

STREET BALLADS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE

by Roy Palmer

*A young farmer's son the deed has done,
By jealousy and passion he was led.
At Arlington Miss Phipps was murdered;
Now she's in her narrow bed.*

This fragment of a murder ballad was remembered by Miss Jessie Howman of Stow-on-the-Wold. Her father, who sang it to her, recalled the itinerant vendors who hawked such sheets for sale, accompanying the lyrics with "a dolorous chant". The price was one penny.

The ballad trade has a history going back to the sixteenth century, though in Gloucestershire, as in most provincial areas, such printing seems to have begun some two hundred years later. Before then, the London printers occasionally issued ballads mentioning the county or places and people in it. Hawkers would no doubt sell these both in the metropolis and in the provinces.

"The Skilful Doctor of Gloucester-shire", a copy of which is in the extensive ballad collection made by the diarist, Samuel Pepys, tells of a farmer who makes a maidservant pregnant. The doctor of the title manages to persuade the farmer's wife that her husband has conceived a child, and must pass it on to another woman by sleeping with her. The wife falls for the story and approaches the maid who, after a show of reluctance, agrees to sleep with the farmer and "take on" the child.

This ballad is linked to Gloucestershire by nothing more than the name, but others are more specific. "The Truth brought to Light", also issued in London in 1662, deals with



From "The Skilful Doctor of Gloucester-shire".

an extraordinary sequence of events. One William Harrison of Chipping Campden disappeared. Widow Perry of the town and her two sons were arrested, found guilty of murder, and hanged on Broadway Hill. Later Harrison turned up alive, alleging that the Widow Perry had transported him by witchcraft to "a rock in the sea near Turkey". Harrison had probably gone to ground to conceal a theft of his own; the full story is told by George Clark in his book, *The Campden Wonder* (1959).

GLOUCESTERSHIRE PRINTING

Between the 1760s and the 1860s at least 37 ballad printers successively worked in Gloucestershire, 27 of them in Bristol alone. The rest were spread over five other towns; Cheltenham, Cirencester, Gloucester, Tewkesbury and Wotton-under-Edge.

The period when a particular printer was in business can usually be dated from street or trade directories. One dynasty, the Bonners, worked in Bristol from 1778, or before, until 1864. W. Collard worked in the same city from 1807 until 1846. Samuel Howard was in business for some 27 years in Tewkesbury (c.1760-87), and C. Clift for a shorter time (c.1820-37) at Cirencester. Thomas Willey has a 30 year spell at Cheltenham (c.1830-61). Others operated for much briefer periods. W. Price printed at Blackfriars Street, Gloucester, possibly only from 1808 to 1820, and some lasted for very short spells.

For the most part, such printers were at the less prestigious end of the market. Robert Raikes, Junior, of Gloucester, is an exception, for at one time he owned the *Gloucester Journal* (now part of *The Citizen*), but for him, ballad printing was a marginal aspect of his work.

Many printers combined the sale of ballads with those of other items such as primers, children's books, patters, battledores, memorandum books and all kinds of stationery. Harward sold patent medicines. On his eight-page booklets of ballads (called "garlands") there appeared this notice:

Printed and Sold by S. HARWARD: Sold also at his Shops in GLOUCESTER and CHELTENHAM; where may be had all Sorts of New and Old Songs; Penny Histories, &c. Wholesale and Retail. Likewise the True Original Daffy's Elixir, Bateman's Drops, Scotch Pills, and all other Medicines of established reputation, that are advertised in the Weekly Papers.

BALLAD DISTRIBUTION

Apart from having shops of his own, Harward was linked with other printers or shopkeepers in Alcester, Bromyard, Clebury, Mortimer, Evesham, Kidderminster, Stourbridge and Worcester. Some of these in their turn had connections

further afield; with Birmingham, for example.

Other printers had similar, if less ambitious arrangements. W. Turner of Cirencester advertised that he welcomed travellers and county dealers, and that his ballads were also sold "by E. Needham, Lower End of Westgate Street, Gloucester". The travellers had their own rounds. James Peloteris, to take one example, went from Painswick to Bisley, Cirencester, Fairford, Lechlade, Highworth, Swindon, Marlborough and Wooton Bassett.

