broader intellectual concern was to find a correspondence between the lowest form of literature (the broadside ballad) and the highest level of politics: between the subject and the state. Ballads on 'affairs of state' would usually imply topical songs based around the four axes of a. royal events; b. military affairs; c. execution and punishment of traitors and rebels and d. foreign events, especially where Protestantism was felt to be under threat from Catholic powers and Christians under threat from the Turk. In PBB, however, the term 'political' is interpreted more broadly to include ballads that commented on social justice or political mores; on questions of loyalty; on religious divisions; on state religious policy and on controversies over professions of faith (but not traditional 'godly' ballads, such as those discussed by Tessa Watt).[ii] In addition, a large number of military recruiting ballads have been included, many of which were formulated as love songs.[iii] Ballads that mention soldiers are almost always included, because

they were always employed by political authorities. Sailor's songs present a conundrum however, as while on one hand many refer to the civilian profession of sailors in the merchant fleet, on the other hand, naval wars were frequently sparked off by trade interests and both Royal Navy and merchant fleets shared the constant risk of armed combat with foreign ships and operated with an enhanced patriotic ethos. To solve this, ballads that relate in any way to naval campaigns are included, as are sailor's ballads that refer to patriotic loyalty or foreign policy events.

While the compilation of this reference work has often seemed a somewhat antiquarian task, the need for such a resource became clear during research carried out for my doctoral thesis.[iv] Almost none of the usual bibliographical back-up on which the literary scholar or historian hopes to rely was available. Broadside ballads are scattered across the Anglo-phone world in disparate collections, not all of which have been catalogued, making knowledge of and accessibility to them a problem. Moreover, as a sub-genre, political broadside ballads have suffered from a long period of scholarly neglect. As a doctoral student, I tussled with a historiographical literature that dated almost entirely from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (with the notable exception of work by historians Tim Harris, Mark Jenner and for a slightly later period, Paul Monod).[v] The lack of plentiful or reliable scholarship on these texts by modern historians, literary scholars or bibliographers, means that the catalogues of holding libraries often differ wildly in dating the same edition of a broadside ballad or, more commonly, they simply remain silent on the matter – retreating behind the ominous and unhelpful [s.l], [s.n] and [n.d.] – resulting in an exasperated scholar and a mystified student.

The broadside genre has always presented intransigent problems of cataloguing, storage and preservation for hard-pressed librarians and archivists who must eke out limited resources of space and time. In the past, library cataloguers have naturally turned to established bibliographic and literary authorities such as Wing/ESTC, NUC or Foxon.[vi]

However, where these authorities list ballad titles at all, they are frequently misleading: failing to cite reasons for their incorrect (sometimes impossible) surmises about dating and silently drawing upon the dubious opinions of nineteenth-century enthusiasts such as Joseph W. Ebsworth, James Lindsay, earl of Crawford and William Hazlitt, or early twentieth-century scholars of literature and history, especially Hyder Rollins and Sir C. H. Firth, who could never have dreamed of the facilities available to scholars today.

One example from the Chetham Library catalogue for *The Ballad of the Cloak* (PBB No: 402X) offers a useful case in point. The detailed Chetham Library entry reads:

> Date of publication from Wing CD-ROM, 1996. 'Satire on the Presbyterians' - NUC pre-1956 imprints. Originally published in 1660 as 'The cloaks knavery'. Foxon gives the publication date of 172-? The Bodleian Ballads Database gives the range of publication dates, 1711-1769.

This conscientious summary of bibliographical opinion is both confusing and ultimately incorrect. In fact, as the PBB entry shows, the ballad was first published in 1663 under the title *The Tyrannical Usurpation OF THE INDEPENDENT CLOAK OVER THE EPISCOPAL GOVVN*. The ballad text, with minor alterations to the last verse, was then reissued in at least twelve editions from 1679 to the early eighteenth century, mostly under the title *The Ballad of the CLOAK: Or, The Cloak's Knavery*. (The Chetham copy is from the twelfth edition). The case of mistaken identity began at the Beinecke Library when, under the auspices of Donald Wing, an unusually small quarto broadside, anonymous, undated, and entitled *The Cloaks Knavery* (with a contemporary inscription 'Ballat Cloakt Knavery' on the verso) was inscribed in pencil by a busy librarian: '1660?'. While, like most copies of the ballad, the text referred to Jack Catch (or Ketch) the hangman, who was not appointed until late in 1663, the Beinecke sheet also has a printed marginal note: 'The Practice of the present Whigs'. This

would immediately have told a more careful reader that the earliest possible date of publication was 1678.[vii] Copies of the ballad are held by many of the world's great libraries: the British Library; Cambridge's University and Pepys Libraries; the National Library of Scotland; Oxford's Bodleian; Harvard's Houghton; Yale's Beinecke and the Huntington libraries, yet, dependent as they are on Wing as a reference point, none of these authorities are currently able to offer any more accurate an account of its publishing history.

While many ballad titles, editions and copies are not entered in Wing/ESTC at all, all too often, those that are entered currently convey incorrect and unhelpful information. At the same time, having now located, as far as possible, all the known editions and copies of over a thousand ballad titles, it is often unclear to which edition or copy a Wing entry refers, as libraries often hold several copies and editions of the same title. For this reason Wing/ESTC numbers have not been included in PBB entries. Each individual entry in PBB has been newly researched and each title, edition and copy described and located by shelf-mark. References are made in 'Notes' to contemporary publications, where these are connected, and to printed editions, where ballads have been discussed. Reasons for decisions about dating are given and, where necessary, discussed, while the entire text of all ballads and editions are fully indexed. Therefore, the entries in PBB supersede those of Wing/ESTC. Moreover, as many library catalogues are themselves updating and improving their own entries independently of Wing/ESTC, they provide a better reference point. Where PBB dates differ markedly from those suggested by holding libraries (current at time of going to press), or other authorities, this is indicated in the entry under 'Notes'.

Given the ever increasing calls for library resources and time, and the low regard in which texts like these have been held for much of the last century, it seemed unlikely that this bleak situation would change very quickly. Yet, since beginning my research project in 1998, the scholarly appeal and status of the broadside ballad has changed radically. Ironically,

thanks to the technological revolution of the digital age, the most traditional and neglected of print forms has become the hottest new property. Many thousands of single-sheet works, especially broadside ballads, have been digitised, suddenly making them one of the most freely available primary print sources on the internet. This has done wonders for accessibility, and as a result, the cataloguing of ballad sources is constantly improving, but there is still no agreement to standardise the cataloguing of these items or to share information across holding libraries, which would enable them to offer more transparent, extensive and up-to-date information about provenance and opinion on bibliographical matters.

