‘Will you walk into the parlour?’ –

Lloyds’s Songbook and the domestication of the popular lyric.

Brian Maidment

Liverpool John Moores University.

i. Songs, lyrics and parlour ballads.

The song is a particularly awkward print form to categorise. Do 'songs' properly defined only exist as entities associated with both music (a tune) and the potentiality to be performed? Is it possible to call printed texts of lyrics originally written for musical performance 'songs'? Definitions of what a song comprises remain tied to very particular historical and social moments, and are locked into a complex dialogue between print and performance. Are printed versions of songs transformed into lyrics by their presentation in type set form? Or is the 'lyric' a separate category drawn solely from the history of printed literature? Does the publication of lyrics with printed music attached retain the status of 'song', or can that term only be associated legitimately with some kind of performance? And how can a 'song book' be differentiated from a 'songster' or a broadside sheet that gathers together several songs or ballads? How far are recitations and monologues analogous to song texts in their social and cultural presence?

Even these difficult questions ignore the yet more complex issue of the differing cultural levels that might be attributed to the content and implied readership of downmarket song books. Can such songbooks be legitimately ascribed to the category of 'popular' or 'mass circulation' literature with all the cultural associations implied by such a designation? Would a cheap serialised publication called, for example, *The Harmonist's Preceptor,* be able to defy its grandiloquent title and reach out widely into popular affection? Or was such grandiloquence part of a popular taste that sought to give even trivial ditties a more ambitious cultural resonance? How far did down-market and apparently ephemeral publications penetrate upwards into genteel culture or was their circulation confined to the labouring classes? As an increasingly highly developed commercial entity, the serialised or volume

gathering of song texts, many of which were already widely available through oral circulation, cannot be simply categorised as 'the voice of the people', however attractive this idea might be. Nor is it easy to state with any certainly that such songs were a reflection of popular attitudes, opinions, and values that can be linked particular social grouping and class – it is, of course, one of the main interests of this book to explore just these complexities in relation to Edward Lloyd's interest in, and structuring of, popular taste.

There is very little recent detailed scholarship that helps resolve these kinds of issues. Such commentary as exists tends merely to suggest a sustained failure to locate the kinds of popular songs that formed the corpus of texts on which *Lloyd's Song Books* drew within a defined spectrum of cultural practices. In the fifty years since Victor Neuburg noted in his pioneering *Popular Literature: A History and Guide* that 'the immense world of nineteenth-century popular song is very largely uncharted' there have been few attempts to explore the mass of 'pocket songsters' and 'garlands' noted in his guide.[1] Neuberg could only suggest that there was 'a ready sale' for such literature, and note that the remaining record of such literature can only be partial because 'all too often the flimsy booklets were read to pieces'.[2] Fifty years on, Steve Roud notes that 'urban writers and singers were immensely influential in the development of popular music in their day, but they are not well documented as individuals or groups'.[3] Such studies as do exist tend to approach the topic from specific generic points of reference – the 'parlour ballad', for instance, or the urban industrial broadside.[4] Historians of traditional song have fought shy of studying blatantly commercial

1 Neuburg, *Popular Literature*, 239.
2 Neuberg, *Popular Literature,* 238.
3 Steve Roud, *Folk Song in England* (London: Faber and Faber 2017), 350
4 See for example Martha Vicinus (ed., *Broadsides of the Industrial North* (Newcastle: Frank Graham 1975); Roy Palmer (ed.) *A Touch on the Times: Songs of Social Change 1770-1914* (London: Penguin 1975), Michael Turner and Antony Miall (eds.), *The Parlour Song Book: A Casquet of Vocal Gems* (London: Pan 1974).

printed texts in their defence of the oral tradition, although Steve Roud's recent *Folk Song in England* has an extremely useful chapter on 'other nineteenth century musics' called 'Penny Gaffs, Music Halls and Parlours'. He makes a crudely drawn, but important, summary of the transition from eighteenth century performance and print practices to 'the continuation of the song-and-supper rooms….the rapid rise of pub-based concert rooms and back-street penny gaffs….the start of the blackface minstrels' between 1830 and 1860.[5] Roud usefully connects the mass of orally diffused songs to the theatre, but tends to confirm the view that there were sharp distinctions between the vernacular appropriation and re-performance of songs through the mechanism of cheap songsters and broadside garlands and the emergence of parlour music making among the middle classes which was based on the availability of printed music, leisure time and facilities which would have included a piano. In quoting important studies by Derek Scott and Nicholas Temperley as his sources, Roud re-iterates Temperley's view that 'drawing-room music is clearly distinct from the virile, pungent style developed in the music hall'.[6]

It is a central argument of this essay that *Lloyd's Song Book* in its various manifestations was an attempt to bridge this gap between sociable public performance and the drawing room. *Lloyd's Song Book* aimed to provide a source of performable lyrics that, drawing on a mass of material drawn from many sources, many of them 'low' in origin, would elevate popular musical ambition towards the cultural and social musical practices of the respectable drawing room. The dividing lines between the music of the street, tavern and theatre and that belonging to the drawing room began to be redefined through Lloyd's

5 Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 347.