A rare glimpse of hawkers in Cheltenham is provided by W.E. Adams who started his apprenticeship at the age of 14 on the *Cheltenham Journal* in 1846. Thomas Willey, he wrote, "was always ready with 'a last dying speech' for every criminal who was executed at Gloucester"! He continued:

It was generally the same speech, altered to suit the name and circumstance of the new culprit; and it was invariably adorned with a ghastly woodcut, showing the figure of a man or woman, as the case might be, dangling from a gallows. The passage leading to Willey's printing office (on the High Street) was crowded on the morning of an execution with an astonishing collection of ragamuffins and tatterdemalions, greasy, grimy and verminous. Soon they were bawling their doleful wares all over town.

Willey's total output was probably much larger than the 150 sheets (often with two ballads on each) which have survived. Harward issued at least 118 chapbooks and garlands. Not all contained ballads, but many did, as can be seen from the list of titles which he printed on the back cover of some of his wares. *A Choice Collection of new Songs* ran to 30 numbers, each with several items. Of these, 21 have been preserved in the British Library.

Clift of Cirencester printed serial numbers on his sheets, a simpler version of those seen on records and cassettes today. They run up to 84. If one adds different editions - two sheets, "Poor Caroline of Edinburgh Town" and "The Eniskillen Dragoon", were each published three times with a different "B" side or second song on each occasion - and also unnumbered sheets, one arrives at a total of 116.

Even without serial numbers, similar sums can be done for other printers, though only those which happen to have survived can be counted. Collard's 136 ballads - to take just one example - may be only a fraction of those he issued over the long period of 39 years when he was in business. Ballad sheets were flimsy. Ploughmen rolled them into a ball and took them out of their pockets to read under the hedge when taking "bait". Milkmaids pasted them to byre walls to scan while they were milking. Weavers pinned them to looms. Sailors stuck them inside the lids of sea chests. Such practices show the affection in which ballads were held, but were not conducive to their physical survival.

BALLAD THEMES

Samuel Harward relied heavily on traditional material, much of it now regarded as classic balladry, such as "The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green", "Chevy Chase", "Little Musgrove", "Robin Hood and Little John", "King Edward IV and the Tanner of Tamworth", "The Children in the Wood", "Famous Flower of Serving Men", "Jane Shore", "The Spanish Lady's Love to an English Captain", "Fair Maudlin", "The Bloody Gardener", "The Death of Andrew Barton" and "The Lady's Fall". New material like "The Bristol Garland" or "The Gloucestershire Tragedy" was written very much in the same idiom.

The nineteenth century printers leaned much more towards the popular songs of their day, some of which had been current for generations while others were novel. A veritable ragbag included "Auld Lang Syne" and "Jim Crow", "Christ Church Bells" and "Gramachree Molly", "The Flowing Bowl" and "Old King Cole".

Even so, they still printed a good deal of what we now call folk songs. Of Willey's 275 titles some 40 fell into this category, with titles like "The Golden Glove", "Joan's Ale", "The Female Drummer" and "Bold Robin Hood". Some 40 per cent of Collard's production was of a similar kind, with songs like "Here's Health to the Jolly Blacksmith", "Bedham City" and "The Constant Lovers".

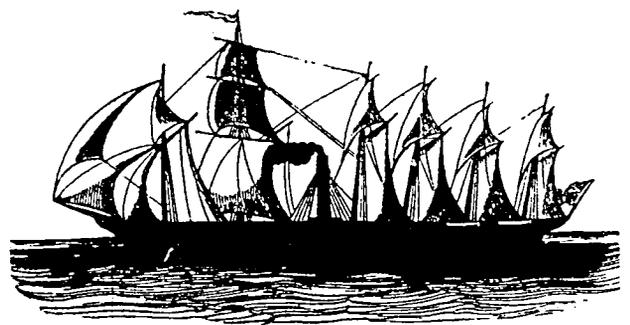
NEW SONGS

Ballad printers were not above claiming novelty for songs that were centuries old. Nevertheless, there were genuinely new songs responding with information and comment to national and local events. Nautical matters, not surprisingly, were especially attractive to Bristol printers. Shipwrecks were a prime topic. In more than one case the misfortune was compounded by survivors having been obliged to eat the bodies of their dead companions! A shipwreck nearer home - in the Severn, off Oldbury - is the subject of "The Trowman's Fall". The sheet, without imprint, was probably issued by Collard of Bristol. It is the only one I know which mentions the once characteristic Severn trow.

*The seventh day of February from Bristol we sail'd out,
Our Trow was richly loaded and bound for Worcester port;
At half-past six that very night it was a dismal sound,
Our gallant ship stuck on the sand and 4 of her crew were drown'd.*

Most of the rest of the ballad, which gives the impression of having been put together very hurriedly, concerns the robbery by "two old watchmen" of articles from two of the victims. It would be interesting to try and document the incident, perhaps from newspaper accounts or a history of Oldbury.