II Selection, scope and arrangement of PBB: Titles, typographies and chronologies

PBB entries are arranged first in chronological and then in typographical order. A detailed outline of the eleven elements in each entry, explaining the sources and criteria used is given in Section 2 'Notes on the Entries', but the rationale behind the arrangement of titles in PBB, and the processes involved in location and selection of the ballads included, follows.

In order to make PBB as comprehensive as possible, it was first necessary to track down the histories of seventeenth and eighteenth century collections, and their current whereabouts. This called for a close reading of ballad editors from the eighteenth century to the present day, especially Bishop Percy, Francis Childs, Joseph Ebsworth, William Chappell, James Lindsay, earl of Crawford, Harold Brooks, Hyder Rollins, Sir Charles Firth, Thomas Wright, W. W. Wilkins, Charles Mackay, and Claude Simpson.[viii] Some of these men were the last to see ballad sheets that have since deteriorated or been lost, or early modern collections in their original state. The eighteenth-century ballad revival and the nineteenth-century growth of interest in folk-lore saw the founding of ballad societies and concerted efforts being made by a host of amateur scholars to locate, collect and print many hundreds of ballad sheets.[ix] The downside of this Victorian enthusiasm for balladry was the competitive spirit it engendered

among a leisured and well-connected class and newly-founded or newly-energised universities and institutions, especially in the USA, that were keen to develop world-class collections. This lead to the wholesale auctioning of private holdings and the breaking up of contemporary collections; it also encouraged some well-bred stealing from public collections (such as the Bodleian), and even to the forging of ballad song, so that some sheets, even whole volumes, are now lost, while others never really existed.[x] Having located, as far as possible, all the major ballad collections, the selection of appropriate titles for inclusion in PBB was made by reviewing the many thousands of ballads they contained, wherever possible through direct access to the sheets. Without doubt, some copies or perhaps titles have been missed and I would be grateful to hear of any omissions or errors, as an updated and extended version of this catalogue, preferably online, may be possible in due course.

Titles:

Establishing a broadside ballad title, and its original date of publication, is fraught with difficulty. Even 'topical' songs were frequently reissued, sometimes years after their original publication date, with minor or major changes in title, text, imprint and/or illustrations. For example, should the second edition of a ballad, reissued with exactly the same text and illustrations except for the significant exchange of the words 'James II' for 'William III' be considered a *new* ballad title? Should a ballad reissued with a complete change of title, but with only minor changes made to the text of the final verse, be counted as a separate title? Binding and collecting practices can also make identification difficult. For example, 'traditional' black-letter ballads [see Fig. One] were often published in two parts, printed side by side on the recto of a single sheet (a practice that decreased from the late 1670s onwards). This led a few collectors, such as the earl of Roxburghe, to cut their sheets in two so they could be easily pasted into books, but it also meant they occasionally got out of order, or

were lost. If the two parts of a single ballad-broadside are held by two different libraries, should they be counted as one ballad title, or two? Does a scrap of just two verses count as a ballad at all? Further problems also arise: should 'verso ballads' - printed on the reverse of another ballad perhaps years later - be recorded as one title or two? What about sheets with two ballads printed on the same side? What about ballad titles that appear in the Stationer's Registers, but for which no known copy exists: can anything be gained by listing them? And, finally, are ballads that were circulated in manuscript, or for which only a manuscript copy exists, to be catalogued as ballad titles?

Answers to all these problems were found, which aimed to balance the need to acknowledge new texts and at the same time avoid an unwieldy proliferation of entry numbers and cross-references. A ballad 'title' in PBB is taken to refer to all editions of a printed song, where the vast majority of the song text remains the same over time, and regardless of any changes to what the ballad was called. Subsequent inclusions, omissions and on later editions (involving minor changes to the text, imprint, title, format or illustrations) are fully described under 'Copies/Editions' in the entry for each 'title'. Parts one and two of ballads, wherever located, are not catalogued separately unless one part has been lost. All scraps have been identified and have been entered as a damaged title. Verso ballads count as separate individual titles, but when different ballads are printed together on the same side of a sheet, they are treated as one 'title'. Registered titles that appear to be 'political', but for which no printed copy is known, have been included in the bibliography. Although book historians point out that publishers occasionally registered titles that were never published, this seems much less likely in the case of broadsides, which did not expose a publisher to the same financial risks or difficulties of production as a book – and where non-registration was a much more common practice. Moreover, the inclusion of these titles gives a much more balanced view of political balladry, especially for periods, such as 1639-40 and the 1650s,

when the survival rate of sheets is poor. Finally, many more songs and libels on affairs of state than are listed in PBB were published in anthologies, distributed in manuscript, copied into commonplace books or rumoured in State Papers and contemporary histories: these have only been included, or referenced in entries under 'Notes', if they can be linked to the publication of a broadside. Taking all the above selection criteria into account, PBB lists 1,058 political titles that were certainly published between 1639 and 1689 (of which over 200 went into multiple editions), and just over 1,400 ballad editions published between 1639 and c.1720. Editions published after the early eighteenth century have not usually been listed.

Typographies

Historians are naturally keen to get a sense of the extent of the ballad market by knowing how many broadside ballads there were, and, in this case, what proportion of these were 'political' ballads, in order to assess how 'popular' or common political ballads were. The brutal truth is that, considering the thousands of ballad sheets that have perished over time, we will never know the real answer to this question, but one way of answering it might be to calculate the proportion of extant ballads on affairs of state *vis a vis* ballads on other topics. Enumerating ballads is a surprisingly difficult matter. Even where collections have a fixed number of sheets – such the Roxburghe or Pepys collections – their contents tend to be described only approximately. William Chappell and Joseph Ebsworth between them printed the whole Roxburgh collection, but Ebsworth included so many extraneous ballads from other sources in the six volumes (some by his own hand) that any sense of 'how many' was completely lost - indeed even the number of volumes is unclear, the final one containing three separate numbering systems. [xi] The English Broadside Ballad Archive has digitised 1,423 Roxburghe ballad images, but they nevertheless calculate the number of ballads in the collection as 'between 1,500-1,600'. After having catalogued the whole of the Pepys

collection, Helen Weinstein was forced to come up with both an approximate number 1,740, and a specific number 1,775, both of which differed from J. W Ebsworth's calculation of 1,738. [xii] Usually described as containing 'about 1,800' ballads, at time of writing EBBA's digitization of the Pepys collection amounted to 1,848 separate images (which includes verso ballads) and some miscellaneous sheets.