6 Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 381. Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2nd. Edition 1989); Nicholas Temperley 'Drawing Room Music' in *The Athlone History of Music in Britain* (London: Athlone Press1981). John Picker's *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2003) offers a different but valuable further perspective on the distance between middle class music making from the music of the streets.

massive aggregation of texts that were beginning to outlive their origins and original audience. *Lloyd's Song Book* articulates the interplay between the performative, the sociable and the literary in new ways that, while exploiting continuity within a tradition of publishing anthologies of songs, redefine and expand the potential readership and social practices associated with printed lyrics.

ii. Lloyd's *Songbooks* – seriality, text and illustration.

Edward Lloyd's series of reciters and songbooks from the later 1840s, comprising at least seven volumes, are marked by considerable bibliographical obscurity. The entire project was published in a matching serialised monthly eight-page format and then re-packaged into volumes. Each monthly issue had a wood engraved illustration on its opening page. The full project seems to have included two volumes of 'reciters' (*Lloyd's Reciter*, issued in volume form in December 1846, and *Lloyd's Illustrated Reciter, Comic and Sentimental* from 1847); *The Songs of Charles Dibdin: Naval and Miscellaneous*, also 1847; three undated volumes of *Lloyd's Song Book* (probably issued in 1846, 1847 and 1848) followed by a *Lloyd's Illustrated Song Book for* 1849.[7] As each volume of the *Song Book* offered 'upwards of four hundred songs, duets, glees, &c, &c.', anyone purchasing the seven volumes at sixpence each for the *Reciters* and a shilling for the *Song Book* would have an encyclopaedic resource of recitations and song texts at hand for relatively little cost. The two *Reciters* seem to have been published simultaneously with issues of the *Song Books*, but only comprise six issues each. It seems likely that all the volumes were extensively reprinted, although the copies I have seen give very

[7] For ease of reference I have abbreviated these four volumes to *Song Book, Song Book Second Series, Song Book Third Series,* and *Song Book for 1849*. I use the term *Song Book* to refer to the entire sequence of four volumes unless I am citing a particular volume.

little firm evidence for this process. The chosen form of the volumes and processes of publication by means of seriality that Lloyd used were essentially traditional and in keeping with a well-established songster tradition that had become widely visible in the 1820s and 1830s, but the Lloyd *Song Books* represent a major Victorian reformulation of the genre, and it is that dialogue between Lloyd's awareness of print history combined with a new sense of mass readership (or is it audience?) that forms the basis of this chapter.

While the presence of separate volumes deemed to be 'reciters' and a volume devoted to Dibdin's songs suggests an organisational endeavour to provide distinct generic collections, the weekly issues that comprise the four *Song Book* volumes ignore the generic categories that were used to structure many of the songsters in the 1820s and 1830s. These categories, defined by both national (Irish songs, Scottish songs, and even Jewish songs) and modal affiliations (love songs, drinking songs, military songs and so on) were established in the 1820s as a way of making song books more of a convenient reference source for singers in search of new material.[8] Such an attack on miscellaneity was regarded as an important innovation by at least one extensive serialised songster. The 'Address' that prefaced *The Harmonist's Preceptor* noted that 'notwithstanding the abundance of Harmonic Productions at present in the metropolis, there appears to have been a lack of interest, either in their composition or arrangement'.[9] The response of the *Preceptor* was to provide 'a pocket edition of miscellaneous songs arranged and produced in such a manner, as to make them subservient to the will of their possessors at a moment's notice'.[10] Thus the volume was organised round a range of categories: English and Irish Songs, Scotch Songs and Yorkshire

8 Maurice Willson Disher's *Victorian Song – From Dive to Drawing Room* (London: Phoenix House 1955), a book outmoded in many ways by more recent discussions, nonetheless has an interesting chapter called 'Sorting Out Subjects' that lists frequent topics to be found across the range of Victorian song.

9 *The Harmonist's Preceptor, or Treasury of Mirth* (London: John Fairburn n.d.), v.

10 *The Harmonist's Preceptor*, v-vii.

Ditties, Jew Songs, Love Songs and Songs for the Social Board, and New Toasts and Sentiments. While primarily aimed at the needs of performers, these kinds of organising assemblages of songs with a shared function became widespread even in volumes less obviously concerned with performance. Even where the contents were arranged in no obvious order, some volumes, like the massive three volume *Universal Songster* published between 1825 and 1828, provided an index that assigned each of the songs to an established category.[11] The individual part issues that formed Lloyd's *Songbooks* refused the possibility of ordered categories and instead offered a return to miscellaneity, giving back to the reader or performer a sense of the appropriate function for the song. Such a structure suggests that Lloyd was trying to move away from the idea of a songbook as centrally a performer's resource, and instead pitch his song books as resources for parlour entertainment rather than aids for or recollections of moments of public sociability.