More cheerful nautical news was provided in 1843 by the launch at Bristol of Brunel's ship, the *Great Britain*. At least three ballad sheets sought to cash in on the event. J. Bonner of Back Street, Bristol, issued both "A New Song on the Launch of the *Great Britain*" and "A New Song on the launch of the *Great Britain*, and Prince Albert's visit to Bristol", the latter bearing a tolerably accurate description of the ship. W. Taylor of 39 Temple Street printed "Launch of the *Great Britain*", which is also unusual in that it bears the author's name: Thomas Cook.



A New Song on the Launch of the Great Britain.

INDUSTRIAL THEMES

Another sensational topic favoured by the printers was of pit disasters. Those which took place in the Forest of Dean may well have inspired ballads, but if so none seems to have survived. One Bristol printer, John Chapman of Lamb Street, issued a sheet entitled "Verses on the Awful Explosion by Fire Damp, at the Black Vein Pit, Risca, Western Valleys, Dec 1st, 1860". This is largely an appeal for funds to help the dependants of colliers killed in Monmouthshire.

The Forest miners are celebrated in a love song, "The Gloucestershire Colliers", and an anthem of local pride, "The Jovial Foresters", both issued by Willey of Cheltenham. The

latter continued to be sung until the twentieth century: an oral version was taken down in 1925. It is probably older than Willey's text, which has several garbled words and phrases which seem to indicate that it was taken down from a singer.

The Jovial Foresters

*I am a Jovial Forester, my trade is getting Coal,
I never knew a Forester, but was a hearty soul,
It's what I like when at my work, some neighbour or some
smoking trick
(Though black we are when at our work, you'd take us for
some smoking Turk).
But when I've done I'm ripe for fun, to dance or sing with any one,
For I'm a jovial Forester, &c.*

*Among mankind you know full well, there's miners of every degree,
But he who undermines his friend is far more black than we;
He's black at heart, you need not doubt, he is black within and
black without,
But when free from work can be as smart and spruce as nay one [he]
For I'm a jovial Forester, &c.*

*The countay [courtier] undermines the state; as for the doctor, he
The constitution undermines, for to prolong the fee
The lawyer undermines your purse, none of them can work like us,
Our minds are bent with that intent, to warm our friends and
give consent.
For I'm a jovial Forester, &c.*

*As for the church it must be serv'd, to that we are no foes,
While we undermine the Deans we warm the bishop's nose,
In vain may Cloe turn the spit, nor would the cook yet fancy it
Nor for the mayor's feast yet prepare, if 'twas not for our tools [toil]
and care.
For I'm a jovial Forester, &c.*

*To the Foresters lets drink success, wherever they may be,
For they are the boys that fear no noise, but delve on merrily,
May plenty thrive throughout our land, bread be always at
command,
And this I think while we have chink no collier will refuse to drink.
For we are the jovial Foresters, &c.*

The tune, "Jovial Forester", is specified for at least one of the *Sixteen Labour Songs for Miners' Meetings*, published as a booklet (price two pence) by George Long of Cinderford. Among the authors was Timothy Mountjoy, who later published his autobiography under the title of *The Life, Labours, and Deliverances of a Forest of Dean Collier* (1887).

The textile trade in Gloucestershire led to ballads such as "The Woollen Manufacturers' Glory" (no imprint; probably Collard), which follows the progress of the wool from sheep's back to exported cloth. It expresses these sentiments:

*God bless King George and his family royal,
And send that his subjects may always prove loyal.*

On the other hand, "The Weavers' Turn out" (Bonner and Henson, Bristol) concerns a strike, probably that of 1829:

*O, hark! my lads and give an ear, to listen unto me,
A story unto you I'll relate which happen'd the other day.
It's concerning of weavers, who for their rights maintain,
We have been labouring many a year, but still it was all in vain.*

*Chorus:
So let us all, while in our bloom,
Drink success to the weavers' loom.*

*In Dursley town in Gloucestershire, for wages we stood out;
It was for one 3 pence a yard on a chain of broad cloth,
Our clubs we have to support our wives and children dear,
We live in hopes of better times while we drink a jug of beer.*

Working on the land was once the major occupation in Gloucestershire. It is celebrated in "The Farmer's Boy" (Bennett, Bristol), a new song in the 1830s. Fairs, and festivals such as sheep-shearing suppers and harvest homes, have their own ballad. The mood is one of contentment, but there are occasions when Hodge speaks of his master with some asperity. "The Farmer's Lamentation" (Price, Gloucester) makes much the same kind of criticism of farmers' extravagancies which William Cobbett levelled.