By combining the various approximations made by major collections (including working lists, kindly provided by the Bodleian and Houghton Libraries, which enumerate the ballads in each of their many collections), we might roughly estimate that about 10,000 seventeenth-century broadside ballad sheets (mostly published after 1660) are currently held in publicly available collections - although many more may remain in private hands and holding libraries make acquisitions all the time. What number this represents in titles has long been a matter of conjecture. It is thought that about 2,000 ballad titles were registered between 1557 and 1600, but allowing for under-registration, Watt and Livingstone estimated that about 3-4,000 distinct ballad titles were published. Of these, only 260 or so are extant, barring some scraps. Hyder Rollins listed 3,081 titles registered in the Stationers Registers between 1557 and 1709 (based on the ballad fee of four pence), that he thought might have been black-letter ballads. He identified about half of this number, and it has been estimated that, given under-registration, a total of about 8,000 individual ballad titles may have been published between 1550 and 1700.[xiii] If these estimations are accurate (and they are probably somewhat conservative), perhaps 3,000 ballad titles were published between 1640 and 1700. PBB lists 1,058 titles published between 1639 and 1689 and about 3,040 sheets published between 1639 and c. 1720.[xiv] Together, these rather disparate and unsatisfactory numbers suggest that at least a third of ballad titles published from 1640 to 1700 dealt with 'political' topics and the proportion in terms of extant ballad sheets is about the same.

From these figures we might be tempted to argue that 'political' ballads were almost as 'popular' as love songs (by far the most numerous category in contemporary collections), but this would certainly be a mistake. Simply lumping ballad broadsides together into one amorphous group in this way blurs an important distinction between the production and marketing of political ballads and ballad broadsides on other topics. Unlike non-political ballads, political songs were published in a wide range of formats and typefaces, directly linked to their content and intended audience.[xv] In arranging his large collection of ballads, Samuel Pepys devised two typographical categories to describe these visual differences, using the term 'white-letter' to indicate any ballad broadside other than a 'black-letter' one.[xvi] These very general terms are useful, as they allow us to take into account the fact that a wide range of typefaces, including italic and engraved script, were simultaneously used on all kinds of ballads throughout the seventeenth century.[xvii] By the mid-seventeenth century the typical 'black-letter' broadside ballad was usually printed on one side of a single folio sheet of cheap paper, in a 'landscape' orientation of anything between three and six columns, usually with woodcut illustrations and/or printer's decorations.[xviii] 'Black-letter' ballad verses were printed largely in gothic type (or 'black-letter') but the titles were almost always set in roman type, with the additional use of italics in both titles and text, to indicate names of people and places, or occasionally for emphasis or visual texture. Especially in the 1680s and early 1690s, black-letter type was occasionally used to highlight particular elements of a title; for picking out the licence or the names of publishers and their shops, or simply as a decorative feature.

While black-letter ballads rarely deviated far from their traditional format, the varieties of what Pepys called 'white-letter ballads' were considerable. The majority of white-letter ballads were published with two columns in 'portrait' orientation, without illustration and on the same size and poor quality of paper as black-letter ballads. However,

some did carry illustrations, at the top of the page, invariably specially cut to illustrate the subject of the ballad. Some 'Rump' ballads in 1659-60, and a few ballad sheets in the 1680s, were of a quite different size and shape than the usual ballad folio, being printed in high-quality roman type, on longer, broader, thicker, or better-quality paper. From about 1678, as the quantities of broadsides and newsprint, increased rapidly, some satirical white-letter ballads were printed over two sides of a sheet, and headed with a sheet number '[1]', reflecting a deliberate marketing and commissioning strategy, to separate the white-letter ballad and its content from the traditional black-letter product and its consumer. From the later 1670s, some white-letter ballads carried music notation. Music publishing had developed enormously under the auspices of John Playford and others from the 1650s, and there was certainly a developing market in accurate sheet music by the end of the century, but the inclusion of music notation on broadside ballads was relatively rare. Richard Luckett has pointed out that less than ten percent (167) of the Pepys collection have notation on them, of which only one third are really music.[xix] This observation must be balanced, however, with the fact that some white-letter publishers, such as Nathaniel Thompson and James Dean's productions, often did carry appropriate music, but their ballads are almost entirely absent from the Pepys collection.[xx] Exceptionally, a few black-letter ballads can be found in other collections that included staves of music (usually printed by Philip Brooksby).[xxi]

Determining whether any particular sheet of white-letter verses was a ballad, a mock-ballad, a mock-litany or political poetry (and therefore not a ballad at all) offers its own problems, due to the frequent use of ballad metre by satirists, who published hundreds of satirical verse satires in white-letter formats, especially during the 1640s and after the Popish Plot, when the presses exploded with political texts of every kind. In the case of black-letter ballads their genre is relatively easy to ascertain. Some typographical anomalies can be found, however, for example, PBB No: 472: William Pope's *The Catholick Ballad* (1674)

(which was also published in Latin), deliberately used fine black-letter type to enhance the satirical point it was making along with an accurately underscored first verse, demonstrating all the qualities of a white-letter ballad.

Restricting selection for PBB to verses that cited a tune title was unfeasible as by no means all ballads cited tunes. For example PBB No: 287, a black-letter Restoration ballad that cited no tune but was set to Martin Parker's iconic loyalist anthem 'When the King Enjoys his own again'. The tune of a political ballad was often little more than a vehicle for its words. For the political balladeer, the better known and more popular a tune already was the better, although they could have great satirical potential, for example by setting a song on the execution of traitors to the tune of a jig.[xxii] Mock-litanies and political verse broadsides that relate to the ballad form, even if only satirically, have been included in PBB, while typographic anomalies, such as *The Catholick Ballad,* are discussed under 'Notes' in the relevant entry.

These key differences in appearance between black- and white-letter political ballads up to 1689 are precisely matched by other fundamental differences in their content and style. While black-letter ballads were published on every subject under the sun from love and crime, to straw and fleas, until the 1680s, 'white-letter' ballads were dedicated solely to political topics, appearing only at moments of high-political tension. These two product types also differed radically in literary style. Black-letter ballads were relatively straightforward, keeping allusions, imagery and political detail to an easily manageable minimum, while white-letter ballad-sheets were often infused with multiple learned references, literary metaphors, and personal allusions to political figures, that required a well-educated, and well-connected metropolitan reader if they were to be understood.