The Preface to *The Harmonist's Preceptor* was also significant in giving its 'Frontispiece' an extended billing as a separate category of its contents. Offering a coloured fold out plate by George Cruikshank of Mr Bryant singing at the Royal Coburg, with his image surrounded by smaller representations of songs included in the following anthology of texts, it is hardly surprising that the publishers gave illustration so much emphasis. 'The Frontispiece is replete with taste, eccentricity and humour' was the claim, and the plate certainly offered a bright and attention seeking introduction to the contents of the volume suggesting the

[11] *The Universal Songster*; *or Museum of Mirth* (London: John Fairburn 3 vols. 1825, 1826, 1828). Originally issued in 84 parts, *The Universal Songster* claimed on its title page to be 'the most complete, extensive and valuable collection of ancient and modern songs in the English language'. With sophisticated wood engraved illustrations by Robert and George Cruikshank, *The Universal Songster* was clearly aimed at bringing some kind of literary respectability and drawing room prestige to popular lyrics. The anthology drew heavily on established writers like Moore, and Byron, and made considerable use of Dibdin and Moncrieff's theatre songs. The work was extensively reprinted in the nineteenth century.

importance of illustration to the success of a cheap songbook.[12] Volumes reprinting song texts had from the 1820s on used a variety of graphic devices to appeal to the visual sense of their readers. A minimum requirement had been an engraved frontispiece showing a performer or illustrating a text. Even the tiniest and most down-market songster, like *The Quaver, or Songster's Pocket Companion*, offered a prefatory engraving of a bagpipe player.[13] Many volumes reprinted the usually comic wood engraved vignettes that had prefaced each part issue, sometimes together with engraved full-page plates of performers. Fold out coloured plates that offered multiple images illustrating some of the book's contents were also quite common even in miniaturised songbooks. But, by the 1840s, the wood engraved vignette, developed out of a tradition of small scale comic illustration pioneered by George and Robert Cruikshank and the jobbing illustrators of the 1820s and 1830s, and used in more up-market publications like *The Universal Songster*, had become the overwhelming mode for illustrating songbooks. The ability to combine printed text with a wood engraved image within the same type-set page, an ability that had been immediately and widely adopted by the publishers of songbooks in the 1820s and 1830s, was a central element in the success of the genre.

The status of illustration is of particular importance in assessing the innovative practices developed by *Lloyd's Song Book*. The unwavering format of the *Song Books* and *Reciters* placed the wood engraved illustration on the front page of each issue as a way of giving an immediate and repetitive identity to the publication. The image was held within a single ruled frame with decorative flourishes at each corner with a list of the issue's contents held in another simple ruled frame at the top of the page. So far so conventional. The

12 See Brian Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2013), 62-72 for a more detailed account of illustration and the cheap songbook.

13 *The Harmonist's Preceptor*, vi-vii.

deployment of the wood engraved illustrations in *Lloyd's Song Book* was, however, something new for the songbook, and applied the conventions being explored in the serialised novel and the fiction-led cheap periodical to new purposes. The first strand of Lloyd's innovative practice concerned the potentially protean shapes that, free from the geometric constraints of a metal plate or a lithographic stone, the wood engraved illustration might take. Learning from periodicals like *The Illuminated Magazine,* which had specialised in shaping type set pages round elaborately structured illustrations, *Lloyd's Song Book* built its issue title page out of often oddly shaped illustrations that fitted themselves to the page in unexpected and often highly expressive ways.[14] A wonderfully spectacular sea monster, for example, writhes around a panic-stricken and disintegrating village **[Fig. 1]** reducing the accompanying text to a few lines squeezed into the bottom right hand corner of the page.[15] Two adoring, though perhaps not entirely committed, lovers soon to be separated gaze at each other across the full diagonal axis of another page, with the domestic comforts of the home contrasted with the wider world beyond.[16] **[Fig. 2]** A Thomas Dibdin song, 'True Courage', situates the printed text as a column with a dramatic visual account of sailors hauling mess mates who had been washed overboard surrounding the printed lyric on three sides.[17] **[Fig. 3]** Images like these sought to represent and express the texts that they illustrated through their visual structure, thus acting as something closer to re-enactments of the text rather than simply 'illustrations' of the accompanying lyrics. Songbooks had previously relied on a simpler deployment of

14 See Brian Maidment, '*The Illuminated Magazine* and the Triumph of Wood Engraving' in. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds..), *The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century: Picture and Press* (Palgrave Macmillan 2009), 17-39.