*Illustration introducing
The Farmer's
Lamentation*



Clift of Cirencester issued "Advice to Farmers", "The New times" and "Times are Altered", all pursuing the same argument. In the same printer's "Hiring Day" the opening stanza has a blank in which the singer can insert the name of his own locality. The ballad makes time-honoured complaints about the conditions provided by some farmers for the labourers who lived in:

*There was a fine misses what think you to that
She hungered lasses and starved the cat.*

*Old skin them alive was my master last year,
He neither allow'd me ale nor small beer.*

*The cheese was made bad and full of eyes,
And rusty fat bacon made into pies.*

*The bread was made bad, the flesh it was scarce,
These are the reasons for leaving my place.*

POLITICAL THEMES

From social criticism of this kind to politics proper is only a short step. There were general commentaries on the political scene such as "Odds & Ends of the Year 1830" (no imprint; probably issued by Collard). The ballad, which was originally published in London, presupposes a considerable knowledge of people and issues. It refers in familiar terms to "the new King and Queen" (William IV and Adelaide), Lords Brougham and Grey, "old Arthur and Bob" (the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel), "the ex-King of France" (Charles X), Saint John Long (a notorious quack doctor), Captain Swing (mythical leader of machine-breaking farm labourers), and the MPs, Henry Hunt and Daniel O'Connell.

The struggles connected with the passage through parliament of the Reform Act of 1832 led to ballads like "Briton's Hopes and the Bill not Lost", which concludes:

*Come let the bells all merrily ring,
Success to Grey, "God save the King",
Let every Briton drink and sing,
We never will be conquer'd.*

Chorus

*Let the Tories strive with all their might,
For to deprive us of our right,
With our King we'll strive both day & night,
We never will be conquer'd.*

"Forced to be Contended", issued by Willey of Cheltenham, expresses the disappointment felt when hopes raised by the Reform Act proved to be illusory:

*They said reform would do us good
It has not yet I wish it would,
For thousands they're wanting food
Must starve and wait contented.*

Chorus

*Oh! dear Oh! dear what times are these,
The rich will do just as they please,
The poor are starving by degrees
And forced to be contented.*

Willey also printed bitter attacks on the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 and the new workhouses which it set up, in "The New Gruel Shops", "The Fatal English Poor Law Bill" and "Past, Present, and Future, Or, the Poor Man's Consolation" (the last also issued by Cliff of Cirencester). Even so, only twenty of his titles - some ten per cent - involve social comment or political material. Half this number consists of patriotic songs like "Albion my Country" and "The British True Blue". Half a dozen items are concerned with crime.

CRIME



*Kidd Wake in Gloucester Gaol, c.1799.
Courtesy of Gloucestershire Record Office.*

Ballads dealing with murder (the more gory the better), hangings and transportation were much in demand. Shipway of Cirencester judged his clientele interested enough in the events of another county to issue "The Lamentation of W. Warner, T. Ward & T. Williams, who were executed at Warwick, August 14, 1818 for highway robbery". Many such ballads were ephemeral, but a version of this one continued to be sung in Gloucestershire for well over 150 years.

Moral warnings are often put into the mouths of those about to die. A typical sheet is "An Affecting Copy of Verse Written on the Body of Harriet Tarver, Who was Executed April 9, 1836, at Gloucester, for poisoning her Husband in the town of Camden".

*Good people all I pray attend
Unto these lines that I have penn'd
A criminal confined I lie,
My crime is of the blackest die.*

*Harriet Tarver is my name, you'll hear,
From Camden town in Gloucestershire,
I own the dreadful deed I've done,
And now my glass is nearly run.*

*A loving husband once I had,
Which ought t' have made a wife's heart glad.
But Satan he tempted me so,
That I resolved the deed to do.*

*To poison him was my intent,
And to take his life I was fully bent,
White arsenic I did apply,
Which for the same I'm condemned to die.*

Penal conditions in Gloucestershire are the subject of a powerful, realistic ballad, printed by Willey of Cheltenham, "The County Livery". The livery in question was the yellow and blue patchwork cap, jacket and trousers worn by prisoners in the Houses of Correction at Northleach, Littledean and Horsley. The ballad refers specifically to the last, which was in existence from the 1790s to the 1850s. The "burster" (verse 6) was the term used for a spell on the treadmill.