Further support for this argument (and the rationale behind the arrangement of the PBB entries) emerges from a comparison of contemporary collecting practices. Samuel Pepys

(who bought his ballad collection in bulk) and Anthony Wood (whose collection was built up over his lifetime from a young age), both carefully separated their 'white-letter' and 'black-letter' ballads. In contrast, bookseller George Thomason and political commentator Narcissus Luttrell, both bibliophiles who concentrated on political print at times of political upheaval, eschewed black-letter ballads almost entirely – collecting only four in total between them. Tory landowner, Sir John Verney, who compiled ten volumes of pamphlet and broadsides during the period of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, collected none at all. Moreover, while Pepys attempted a loose arrangement of his black-letter ballads by subject categories, such as 'Devotion and Morality'; 'History'; 'State and Times'; 'Tragedy'; 'Love-Pleasant'; 'Love-Unfortunate'; 'Humor and Frolicks'; 'Drinking and Good Fellowship', his white-letter ballads were simply grouped together in a single volume: virtually all were political in PBB terms. Furthermore, the merest skimming of the entries listed below shows the great disparity between the multiple copies of white-letter ballads now extant, as opposed to the relatively few black-letter ones. White-letter ballads were distributed among MPs and lawyers and sent in the post with newsletters and pamphlets. They have survived among gentry and scholarly papers, in addition to being gathered together by collectors, but the survival of black-letter ballads depended almost entirely on being collected by enthusiasts, barring a few lucky finds among printer's binding waste and box linings. Finally, there is a marked difference in the way white-letter ballads were often annotated and dated by contemporaries, whereas this was exceptionally rare for black-letter political ballads. Taken altogether, these factors offer the strongest evidence of how contemporaries distinguished ballad products, and the audiences for which they were considered appropriate, by typography.

So, how 'popular' were political ballads? Of the 1,055 'political' titles listed in PBB, about half were printed in the traditional 'black-letter' format that was calculated to be of interest to the broadest possible range of readers, socially and geographically.[xxiii] Of these,

just over 440 individual titles are extant (although some are scraps), due to the destruction

rate of these ballads being exceptionally high, especially during the early 1640s and 1650s.

This suggests that the proportion of black-letter ballads that were political in topic was

perhaps a quarter, compared to at least a half that were love songs (not forgetting that

numerous ballads listed in PBB were themselves military love songs). The remaining 500 or

so titles, all extant, were printed in a variety of 'white-letter' formats and ranged in style and

content from the highest sophistication and satire, to scatological attacks on errant politicians.

Yet, the black- and white-letter products were not completely separate and there were

several key areas of cultural cross-over between them. On occasion, perhaps seeing potential

sales in both markets, publishers produced both black- and white-letter versions of the same

ballad – although it was not unusual for the white-letter versions to contain more details, or

for some verses to differ between the two versions. There are 46 known cases of 'cross-over

ballads' indicated in PBB with an X next to the entry number and against all relevant editions

(see Section 2 'Notes on Entries'). At the same time, whatever their intended readership, all

political balladry drew upon both the 'low' popular tradition of 'ballading' individuals, in a

deliberate attempt to shame through rhyme or 'rough music', and the 'high' literary genres of

epideictic and panegyric poetry, projecting political figures as classical heroes or super-

villains.[xxiv] All political ballads (and many non-political ones) contain some elements of

Christian Humanist learning, owing debts to the Horatian Odes, to Aristotelian and

Ciceronian political analysis, to Old and New Testaments and other religious authorities as

well as contemporary commentators, historians, playwrights and musicians.[xxv]

Students and scholars alike can be tempted to consider the broadside ballad as if it

were beyond the reach of intertextuality, unconnected to higher literary forms, or a range of

social strata, as if they had risen, in Jenner's phrase 'autochthonously from the festivities of

the streets'.[xxvi] Assuming that all ballads were much the same, and (perhaps, not

unreasonably), deterred by the difficulty of locating political ballad material, scholars have preferred to turn to large (and expensive) contemporary anthologies such as *Rump* (1st edn 1660, 2nd larger ed., 1662) and *Poems on Affairs of State* (numerous editions from 1689 onwards), judging them to be sufficiently representative of popular political song without any clear idea of whether individual items were ever available as a broadside ballad on the street, and despite the fact that these songs represent only the more specialised and metropolitan white-letter ballad form. Apart from giving an unrepresentative view of the political songs being sung on the streets of London and elsewhere in the country, a reliance on printed anthologies or even theatre songs alone can lead scholars to miss the additional printed verses that were invariably added to ballad broadsides – bringing them to the requisite length of between 14 – 24 verses – and other changes from edition to edition, that could significantly change the reception of a song.

Chronologies:

The chronological scope of PBB is the period of high-political tension from the outbreak of the Bishops Wars in 1639 through to the Revolution of 1688/9. Before this period relatively few broadside ballads of any kind remain, and political titles are particularly scarce, although numerous titles were listed in the Stationer's Registers. All the extant broadside ballads of the sixteenth century (about 260 in total) were catalogued by Carole Rose Livingston.[xxvii] Several early scholars commented upon these ballads, perhaps the best known being a series of 'ballad history' articles by Charles Firth (which also drew upon many manuscript and anthologised songs and verses) ranging from the reigns of Henry VII to the interregnum.[xxviii] Firth also wrote articles on ballads relating to Scottish history from 1639 to 1659, and produced a book describing and printing a very large body of naval ballads from mediaeval

times to his own day.[xxix] Recent scholarship on the earlier period is constantly growing, and includes richly contextualised work by Alastair Bellany and Hugh Dunthorne's discussion of English ballads related to the Dutch Revolt.[xxx]

The Revolution in 1689 was an obvious place to end the bibliography (although many more political ballads were printed in London after that date, including large numbers of military ballads). After the revolution, the ballad market and collecting practices began to change radically. A new 'slip' (single column) ballad emerged, that was eventually to replace the increasingly anachronistic and expensive black-letter product, making it highly attractive to gentry collectors like Samuel Pepys and Robert Michell. Indeed, by the beginning of the eighteenth-century, black-letter type was rarely used for ballad verses. Slip-ballads were less valued in their own time, but were collected much later by enthusiasts, such as Sir Frederick Madden (1801 - 1873), whose eighteen volume ballad collection still remains to be fully investigated. The lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, which had restricted the publication of ballads to London, Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh, allowed publishers to set up anywhere in the country, effecting a sea-change in the production and marketing history of the ballad.

Each title and edition in PBB is dated as exactly as possible, but at least to the extent that we can be sure it was published *after* a particular date. (The methodology and criteria used for establishing dates are clearly outlined in Section 2 'Notes on Entries'.) Other than the imprint or title, key sources for dating early modern print are the Stationer's Registers, which were fully operational throughout the period covered by this bibliography. Theoretically, publishers were obliged to register and, in the case of political ballads, to licence their publications, but in practice very few titles appear to have been registered or licensed, for example of the hundreds of coronation ballads issued in 1660 and in 1689, none were registered. Why some topical ballads were registered and some were not is unclear. Occasionally undated ballad colophons claim that ballads have been 'enterd' when no record

of such an entry can be found. Possibly registration only took place (and a fee paid) if it was hoped that a ballad would enjoy a long-term popularity, in which case some claim to the publication rights might be worth having. This was the case with naval ballads, which were often registered as they were frequently reissued at times of recruitment.[xxxi] On occasion, as in 1656 and 1657, a clamp-down encouraged the mass registration of ballads, some of which were openly antagonistic to government policy. Licensing records appear to be lost, and indeed it may be the case that a licence was simply written by the relevant official on a manuscript or proof copy.[xxxii] Infrequently, the name of the licensor and the exact date of the license were printed on a ballad sheet, but in most cases, black-letter ballads can only be dated on a 'first possible date' basis, through a thorough analysis of their whole content, combined with information about publishers, the performance of theatre songs, or other contemporary publications. Occasionally, the content of a ballad is so generally applicable and the imprint lost or deliberately obscured, so that only the typographic setting or the woodcuts can help in dating. Informed speculation has often been necessary, but any uncertainties, and the criteria that have determined the dating of a ballad, are all clearly indicated in the entries.