15 *Lloyd's Song Book for 1849,* No. 2.

16 *Lloyd's Song Book* Second Series, 33.

17 *The Songs of Dibdin*, 89.

images alongside texts and a less intense interaction between words and illustrations than the intertwined and interdependent page structures used by the *Songbooks.*

Such a close relationship between word and image, of course, served another function in allowing the illiterate or barely literate reader access to a text that was otherwise undecipherable. It may be a response to the possibility of appealing to less literate readers that many of the illustrations to texts in the *Songbooks* are structured as narratives that allow the songs to be 'read' visually. Dibdin's 'My Poll and Partner Joe' provides an obvious example of this tendency. **[Fig. 4]**[18] The song, a conventional enough ditty, describes how a cheery and contented ferryman working with his partner Joe was press-ganged into the navy, and served abroad until 'it pleased his Majesty to give peace unto the nation'. On returning home he discovered that his cherished sweetheart Polly had taken up with his partner Joe. The hapless abandoned lover, discovering himself 'finely trick'd', refused to bear his lot 'tame like a lubber', and proceeded, in what can only be called a rather bathetic ending, to 'finely kick' Poll and Joe 'plump to the devil'. The illustration that surrounds the text like a garland is built up from four smaller wood engravings. The contented swain is firstly shown with his arm on his sweetheart's shoulder, with his other hand pointing out both his relaxed partner sat smoking and drinking on an upturned barrel and a 'boats to let' sign that tells Poll of his livelihood and economic prospects. The other three images depict key narrative moments not so much in a clear sequence but as simultaneously available – the press gang seizes the waterman, a warship is shown in full sail, and, in the smallest and least fully realised image, the returned sailor is kicking his treacherous partner while his former love runs off theatrically in the background.

[18] *The Songs of Dibdin*, 49.

Many examples of graphic narratives that parallel the song text they accompany can be found in the *Song Book*. Sometimes the visual story telling is weirdly at odds with the song text. 'Kind Relations'[19] tells the tale of a poverty-stricken man spurned by his various relatives and only relieved from financial distress by an unexpected 'tidy windfall'. **[Fig. 5]** In two rather vindictive closing verses the newly wealthy protagonist lists the importunate behaviour of his previously amicable relatives and bitterly renounces 'the cold hearts that would poverty spurn'. The accompanying illustrations only show the first half of the narrative through four images showing callous relatives shunning requests for help from their sibling and the implacable processes of the bailiffs. Nothing is shown of the improbable reversal of fortune that concludes the song. Yet this may well be deliberate, as the song's narrative only twists towards financial redemption and revenge in verses Four to Six, which are to found overleaf. So it may be that the publisher has actually conspired with the type setter and the artist to withhold this crucial change of direction. If this is the case, it suggests careful discussion took place about the integration of text and image in each issue's title page, and certainly the illustrations in the *Songbooks* more generally suggest that a high level of care was taken to use illustration as an eye-catching feature of the book.

All the images published in the *Song Book* and *Reciter* are unsigned, so it seems likely, given their often unexpected shape and close relationship to their texts, that the illustrations were especially commissioned from jobbing draughtsmen and engravers. I haven't been able to identify occasions where the illustrations can be shown to have been drawn across from other of Lloyd's publications, although the image used for 'The Christmas Log Is Burning' does appear to have been cut down or adapted from other blocks.[20] Nor, in the absence of

19 *Lloyd's Songbook New Series*, 9.
20 *Lloyd's Song Book*, 93.

documentary records, is it possible to name the draughtsmen that Lloyd used to fill the *Songbook* with a mass of energetic illustrations. Despite the lack of detailed information, it seems reasonable to assert that a number of elements of Lloyd's illustrative practices drove the illustrated song book in new directions. Lloyd's use of the illustrated page, and especially the use of irregular and expressive shapes that were complexly contiguous with the printed texts, was innovative and successful in bringing something of the quality of upmarket periodicals into cheap serialised multiple images. The tonal range of Lloyd's illustration was more complex and elaborate than the highly linear comic vignettes that had been generally attached to songbook publications. Especially distinctive was the elaboration of a number of smaller scale illustrative elements into a visual narrative that allowed the reader to access a song text in visual rather than verbal or musical terms. While still alluding to caricature tropes and frequently using comic simplifications of theatrical postures, gestures and expressions, the illustrations to *Lloyd's Songbook* brought a new scale and sophistication to songbook illustration, with images frequently sprawling across the page and interweaving with the text in a dynamic dialogue.

iii. The functions of the lyric – text, performance, sociability and leisure.