The County Livery

*There is a place in Horsley, I know it very well
There's such a place upon the earth, some call it little hell;
And to the place where I was sent for three long months tis true
To wear the county livery, the yellow and the blue.*

*But when they got me to the place, pray what you think they done
They put me on the treading mill some call it pretty fun
Which caus'd me for to puff & blow, & d**m & swear 'tis true
And wear the county livery, the yellow and the blue.*

*They put me on a bed of straw, I thought it was no joke,
Which made my bones to snop and bounce, as if they had been broke,
Instead of being a chamber pot a spitting dish 'tis true,
And wore the county livery, the yellow and the blue.*

*'Twas early the next morning, just by the break of day,
The turnkey he came up to me, and this to me did say -
Arise my hearty fellow, to the mill you now must go,
And you shall wear the county livery, the yellow and the blue.*

*I went downstairs and wash'd and combed my hair,
And into the Chapel we did get seated there.
The governor read the prayers, just like a ramping Jew,
And I wore the county livery, the yellow and the blue.*

*And when the prayers it was o'er the governor he did crave
Stand round, you first class men, your burster for to have,
The unto the mill we go and tread away 'tis true,
And wear the county livery, the yellow and the blue.*

*And then at night the bell does ring and off the mill we fall
And like a pack of hungry dogs come at the Jailor's call,
Our turnkey he does stamp and swear, like a madman
I declare 'tis true
And wear the county livery, the yellow and the blue.*

PASTIMES

Drinking, seen as a scourge in some ballads, is treated in others as a pleasant recreation. "George Ridler's Oven" warns of drink's dangers while celebrating its pleasures. It is perhaps the most famous of all songs associated with Gloucestershire. This is the earliest dated copy, printed by Farley and Cocking at Small Street, Bristol in 1771.

George Ridler's Oven

*The Stones that built George Ridler's Oven
And they came from Blakeny's Quar,
And George he was a jolly old Man,
And his Head did grow above his Hair.*

*One thing of George Ridler I must commend,
And that was for a notable Thing;
He made his Brags before he died,
With any three Brothers his Sons should sing.*

*There was Dick the Treble, and Jack the Mean,
(Let every Man sing in his own Place);
And George he was the elder Brother,
And therefore he would sing Bass.*

*My Hostess's Maid (her name was Nell)
A pretty Wench, and I lov'd her well;
I lov'd her well, and the Reason why,
Because she lov'd my Dog and I.*

*My Dog has got him such a Trick,
To visit Maids when they are sick;
When they are sick and like to die,
O thither go my dog and I.*

*My Dog is good to catch a Hen,
A Duck or Goose is Meat for Men;
And where good Company I spy,
O thither go my Dog and I.*

*My mother told me when I was young,
If I did follow the good Ale Pot,
That Ale would prove my Overthrow,
And I should wear a Thread-bare Coat.*

*When I have Three Six-pences under my Thumb,
O then I am welcome wherever I come;
But when I have none, O then I pass by,
'Tis Poverty parts good Company.*

*If I should die as it may hap,
My Grave shall be under the Strong Beer Tap,
In folded arms there will I lie,
Cheek by Jole my Dog and I.*

The song was adopted as the anthem of the Gloucestershire Society, and regularly sung at its meetings. The London branch of the Society had, in the late eighteenth century, an elaborate model showing George Ridler "reclining upon a barrel with pipe and jug, emblematical of his conviviality", and surrounded by an oven, a dog with a fowl in its mouth, two boys bearing an indenture, and a pelican (symbol of benevolence). The model was wheeled into the room on castors during meetings to stimulate members to contribute money which the Society spent on its charitable activities.

George Ridler may well have existed. There was a well known family of Ridlers who farmed at Bisley next to Black Nest Quarry (Blakeny's Quar) which yielded stone particularly suitable for ovens. In the nineteenth century, though, a theory was propounded that the song dated from the seventeenth century, and expressed coded support for the royalist cause during the Commonwealth (the Gloucestershire Society was founded in 1657).

For example in the first verse George Ridler stood for Charles I. The oven meant the cavalier party and the stones, the followers of the Marquis of Worcester (who held out for the King at Raglan Castle until 1646). The head growing above the hair was not a reference to a man's baldness but to a king's wearing his crown. The elaborate explanations continue in a similar vein throughout the song.