White-letter ballads were less likely to be registered, but far more likely to have dated imprints, and were often annotated by collectors. Even where no such aids are present, they tend to include specific details allowing more accurate speculation regarding the date of first possible publication. Contemporary annotations indicate that while some ballads were published almost immediately after events, others were not available until some months later; however, there is no certainty about whether a collector's annotations denoted the date of publication or purchase. It is not uncommon for Luttrell and Wood to differ in their dating of ballads, for example. Probably, both men were less than systematic in their practice, as they both tended to reorganise and post-date parts of their collections, so that some annotations

propose likely dates (and sometimes unlikely ones), while others give the dates of ballads as they were read.[xxxiii]

Several problems have held ballad studies back from enjoying the same renaissance in studies of news print and other cheap print genres. Foremost has been the absence of transparently researched provenance and publication details for individual ballads, with informational links across collections. This has unfortunately combined with a literary aesthetic, shared by political historians and literary scholars alike, that finds the vernacular poetry of the political broadside ballad unappealing. Together, these factors have contributed to a lack of respect for, knowledge of, or interest in the genre as a whole, and for the seventeenth-century ballad in particular. Yet, this is a vast and currently poorly understood literature that was of real significance to the period in which it was published. It requires interdisciplinary collaborations between historians of literature, politics and music to really unravel the literary and musical inspirations of ballad authors, composers, performers and consumers, or to find the connections between broadside ballads and other contemporary publications.[xxxiv] With the much increased availability and awareness of the ballad form, combined with improved cataloguing and searching facilities, such as EEBO, that allow ballad literature to be seen in the context of the early modern press more generally, there are already hopeful signs that this situation will soon change.

III Collectors and Collections: their importance to ballad studies

Most seventeenth-century political ballads survive because individuals, invariably members of the gentry, deliberately collected them and in doing so demonstrated particular preferences. This has effectively skewed the historical record of what was popular, common or un-sellable waste. Histories of collecting are therefore of particular importance to broadside ballad research (indeed to all literary and archival research). It is important to be

aware of the particular character of each collection, the circumstances of its provenance, its arrangement, its strengths and limitations. Too often, a large single collection (especially Pepys), regardless of its actual scope, has been treated as if it contained the essence of the whole ballad genre within it, with the potential effect perhaps not unlike taking a 'heavy metal' fan's music collection, and that of a 'country and western' fan together as representative of western musical taste.[xxxv] For example, because Samuel Pepys acquired hundreds of ballads in bulk from the ballad warehouse after the Revolution, as part of a bibliographical project in his enforced retirement, his collection contained no ballads (or song anthologies) published by the prolific Tory publicist, Nathaniel Thompson, making the political scope of his collection both limited and unrepresentative.[xxxvi] In the same way, Luttrell's collection, which includes many Thompson ballads, largely ignored the black-letter market with the same effect.

From the outset of the seventeenth century, ballad collections continually changed ownership. Elias Ashmole's (1617–1692) ballads included those of fellow antiquary John Aubrey (1626–1697) and Welsh royalist, Edward Lhuyd (d. 1662). Samuel Pepys's collection incorporated lawyer John Selden's (1584–1654), whose father had been a musician (Anthony Wood called him a 'fiddler'). The Roxburghe collection, begun in the late eighteenth century, included volumes that had belonged to the Earl of Oxford (1661–1724), and that had already passed through the hands of two other gentlemen collectors. Although libraries are now far more sensitive to the collecting histories of the their holdings, until the first half of the twentieth century (like museum curators of the same period), they regarded information about collections and their provenance, as an unnecessary complication: the practice of the Houghton, Beinecke and Huntington librarians in this period, for example, was to undo and discard any contemporary bindings and collate all their broadsides roughly into order of size and date. Each new assemblage changed the unique character of the collection in terms of

scope and structure, and at the same time obliterated information about the selection and unique juxtaposition of sheets by earlier seventeenth-century contemporaries. In many cases the only remaining evidence of the original compilation is the proliferation of numbering systems inscribed on ballad sheets; the occasional manuscript monogram or note, or tantalizing signs of colour bleeding from the same damp covers, long removed, on sheets from a now dispersed collection scattered across several library holdings.

Even collections that remained in the hands of a single family for centuries could suffer from the depredations of 'improvements' and the ultimate need to realise assets through the open market. One example of this is a recently acquired and little-known collection, originally of about 400 seventeenth-century ballads dating from about 1660 to 1700. It is thought to have been compiled by Robert Michell (1653-1729), Whig MP for Petersfield in Hampshire. [xxxvii] At Michell's death in 1729, his collection came into the hands of his daughter and heir Catherine Michell, who married John Jolliffe (1697?-1771), also MP for Petersfield. The family acquired the title Baron of Hylton in 1866 (which they still hold) and items from the first baron, William Jolliffe's library came onto the market at least by 1997, although, in the case of the ballad collection, the original bindings of the ballad collection are lost so there is no Jolliffe bookplate to guarantee provenance.[xxxviii] The regular stitch marks on the left side of all the sheets speak to a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century collection of several hundred ballads that were bound together, probably in multiple volumes. They may have been purchased like this, as stitched books of ballads were advertised by ballad publishers in the early eighteenth century (see below). Certainly, there is little evidence of a careful first owner: the original method of binding would have impeded visibility of the left-hand text (Anthony's Wood's binders were equally insensitive with his white-letter ballads) and it must be doubted whether there were any outer covers for a long period, as the bottom edges and corners of all the sheets in the collection were badly affected

by insufficient protection. With no corollary information such as frontispiece or contents page to aid us, the most we can ascertain from the sheets themselves is that at some point probably in the eighteenth century (and certainly before the mid-nineteenth when paper was machine made), the ballad sheets were carefully unstitched and mounted with glue onto expensive, hand-made, watermarked and gilt-edged paper pages. They were then consecutively and regularly numbered in ink, in the same hand, on the top-right corner of each sheet. Where both verso and recto of a ballad sheet was printed, it was mounted into a paper frame (a similar practice can be seen in the Earl of Crawford's collection), but only one side was numbered. These mounted sheets were then stitched together into several new volumes, probably with an expensive binding: there is no evidence of bleeding from cheaply coloured covers and some mounting sheets have green silk binding threads still attached.