The tradition inherited by Lloyd from the widespread publication of songs and lyrics in the 1820s and 1830s posited three possible functions for downmarket, often serialised and usually illustrated songbooks. Most obviously, an anthology of song texts could act as a prompt to a performance thus making available an extended repertoire for every kind of singer ranging from professional performers through itinerant musicians to family members performing in their drawing rooms. But, second, songbooks could provide a record of a

performance, almost a virtual performance, that allowed the reader to imagine (or perhaps remember) a sociable event that included a memorable musical moment. And third, a songbook might form a literary text, an anthology of lyrics, frequently illustrated, aimed at providing a private source of pleasure for an individual reader. The dialogue between these three possibilities is a particular feature of early nineteenth century songbooks. *Lloyd's Song Book*, in its content, its formal organisation and paratextual commentary, moves the emphasis of the songbook firmly away from performance and public sociability towards textual autonomy. In the paraphrased words of a highly moral, frequently reprinted (and almost as frequently parodied), ditty, it cajoles the popular song by asking 'will you walk into the parlour?'.[21] To understand Lloyd's answer to this seemingly irresistible invitation, it is useful to consider the serialised *Song Book's* re-alignment of the relationship between performance, sociability and leisure expressed in the content, form and address of the songbooks and reciters

Lloyd's volumes which comprised the *Song Book*, and, more obviously, the *Reciter* do retain many of the features that would make the volumes amenable to the construction of a performer's repertoire, either as an aide memoire to remembering lyrics, or as a seemingly infinite source of new texts, but in a significantly less central role than their immediate songbook predecessors. Some elements that would help re-performance are retained from previous practice – appropriate tunes or 'airs', for example, are given on many occasions. The sheer scale of Lloyd's series suggests a go-to place for would-be performers. A volume called a 'reciter' obviously presages performances. So the song texts printed by Lloyd do continue

[21] 'Will you walk into the parlour', a cautionary song for children, was written by the young Mary Howitt and first published in 1828 in *The New Year's Gift and Juvenile Souvenir*. The song's fame, partly due to reprinting in contemporary song books, was enough to cause Lewis Carroll to offer a parody of it in *Alice Adventure's Through the Looking Glass.*

to fulfil one key traditional function found in the previous generation of songsters by offering an invitation to performance, a cue for a new rendition of a lyric that might be valuable in building the repertoire of an itinerant singer, or, more likely, could provide the occasion for papa to show off his fine tenor voice. But a number of other features work against this idea of the *Song Book* as being centrally organised to facilitate the re- performance of the lyrics it contained. Most songsters from the 1820s and 1830s were pocket sized, and some, like *The Songster's Multum in Parvo* and Duncombe's *Reciter's Pocketbook,*[22] made their smallness and handiness a feature in their title – to quote again from *The Harmonist's Preceptor* such publications were deliberately 'arranged as to be subservient to the will of their possessors at a moment's notice'. [23] But *Lloyd's Song Book* and *Reciter* volumes deliberately use a quite large scale double column page that is capable of carrying elaborate wood engravings within the text, but incapable of being easily stuffed into a pocket. The reprinted song texts are not arranged in categories for ease of reference, and a would-be performer would need to search out appropriate texts. The prominent wood engravings divert attention away from the song texts, and suggest that the volumes are to be read and savoured at leisure rather than utilised as a source for a singer's repertoire.

Lloyd's Song Book does also retain at least the vestiges of a link between the printed text and the sociable public occasions on which songs might be performed. As in the down-market songbooks of the 1820s and 1830s, performers were frequently named, and sometimes the places in which they performed, thus linking domestic re-performance to its public origin within the world of metropolitan male sociability. 'When I think', for example, is

---

22 *The Songster's Multum in Parvo* (London: J.Fairburn, 6 vols. 1808-1810); *The Reciter's Pocketbook* (London; John Duncombe, n.d.).

23 *The Harmonist's Preceptor*, vi.

annotated as 'sung by Mr. H.Phillips, in the Opera of the Freebooter',[24] while 'Dina Clare' is 'sung by the Ethiopian Serenaders'.[25] Other songs are merely described as being 'sung to great applause' by their named singers without further ascription to the precise locale of their public performances. But there is a clear pulling back in *Lloyd's Songbook* from the attempts made in songbooks from the 1820s and 1830s to celebrate male urban sociability by evoking vicarious homosocial expeditions into the world of London supper rooms, theatres and concert rooms through situating the lyrics of a song within a textual exposition of the place, manner and audience reaction of its performance.

To suggest the extent to which *Lloyd's Song Book* has withdrawn the fantasy of a vicarious male expedition into the entertainments of night time London from its readers, it is worth making the comparison with a songbook serialised and then reprinted as a volume a decade earlier, *The Pegasus and Harmonic Guide* from 1832.[26] As in many instances in *Lloyd's Songbook,* the lyrics themselves were drawn both from performances ('as sung at the Theatres, and Concert Rooms of London') and from printed texts – 'the latest productions of the most popular authors'.[27] Marie Léger-St.-Jean's article in this volume shows further links between Lloyd's publications and the popular theatre. These claims were substantiated by the inclusion of varying amounts of information about authors, the singers most closely identified with a particular song, and details of the places where performances took place. To take a single eighteen page issue of *The Pegasus,* (issue Three), three of the eleven lyrics printed gave precise names for their associated singers, four named specific premises where

---

24 *Lloyds Song Book, Second Series*, 21.