The theory does not stand scrutiny. There is no seventeenth century evidence to support it. The code could have been triumphantly revealed at the Restoration, but it had to wait for almost 200 years. The far-fetched explanations seem to have been invented in the middle of the nineteenth century and repeated unquestionably thereafter. "George Ridler's Oven" is a venerable song of good cheer which has its own commonsense message, like that of many another street ballad of Gloucestershire.

A checklist of Gloucestershire Ballad Printers

BRISTOL

Arnold
3 Narrow Wine Street
13 Castle Street

M. Baller (1818)
50 Broadmead
Bank Street

John Bennett (1813-30)
106 Redcliffe Street, 1813-16
Quay Street, 1816-28
St. John's Gate and Christmas Street,
1828-30

Bonner and Henson (1852-30)
3 Narrow Wine Street

Bonner and Middleton (1778-82)
Castle Green

Harry Bonner (1813-26)
4 Bridewell Lane, 1814
Bridewell Bridge, 1817
Lawrence Hill
Next the Swan, St James's Back 1818-20
18 Unity Street, St. Phillip's 1826

John Bonner (1806-64)
28 Broad Street, 1806-25
20 Castle Street, 1813
3 Narrow Wine Street, 1832
Nicholas Steps, 31 Back Street, 1839-45
21 Mary Port Street, 1846-64 (This may be a different person)

S. Böhner (1784-5)
Castle Green

John Chapman (1860)
Lamb Street

S.B. Clouter (1803-15)
28 Bath Street, 1803-05
13 Castle Street, 1806-15

W. Collard (1807-46)
Hotwell Road, 1807-17
Hotwell Road and Bridewell Lane,
1818-35
Hotwell Road and All Saints' Street,
1836-41
Hotwell Road, 1842-3
Hotwell Road and St. James's Back,
1844-46

Farley and Cocking (1771)
Small Street

Gutch and Martin (1832-39)

John Matthew Gutch (1812-23)

C. Huston
2 Castle Green

Ann Major (1814-35)
St. John's Steps

W. Major
St. John's Steps

W. Marshall

William Pine (1769)
Wine Street

R. Posser
St. Maryport Churchyard

Power (1832)

J. Rudhall (1787)
Small Street

H. Shepherd
Temple Gate

M. Shepherd (1822-26)
6 Broad Wier

Sherring's Cheap Printing Office
42 Castle Street

J. Smith (1827-30)
6 Broad Wier

Thomas Stevens Storer (1805-09)
4 Narrow Wine Street, 1805-09
128 Temple Street, 1809-19

W. Taylor (1826-64)
113 Redcliffe Street, 1826-27
62 Redcliffe Street, 1828-40
63 Redcliffe Street
39 Temple Street, 1841-64

CHELTENHAM

T. Shenton (?c.1800)
Opposite the Town Clock

T. Willey (c.1830-61)
Oxford Passage
152 High Street, 1852-53
219 High Street
Willey died in 1861, aged 67.

W. Clift (c. 1820-37)
Gosditch Street, c.1820
Dyer Street

T.S. Porter

Shipway (1818)

W. Tuner
Cricklade Road

GLOUCESTER

Hough and Pace (c.1822-28)

W. Price (1808-20s)
Blackfriars Street, Southgate Street

Robert Raikes, Jnr (1758-1802)
Southgate Street

W.F. Walden

TEWKESBURY

Samuel Harward (c.1760-87, and possibly until 1801)

Reddell
7 High Street

WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE

T.S. Porter (also at Cirencester)

A NOTE ON SOURCES

Gavlands printed by Samuel Harward can be found in the Bodleian Library (Harding Collection, Chapbooks, A.9), the British Library (A Choice Collection of New Songs, 11621 c.1) and Gloucester Library (Gloucestershire Collection). For other Gloucestershire street ballads by far the best source is Cambridge University Library (Madden Collection, vol.23). Small but interesting collections are also to be found in the Bristol Library (Weare's Bristol Collection, Ballads and broadsides) and the British Library (Broadsides printed in Bristol between 1700 and 1840, 1880 c.20). Other ballads with Gloucestershire imprints are scattered through many other collections in ones and twos (for example, British Library, A Collection of Ballads printed at Various Places in the Provinces, BL 1876 c.3). Very few such ballads have been reprinted since their original appearance. Some can be found in my book, A Touch on the Times (Harnoudsworth, 1974), and in John Shaw (ed.), Alongside Bristol Quay (Bristol, n.d.). Discussion is even more limited, but see my article on "George Ridler's Oven" in Folkwrite, no.30 (1988), and comments on Thomas Willey in The Sound of History: Songs and Social Comment (Oxford, 1988).