The collection was unstitched once again when the ballad volumes were sold off to a dealer, allowing some 'cherry-picking' by clients. When the bulk of the collection came into the possession of the Beinecke, each ballad was given a folder of its own and the original ordering of the collection was mostly restored (although not entirely so), revealing the loss of seventy-eight sheets from the original collection, the once consecutive numbers showing odd gaps of two or three ballads at a time. A new numbering system of Beinecke library shelf-marks were pencilled onto the folders. Although the final Michell number is 389 (Bein No: 310), seven sheets are mysteriously unnumbered, which may suggest the original collection had grown larger. [xxxix] Perhaps the missing sheets now lie in another public collection – easily identifiable by their watermarked mounting sheets and characteristic numbering.

Like Pepys, Michell may have acquired his collection after retiring from political life in 1705, purely as a bibliographical project. The condition of Michell's ballad-sheets suggests that they were acquired in a very short period. Beyond the damage caused during storage or in being rebound (a few are badly torn), they bear no signs of use such as folding for

pocketing or posting, or public pinning and pasting. Michell collected only black-letter

ballads, as far as we know, but, like Pepys, he allowed 'political' ballads to sit side by side

with ballads on less significant topics. Indeed, it seems clear that gentlemen contemporaries

rarely considered the black-letter ballad as seriously 'political' in content at all. All the

ballads in Michell's collection were published by traditional ballad publishers and ballad

partners, which seems to replicate Pepys's ballad purchasing practice: indiscriminate and in

large numbers, direct from the warehouse. This is in direct contrast to Anthony Wood's

practice, for example, which was to buy continuously from a range of suppliers, including

sellers in the street.

Michell had no earlier collection with which to augment his modern purchases as

Pepys did, but, like the ballads Pepys himself acquired, a few date from the 1660s and 1670s,

but the vast majority were published after 1680, and most in the last decade of the century. Of

the earliest Michell ballads, one was published by William Gilbertson, probably in 1665 (the

tune refers to General Monk's exploits against the Dutch), and a Richard Burton publication,

Nick and Froth, perhaps from a similar period, or earlier. Unlike the Pepys collection,

however, which contains many unique copies of revolution ballads, there is a noticeably

limited range of topics reflected in Michell's (although we do not know what subjects the 78

missing ballads dealt with): in particular the complete absence of any coronation ballads from

1689, or of ballads referring to armed campaigns against Jacobites in Ireland, seems

remarkable. Of 327 Michell songs (including fourteen verso ballads), 53 were 'political' in

PBB terms. Most related to the period up to 1688 - ten date from Charles II's reign (including

several anti-Whig ballads), two on Monmouth [see PBB ***], one was an attack on James

II's Jesuit advisor Father Petre, and only two mentioned William III by name. The rest were

military ballads. At least two thirds of the Michell collection were what Pepys called 'love –

fortunate' and 'unfortunate' with the rest made up of godly and moralising advice ballads.

Pepys's and Wood's collections were both very large and disparate, but even if we compare Michell's to the similar sized Euing collection (although its contemporary provenance is unknown), the range of topics still seems very small. A better comparison is the anonymous British Library collection of about 225 ballads published between1660-1710 (shelf-mark C.22.f6), which was similarly mainly pristine in condition and limited in political material, containing only eighteen ballads on political topics (several of them later reprints) published between 1660 and 1689.

The ballads in what must have been Michell's final volume sustained considerably more damage than those in the first volumes – though they show the same signs of stitching from an earlier bound collection. The volume included a group of about twenty highly traditional titles on topics such as the beggar of Bethnal Green, St George, Andrew Barton and Ann Askew while – in common with many contemporary collectors – nine Robin Hood titles were grouped together at the end. These highly traditional titles were all issued by Alexander Milbourn and partners from the late 1690s. The sheets were unusually large and often had two ballads printed side by side on the same sheet. Cyprian Blagden argued that Milbourn had difficulty sustaining his ballad printing business in the later part of the century and items like these seem to suggest a deliberate attempt by the publisher to sell to the conservatively minded consumer – or collector. These ballads may have been added to the collection later, perhaps bought from specialists in the provision of old ballads, such as Charles Brown and Thomas Norris, who registered a huge list in 1722, some of which could be bought ready bound.[xl]

Comparisons between Michell's and other contemporary collections should awaken us to the precarious position the historian faces when dealing with collections of ballads and invites some adjustment to our view of the black-letter ballad market in the late-seventeenth century. Alone, or in combination with the British Library C.22.f6, which was similarly

made up mostly of love songs, these ballads would suggest a very negative view of popular support for, or knowledge of political events leading up to the 'Glorious Revolution'. On the other hand, Michell's exemplifies far better than any other collection the way in which the black-letter ballad provided a middling-sort pastime by the end of the century – a condescendingly nostalgic pasting exercise – and it no longer reflected the hurly burly of the street, where the slip-song had taken over as the new vehicle for political ballading comment. As publisher Cluer Dicey stated in 1764, when he attempted a *Catalogue of Maps Prints, Copy-books, Drawing Books, Histories, Old Ballads, Patters, Collections &*: 'there are near three thousand different sorts of slips; of which new Sorts coming out almost daily render it impossible to make a Complete Catalogue.'

IV The Online Ballad Archive

When originally commissioned in 2003, PBB envisaged providing facsimiles of each ballad title listed. As soon became clear, apart from the immense expense of such a project, it seemed increasingly impractical in view of the fact that broadside ballads were increasingly freely available to researchers via specialist internet archives. Where once they were ignored and reviled, digitization has meant that ballads are increasingly seen as an exciting and valuable primary source, especially in History and English departments: short, pithy and ideal for undergraduate and postgraduate students studying the popular cultures of the early modern period. These resources include Chadwick Healy's Early English Books Online project [EEBO], which is ideal for locating ballads in the wider context of pamphlets and play publications, although the removal of the Pepys ballads from the site after they were digitised by the EBBA project was an ominous sign and it is to be hoped that all ballad material digitised elsewhere will not suffer the same fate. Currently, EEBO includes ballad titles, and sometimes multiple editions, from all the major collections, while libraries with

smaller holdings, such as Lambeth Palace, the Folger, Newberry and Duke University Libraries, have been swift to provide images of their unique copies as the site develops. While at present, the bibliographic details for these ballads are often inaccurate, for the same reasons discussed above, the site has grown increasingly responsive to new research and findings, a development that should enable an unprecedented sharing and amassing of scholarship on individual titles.