25 *Lloyds Song Book, Second Series*, 49.

26 *The Pegasus, and Harmonic Guide: A collection of all the most popular and favorite songs, duets, medleys, parodies, glees and choruses, as sung at the Theatres, and Concert Rooms of London; including the latest productions of the most popular authors* (London: H.A.Arliss 1832).

27 *Pegasus,* Preface.

the song had been performed (another just offered 'at the London concerts'), five gave the name of an appropriate tune, and seven gave authors, including two by Thomas Moore. The songbook's Preface asserted that 'in no other work of a similar nature, has there appeared half the celebrated and talented names of writers'.[28] The aim of all this information was presumably to refer the printed lyrics back into the performance world of urban sociability. In this process, *The Pegasus* went a stage further in re-contextualising its texts within the theatres and supper rooms by offering 'critical notices of the principal concert rooms in the metropolis'.[29] Such reviews seem to have proved controversial, for the publishers felt the need to defend themselves from accusations of favouritism and bribery – 'our critiques have been written, at least with impartiality; and neither menace or bribe has tempted us in one instance to swerve from that path of conscious rectitude' as well as insisting that the reviewers had always visited the places under review.[30] To my mind the mass of information assembled around the texts printed in *The Pegasus* that ascribed songs back to their sociable performance firmly suggests that the aim of the publication was to provide reading matter for individual private consumption rather than to make available texts for performance or to provide the occasion for anything other than the entertainment of small groups of men. The songbooks that are structured largely in relationship to the public entertainments available in London seem to me aimed at offering an arm-chair reading experience rather than prefiguring another performance or provoking an expedience beyond the comforts of home.

Lloyd's Song Book goes further in relegating performance from the reader's mind by relating its published texts not so much to performances but rather to the commercial world

28 *Pegasus,* Preface.
29 *Pegasus* title page.
30 *Pegasus,* Preface.

of sheet music publishing, thus stressing amateur drawing room music making at the expense of professional public entertainment. While, for example, 'The Maids of Merry England' was described in the manner of the *Pegasus Songbook* as 'a popular song, written by R.Wynne, Esq. composed by James Perring, and sung by him, also by Mr. G. Jones at the London Concerts', *Lloyd's Song Book* was also quick to add 'Music published by Z.T.Purday, High Holborn'.[31] Rather than offering a vivid glimpse of a concert room performance here, *Lloyd's Songbook* articulates the production process by which a song is transformed into a commercial entity. Writer/performer collaborated with the composer to produce a song, which was then performed successfully, and can thus be handed on to another performer and create a public following. But the song exists not just in its performances, or from oral transmission alone, as was largely the case for the lyrics published in earlier songbooks from the 1820s and 1830s, but was also made available as sheet music that can be purchased from music stores. The lyrics in *Lloyd's Song Book* were frequently annotated with the names of their publishers, who ranged from down-market firms like Duff and Hodgson or John Duncombe (a survivor from the 1820s and 1830s who specialised in songsters) to well- known and prestigious companies like D'Almaine and Chappell, who were major contributors to the development of amateur music making in the Victorian period. The listing of publishers took over in *Lloyd's Song Book* from the listing of 'tunes' or 'airs' that was widely present in songbooks published in the 1820s and 1830s. The presentation of songs is accordingly related to the commercial rather than the performative. The prompt of the song text is not so much towards re-performance as towards asking the reader to undertake a deeper engagement in

[31] *Lloyds Song Book, Second Series*, 57.

the marketplace for music, and the establishment of music making in the home rather than the supper room or concert hall.

In the absence of business records for Lloyd and for down market music publishers more generally, it is hard to make any informed judgment about the extent to which copyright issues impinged on what Lloyd was able to print in the *Song Book* and *Reciter*. It may be that the widespread publication of music publishers' names and addresses alongside texts was not so much the outcome of a financial arrangement or formal system of agreed permissions between Lloyd and the music press as Lloyd's way of pre-empting legal challenges by public declarations of his sources. Whatever the case, the lyrics in the two volumes of *Reciters* and the five volumes of songs were drawn from a wide range of available sources. The Preface to the first volume of the *Reciter*, dated December 1846, suggests that the volume had been issued simultaneously with the first volume of the *Song Book* and makes two interesting comments.[32] The first is a description of the *Reciter* as a periodical rather than an embryonic volume – 'scarcely in the history of periodical literature have any works been hailed by the Public with such general approval'. The second concerns the selection of texts - 'great care has been taken….to please even the most fastidious taste'. Despite the eclecticism of the gathered texts, the Preface claimed, nothing in the *Reciter* would affront conventional morality or good taste. In practice, the *Reciter* brought together well-known Shakespearean scenes and monologues, dramatic scenes from popular plays like 'Speed the Plough' or 'The Mutiny on the Nore', sentimental poems and ballads, small scale comic domestic exchanges, narrative verse, and monologues in both prose and verse drawn from the popular theatre. No

[32] Both volumes of the *Reciter* contain only six issues. Issues One to Five are formed of eight pages, issue Six of four, thus comprising slim volumes of forty four pages.

sources are given for the printed texts, however. The second volume of the *Reciter* added in the sub-title 'Comic and Sentimental', and this is in many ways a fair summary of what follows.

It is no surprise that Lloyd devoted a separate volume to *The Songs of Charles Dibdin: Naval and Miscellaneous*.[33] Dibdin's lyrics, especially his sentimental, heroicising and nationalistic naval songs, had by the 1840s become part of popular consciousness, widely distributed and made accessible through the theatre, play texts (Dibdin's theatrical output was widely issued in series like *Dick's Standard Plays* and *Lacy's Acting Edition*), broadside song sheets, and popular songsters as well as by means of oral transmission. Additionally, a number of publications from the 1840s had sought to memorialize Dibdin and establish his songs as a literary oevre. The most elaborate of these was George Hogarth's two volume *The Songs of Charles Dibdin* (1842 and 1848), which offered the songs as musical arrangements, and also included a 'Memoir by the Author' and an extensive list, published in the first volume, of Dibdin's huge literary and musical output.[34] The same publisher brought out a less ambitious collection of Dibdin's work with *Selected Songs* in 1846.[35] Other anthologies from the 1840s sought to re-work Dibdin's songs in new formats.[36] The established publishing house of John Murray, for example, combined *Songs, Naval and National, of the late Charles Dibdin* with 'characteristic sketches' by George Cruikshank and a memoir of Dibdin. Given Dibdin's eventful and often scandalous life, memoirs seem to have been irresistible to publishers at this time. Given this range of publications that sought to give Dibdin's work a permanent place in British literary history it is hardly surprising that Lloyd devoted a full

---

33 *The Songs of Charles Dibdin: Naval and Miscellaneous* comprised twelve issues, the first eleven of eight pages and the final issue of four, thus comprising a volume of ninety four pages.

34 G.H.Hogarth (ed.), *The Songs of Charles Dibdin, Chronologically Arranged with Notes Historical, Biographical and Critical, with a Memoir by the Author* (London: G.H Davidson, 2 vols. 1842 and 1848).

35 *The Selected Songs of Charles Dibdin with illustrative notes and a brief memoir of the author* (London: G.H.Davidson 1845).

36 See, for example, *Sea Songs: A New Edition* (London: H.G.Clarke and Hayward and Adams, 1846).

volume of the *Songbook* to Dibdin, eliminating all explanatory and biographical elements in order to focus entirely on the popular sentiment and national pride that had propelled the songs into sustained national prominence.

The volumes that formed the *Song Book* comprised twelve eight page issues forming a yearly volume.[37] The first volume described its contents as 'upwards of four hundred songs, duets, glees, & c., & c., which transmuted into an 'illustrated edition' containing 'new and popular songs' in the second volume, thus stressing the anthology's awareness of the need to bring in up-to-date lyrics that would be new to the reader.

The contents of the *Song Book* did indeed comprise the eclectic mix that had been widely used as a selling point for the collections. A few lyrics came from traditional ballads - 'John Barleycorn', for example, appears in the Second Series of the *Song Book* although there is no reason to believe that this text was derived from the oral tradition rather than a printed source. [38] Some songs, especially comic songs, came from the previous generation of songbooks or contemporary sources like Duncombe's *The London Singer's Magazine,* publications which had drawn not just on the theatre and broadsides, but had also reprinted lyrics by authors as varied as G.W.M Reynolds, Eliza Cook, Albert Smith and Thomas Hood. Lloyd's *Song Book* made similar use of published works from established authors including Sheridan Knowles, Eliza Cook and Samuel Lover. The very large number of 'Ethiopian songs', drawn in from contemporary performances, were a response to one of the theatrical sensations of the 1830s and 1840s, the interest in black-face and 'minstrel' songs supposedly deriving from the southern United States.[39] But most of the songs came either from unnamed

37 The first volume, *Lloyd's Song Book* comprised eleven eight page issues and a final four page number.

38 *Lloyd's Song Book* Second Series, 60.