The growth of free specialist ballad sites is also growing extensively, though there is a danger that these may promote an unhelpful tendency to separate the black-letter ballad in particular from a wider literary context or chronology and may preserve the unfortunate canonisation and valorisation of outdated reference works. A model of new thinking in this respect has been the Bodleian Library's 'Bodley Ballads' website, set up largely under the auspices of folklorist and data management expert Mike Heaney and librarian Dr Alexandra Franklin, which has made around 30,000 ballad sheets, published from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, freely available online. In my view, the structure and content of the Bodleian entries is the most sophisticated and searchable available on any digital catalogue currently published, dealing as it does with the ballad in every respect from the material form, to publishing histories, to information relating to performance, composition and tune and finally (though less successfully due to its Byzantine complexity) an iconoclass search engine with which to explore woodcut images. Funded as a 'one-off' project, the web-site is 'closed' to improvements, and it has not yet been possible to find the funding to further develop the site in the light of experience, nor even to allow amendments and updates that take account of the new research it has prompted and enabled.

Since the Bodleian site was launched, an extensive new free resource has come online, in the shape of the English Broadside Ballad Archive, based at the Early Modern Studies Centre at UCSB, under the direction of Professor Paddy Fumerton, Dr. Carl Stahmer

and their team. This has benefited from ongoing funding and thus does have the potential for regular renewal - my comments here can only be based on a particular moment (December 2011) in its ongoing development. EBBA expressly aims for a comprehensive digitisation of the extant black-letter ballad literature, and, at time of writing, has digitised most of the Pepys, Roxburghe, University of Glasgow's Euing collection and most of the Huntington collections (which include many white-letter ballads). EBBA's initial cataloguing model adopted both the structure and incorporated the contents of Helen Weinstein's important *Catalogue of the Pepys Ballads*, completed in the 1990s, for which she indexed titles, tunes, publishers, and watermarks and described and measured all the sheets. However, the Weinstein catalogue also has weaknesses: created specifically for the Pepys collection it only cited reference works by Hyder Rollins - his six volume edition of the *Pepys Ballads* and his *Analytical Index of the Black Letter Ballads in the Stationers Registers,* omitting the insights of other more recent researches such as Livingstone on sixteenth-century broadside ballads, Sarah Newman on Martin Parker's ballads, Lena Goldstein on the materiality and imagery of the Pepys ballads and Claude Simpson's magisterial work on the music of the broadside ballad. By adopting the Weinstein model, despite the helpful addition of a subject index and some audio links, EBBA is in danger of preserving these limitations. Like Wing/ESTC entries, and library catalogues, there is currently a lack of transparency about the information contained in the EBBA entries: where publisher's dates are given, for example, no explicit reference is made to sources of information, such as Plomer's work on printers, or Cyprian Blagden's important update, or other sources. Since both these authorities relied mostly on the evidence of imprints for their conclusions, their findings need to be open to challenge as EBBA's ongoing digitisation reveals new texts, offers new comparisons and allows new publication narratives to emerge. In order to maximise the benefits of online publication, in offering flexible and multi-layered possibilities for extending knowledge and enabling and

broadening scholarly dialogue (with theatre specialists and musicologists, for example), some facility needs to be provided in the EBBA cataloguing model by which the exciting new research the facility has prompted might be transparently incorporated and acknowledged. In particular, this may help to prevent students, and sometimes scholars, from treating the broadside ballad as a free-floating medium without historical precedent or literary foundations.

The EBBA resource has already had a tremendous impact on researchers, teachers and students of early modern culture and history in the US and UK. Discussions have been held exploring the possibility of developing the site's functionality and opening it to developing scholarship worldwide, by linking and synchronising its entries with other established sites, such as Bodley Ballads.[xli] In the light of these developments, an exciting future for ballad studies seems to be assured.

Conclusion

Although digital resources have provided unprecedented access to items worldwide that once would have entailed expensive and time consuming travel and negotiation with busy libraries and archives, digitization must not lead to ballad collections being sent into deep storage, never again to see the light of day. Current resources do not and probably never will provide comprehensive coverage: several collections remain un-digitised and are likely to remain so for some time, such as the Earl of Crawford's private collection, held in the National Library of Scotland, of about 1,400 mostly seventeenth century English ballads and the Verney ballads, held at Cambridge. While digitization will certainly galvanize developments in ballad scholarship, digital images are a blunt tool and can never replace research into the physical sheets themselves. The endlessly varying material ballad, its size and shape, the quality of its paper, the marginalia, the printing on verso or recto, the creases and holes

indicating use and collection practice, the numbering on sheets indicating multiple owners over the lifetime of the sheet - little of which can be identified through the digital image - are all fundamental to the study of balladry.

Ballads on 'affairs of state' have been and still are largely eschewed by scholars of popular political history and the press, despite the growing availability of ballad literature, and its great potential as a teaching and research resource. The lack of any reliable guide to the political broadside balladry of the seventeenth century has certainly exacerbated this situation. Despite its inevitable errors and omissions, by plugging that that gap, I hope that PBB will help to make this immensely rich and largely untapped source for understanding popular political cultures far more accessible to students and scholars of political, religious, social, cultural and literary history. While I relinquish the task of bibliographer with considerable relief, I hope to have encouraged new scholarship, and look forward with great pleasure to the discoveries, interpretations, amendments, corrections, discussions and dialogues that this will bring.

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[i] For a good overview of the whole period see Tim Harris's two volumes, *Restoration. Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (Penguin: London, 2005) and *Revolution. The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1725* (Allen Lane: London, 2005). On English balladeers and the French see McShane [9].

[ii] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1991).

[iii] See McShane [2]. Military ballads are very numerous, especially if love songs are included, and they can be hard to date exactly, especially in the period between 1689 and 1692. It is likely that some omissions have been made, but I continue to collect information on these.

[iv] Angela McShane Jones, ''Rime and Reason': The Political World of the Broadside Ballad, 1640 – 1689' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2005)

[v] Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II. Politics and propaganda from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis.* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1987); Mark S. R. Jenner, 'The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England', *Past and Present*, no. 177 (Nov. 2002); Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge U.P.: Cambridge, 1989).

[vi] Wing/English Short Title Catalogue; National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints; David F. Foxon: *English verse 1701–1750: a catalogue of separately printed poems with notes on contemporary collected editions* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1975).