39 For Ethiopian song see Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois* 81-92; D.B.Scott, P.Spedding and P.Watt (eds.), *Cheap Print and Popular Song in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017).

sources or from the commercial world of contemporary music publishing, thus furthering the sense that the *Song Book* was produced in the belief that music-making belonged more in the home than in the places of public entertainment.

iv. Songs as lyrics.

In pulling back from the performative and socialising roles that had been central to the songsters and songbooks of the 1820s and 1830s, *Lloyd's Song Book* focussed attention more on the song as a literary lyric. Recent work by, for example, Kitty Ledbetter and Lorraine Jansen Kooistra has emphasised the extent to which poetry was made available to readers primarily through the medium of periodicals rather than books.[40] Much of the poetry published in magazines was 'popular' in its mode and sentiments, aimed at confirming and reinforcing the values, opinions and attitudes of its assumed readers. In its use of illustration, its repeated physical shape, its deliberately randomised content, and refusal to categorise its lyrics, *Lloyd's Song Book* showed itself to be deeply aware of, and perhaps even modelled on, wider developments in serialised and periodical literature aimed at fulfilling the leisure interests of a rapidly broadening readership, developments that Lloyd was perfectly placed to understand and exploit. The determined eclecticism of Lloyd's *Song Books* and *Reciters,* however, does little to clarify the composition of their real or implied readership.

Lloyd's Song Book suggests its publisher's astute understanding of the early Victorian market place for print, and confirms a sense of the firm's ability to adapt and re-configure traditional print genres for an expanded readership. The volumes acknowledge and re-use

[40] Katherine Ledbetter, *British Victorian Women's Periodicals: Beauty, Poetry and Civilisation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2009); Lorraine Jansen Kooistra *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing: The Illustrated Gift Book and Victorian Visual Culture 1855-1875* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press 2011).

many of the features that had made the songbook a mainstay of popular publishers in the 1820s and 1830s – the dependence on extended publication through a consistently formatted and carefully branded serial issue process; references in the para-textual apparatus printed as a preface for many text to public performances, especially the those taking place in metropolitan theatres and concert rooms; the use of wood engraved illustration to construct the identity of the issue; and a willingness to incorporate songs drawn from a wide variety of sources that cut across class and cultural boundaries. But *Lloyd's Song Book* was in many ways an innovative publication. The Address that accompanied the volume publication of the first series was right to talk of 'a Song Book unprecedented in variety and extent at such a price as would make it universally accessible'. If the ambitious scale of the project was unprecedented, so was the consistency of format – the Address to volume publication of the first series of the *Songbook* insisted that the second series would 'be produced exactly uniform with the first volume'. The three volume *Universal Songster* to some extent formed a model for Lloyd to follow but, given its cost and sophistication, lacked the cross-class appeal sought for *Lloyd's Song Book*. There had been extensive serialisations that were reprinted in multi-volume form such as the six volumes of *The Songster's Multum in Parvo* or the over ninety issues of Duncombe's *London Singer's Magazine* edited by John Labern. But publications such as these had emerged contingently from successful serialisations without the broader ambition of *Lloyd's Song Book* to provide a definitive collection of lyrics drawn from all sources.

Lloyd's Song Book was also a pioneer in acknowledging that the song text had been commodified and was no longer floating free within the public sphere or the popular imagination. In noting that the 'expense of such a publication must …. be very great', the Address to the first series stated an important truth – 'the only thing that could render it

[*Lloyd's Song Book*] a profitable speculation must be an exceedingly large demand'. Along with the pioneering cheap illustrated mass circulation journals of the 1830s. such as *The Penny Magazine* or *Pinnock's Guide to Knowledge*, *Lloyd's Songbook* openly acknowledged, and indeed celebrated, the connection between cheapness and mass circulation. Such cheapness could only be sustained by drawing together a range of songs, drawn from the widely differing discourses, that would appeal to the broadest possible readership.

But there was another important sense in which Lloyd's song books and reciters acknowledged that they operated entirely within commercial parameters. By installing the names of music publishers alongside or in preference to those of singers, *Lloyd's Song Book* turned the lyric from being a predominantly performable text into a print commodity, a material object to be bought, sold and consumed. Even if the consumption process involved performance, the sense of interconnectedness between the song text and the occasions for its performance had been irrevocably diminished. Lloyd may well have been able to assemble his series of *Reciters* and *Song Books* without recourse to purchasing copyrights or involving the firm in paying for the texts which were printed, but his publications nonetheless frequently referred the song text back into a commercial world of sheet music publication that had come into being largely to support drawing room music making rather than to sustain popular oral culture and leisure activities. It is too crude a generalisation to say that *Lloyd's Song Book* abandoned the song culture of oral tradition, public performance and sociable occasion that had driven the commercially viable rise of the song book as a print genre in the 1820s and 1830s and opted instead for the world of commercial music publishing and the colonisation of song in the drawing room or parlour, but there is some truth in this simple narrative.