[vii] In fact the typographic detail of the sheet also indicates publication later than 1680. Another edition with this title in the Roxburgh collection is printed with the first verse accurately underscored. Both these editions lack the final verse of all the other editions.

viii *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* comp. and edited by Francis James Child (1st edn 1882–1892: repr. 5 vols. Dover Publications Inc.: New York, 1965); Ebs.; William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time; A Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads and Dance Tunes, Illustrative of the National Music of England ...* (2 vols: Cramer, Beale & Chappell: London, 1855-59); Crawford; Brooks; Rollins, *PB*; Rollins, *C&P*; Firth; *Political Ballads Published in England during the Commonwealth*, edited by Thomas Wright. (Percy Society: Early English Poetry, etc. Vol. 3: London, 1842); *Political Ballads of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries Annotated*, comp. and edited by W. Walker Wilkins (Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts: London, 1860). vol. 1; *The Cavalier Songs and Ballads of England from 1642-1684*, edited by Charles Mackay (Griffin Bohn: London, 1863).

ix See Claude M. Simpson, 'Ebsworth and the Roxburghe Ballads,' *The Journal of American Folklore*, 61:242 (Oct. - Dec., 1948), 337-344

x See Nicolas K Kiessling, 'The location of two lost volumes of ballads, Wood 399 and Wood 400', *Bodleian Library Record*, XV, 4(April 1996), 260- 91; on forgeries see Leslie Shepard, 'Foreword', RI, p. vii; evidence of thefts can be seen in the discrepancy between Wood's own numbering on ballad sheets and the Bodleian Library numbers, as well as notes referring to missing or stolen ballads from several BL collections.

xi See Claude M. Simpson, 'Ebsworth and the Roxburghe Ballads,' *The Journal of American Folklore*, 61:242 (Oct. - Dec., 1948), 337-344

xii Richard Luckett, 'The Collection: origins and history', in Helen Weinstein ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. II. i. Ballads Catalogue* (Cambridge, 1992), p. xi and fn 1.

xiii Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 11. Livingstone, p. 31; Rollins, RI. Further work is needed if we are to get any more reliable approximation of overall ballad publications.

xiv My grateful thanks to Hal Jones for accomplishing the eye-boggling task of counting these.

xv I have argued and demonstrated this point in several different contexts: see McShane [1], [4], [6], [7], [10].

xvi W. G. Day (ed.), *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. The Pepys Ballads* (5 Vols, Cambridge, 1987), vol. I, frontispiece: 'my collection of ballads … continued to the year 1700 when the form, till then peculiar thereto, viz.ᵗ of the Black Letter with Pictures seems (for cheapnes sak) wholly laid aside, for that of the White Letter without Pictures.' For further discussion of Pepys's influence on misunderstandings of the ballad trade, see McShane [1].

xvii For an engraved ballad see PBB No:401dX *A Turncoat of the Times* (1690s).

xviii See figures 1 and 2. 'Landscape' and 'portrait' describe respectively the longest side as the top of the page or the shortest side at the top of the page. Bibliographers use the term 'oblong' [ob.] to differentiate these formats. For a description of the materiality of the Pepys ballads see Weinstein, 'Introduction', *II. i. Ballads Catalogue*, esp. pp. xxxi-xxxii.

xix Richard Luckett, 'The Collection: origins and history', in Robert Latham and Helen Weinstein (eds), *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. II. ii. Ballads Indexes* (Cambridge, 1994), p.xxv.

xx The Pepys collection contains just one James Dean ballad.

xxi For further discussion of musical notation ballads see Simpson, p. xii; Richard Luckett, 'The Collection: origins and history', p.xv, and McShane [1].

xxii For further discussion of the political use of tunes see McShane Jones, ''Rime and Reason', Ch. 3: 'Harmony'.

xxiii See McShane [1], to which the following paragraphs are indebted.

xxiv See Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, rough music and the "reform of popular culture" in early modern England', *Past and Present*, 105 (Nov. 1984), 79-113 and Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000), ch. 6.

xxv See discussion in McShane [2] and McShane Jones, ''Rime and Reason', Chs 4-5.

xxvi Jenner, 'Roasting of the Rump', pp. 109–10, 94, 92 and McShane [6], p.261.

xxvii Carole Rose Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads of the Sixteenth Century: a Catalogue of the Extant Sheets and an Essay* (Garland Pub: New York, London, 1991)

xxviii M. A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476-1622* (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1929); Leslie Shepard, *The History of Street Literature. The Story of Broadside Ballads, Chapbooks, Proclamations, News-sheets, Election Bills, Tracts, Pamphlets, Cocks, Catchpennies and other Ephemera* (David and Charles: Newton Abbot, 1973); C. H. Firth 'The Ballad History of the Reigns of the Later Tudors', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* [*TRHS*], Third Series, Vol. 3 (1909), pp. 51-124; Idem, 'The Ballad History of the Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII', *TRHS*, Third Series, Vol. 2 (1908), pp. 21-50; Idem 'The Ballad History of the Reign of James I', *TRHS*, Third Series, Vol. 5 (1911), pp. 21-61; Firth, 'Bishops Wars' and Firth, 'Scottish Ballads'. See also idem, 'The Royalists under the Protectorate' *The English Historical Review*, 52: 208 (Oct., 1937), pp. 634-648.

[xxix] See Firth, *Naval Ballads*.

[xxx] Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News, Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2002); Dunthorne. See also several of the essays in Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield, eds., *Literature and popular culture in early modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009)

[xxxi] McShane [2].

[xxxii] Shepard, 'Foreword', p.vii; Livingston, p.37; Arber, Vol. II, p.440.

[xxxiii] A weakness in the Osborn thesis regarding Luttrell's dating habits, as laid out in the *Luttrell File*, is that insufficient comparison was made with other contemporary annotations.

[xxxiv] See for example the characteristic leap from sixteenth century to eighteenth century ballad publication in a recent article by Paula McDowell, 'The Manufacture and Lingua-facture of Ballad-Making: Broadside Ballads in Long Eighteenth-Century Ballad Discourse', *The Eighteenth Century*, 47: 2 (Summer 2006), pp. 151-178, which renders the arguments therein somewhat hollow.

[xxxv] As, for example, in Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge, 1985).

[xxxvi] G. M. Peerbooms, 'Nathaniel Thompson: tory printer, ballad monger, and propagandist' (Unpublished PhD, University of Enschiede, 1983)

[xxxvii] The collection was bought from a dealer with undocumented provenance. It is described by the catalogue as 'Michell, Robert, 1653-1729 –Ownership; Jolliffe, John, 1697?-1771 –Ownership; Hylton, Barons of.'

[xxxviii] Items with the Jolliffe bookplate can be found in antiquarian and dealer's hands and in libraries.

[xxxix] A few sheets are out of order; for example Yale Nos 311-313 are respectively Michell numbers 373, 371 and 374; while Yale Nos 292-295 are respectively 369, 366, 365 and 375. The final Yale number is in fact No. 313 (Michell No. 374).

[xl] Blagden, 'Notes', p.176.

[xli] Some major libraries have moved towards a partial provision of digital resources: for example the National Library of Scotland has created its own contextualised resource 'The Word on the Street', and several US libraries now provide digital images of some of their unique holdings.