

## BROADSIDE BALLAD AND FOLKSONG. ORAL TRADITION VERSUS LITERARY TRADITION

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In his book 'A Literary History of the Popular Ballad'<sup>1</sup> David C. Fowler writes: "I . . . assume that a given ballad took the particular shape it has about the time it was written down, unless there is specific evidence to the contrary." This quotation is characteristic of a new trend in ballad scholarship with regard to the kind of transmission a given ballad was subjected to. Until recently there was common consent that a true folk ballad had to be of folk origin or--if of literary origin--had to have a long oral tradition with little or no interference from the side of the literati. It was generally excluded from scholarly discussion that folk singers might have written down a specific item from their repertoire in order to enable a friend or family member to learn a song. It seems a much faster, more accurate, and less time-wasting device to learn a song from a written text than to expect the singer to 'teach' the song by repeating it over and over again. Does true folk tradition solely mean that a singer picked up a song by listening to it in its natural context? This seems plausible for short songs or working-songs, for example, which are either easily memorized because of their briefness or because of their frequent performance. But how was a long ballad passed on which was only sung on special occasions by a particular tradition bearer? Today's singers will use all available means to obtain a song: printed sources, handwritten texts, records, tapes, and by merely listening to a song performance. What counts is the easiest, in other words, the fastest way to memorize an item by a recipient whose aim it is to have it at his free disposal. It still has to be proven that this principle of learning, based on a common psychological model involving speed of progress and minimal effort, has been neglected and the only means of folk tradition favored is pure oral transmission. It is amazing that this whole attitude towards tradition, which has so far remained an unchallenged theory, was never seriously doubted except in some marginal cases.

The process of broadside ballad selling provides us with a good example as to how oral tradition and learning from printed texts went hand in hand. The seller, provided he had a reasonable voice, would chant out his "New Ballad." The buyers, after listening to the hitherto unknown or only partly known song would buy the ballad sheet, take it home, and learn the words. Only the tune had to be learned orally. The broadsheets rarely give music but in some cases provide information such as "Sung to its own tune," or more frequently "Sung to the tune of . . ." At the time of the broadside ballad, listeners did not discriminate between a "popular ballad" and a "broadside ballad." This slightly artificial terminology only serves scholars and librarians to distinguish the two varieties.

The term 'ballad' was used ubiquitously. Even today the British Library catalogue uses the simple heading "ballad" for both collections of broadsides and of traditional ballads. What is new in Fowler's concept--wrong as it may be in detail--is the assumed existence of a both oral and literary tradition for some item of folklore from its very beginning. Both strains of tradition--oral and literary transmission--have to be seen in very close connection. Yet another strain could be added: the passing on of songs by means of handwritten texts, be it on single sheets or in books or booklets. Texts passed on orally are most prone to changes due to the quality of the recipient's memory. (The question of self-correction will be excluded here.) Handwritten material takes an intermediate stage between the former and literary transmission. The texts are put down from their authentic sources and will contain a negligible number of diversions from the original. The user now has objective evidence which he can always come back to, in order to correct or relearn his song. Thus, this form proves more stable, the material is preserved in its original form. The third process, that of literary transmission, presents some new characteristics. In some cases the "author" may intend nothing but a mere reproduction of already existing material for print. In that case the process resembles the keeping of a private handwritten songbook in which the texts are written down from the oral tradition. A high percentage of broadside ballads seem to represent this type of semi-literary transmission. On other occasions it happens that the "author" remolds an existing song and even claims it for his own. Another possibility is that we have to deal with a completely new song created by a genuine author. However, a new song will only be admitted into folk tradition if its content and mode of expression fit the community's ethos and it must be related to a vital and relevant oral tradition into which it may be absorbed. This only seems possible if the writer is a full member of a singing community or otherwise has a thorough knowledge of it. In addition he must feel a creative impetus and have the poetic means to succeed in his endeavors, as for instance Robert Burns. If the conserving and correcting force of a single handwritten song text is limited to one person only, printed texts reach a greater reading audience and thus have a wider influence in stabilizing a given song.

Predecessors of printed texts with a considerable number of copies were those handwritten sheets with verses and ballads which in England from the 14th century onwards reached a large audience by a comparatively wide distribution. On the whole, the tradition of songs is to be regarded as a constant and repeated intermingling of all three ways of tradition described above. This supposed mixed transmission requires a literate society. There seem to be very contradictory statements as to the literacy of former centuries. In 1532 Thomas Morus estimated a rate of only 40% for England. The low percentage might lead to the conclusion that literacy was the prerogative of the upper and middle class. However, there were people among the lower classes who could read and write: in 1543 women, craftsmen, apprentices, farmers, and laborers were prohibited to read the Bible by virtue of law.<sup>2</sup> Other authors assume a similar rate of literacy for the 17th and even the 18th century. Robert K. Webb regards the rate as too low when he writes " . . . it seems likely that, if the increasing education of the eighteenth century did no more than to hold ground already taken, the greater educational activity of the nineteenth century must have advanced from a relatively broad basis."<sup>3</sup> We can assume that from the 16th century onwards a fair proportion of

the lower classes, the principal bearers of tradition, had knowledge of reading and writing. According to this, our model of intermixed tradition proves applicable as far back as the 16th century. There will of course be a predominance of oral tradition in an only partly literate society, whereas the proportion of literate and semi-literate tradition increases at approximately the same rate as literacy increases among the population.

We will now select one specific genre of folksong and compare it to a particular type of literary tradition--the British broadside. The genre chosen is the schwank song. As the English language lacks a term for this category we will briefly dwell on a characterization. Schwank is a humorous narrative of usually one or few episodes. A dramatic conflict reaches its height toward the end of the tale or song culminating in a point--a surprising or expected solution evoking laughter. It also appears as prose narrative and as ballad.

Today the genre is often reduced to a joke. However, the joke gives a mere skeleton of a story, just as much as is necessary for the listener to grasp the point, whereas in a schwank the action is leisurely built up until it reaches its climax. The emphasis is on the telling of the story and on the action preceding the final solution, on the question how the events develop or are brought about and not so much on the final comic surprise. As is the case of the broadsides up to the 18th century there can be a brief introduction outlining the contexts of the schwank without killing the point, a device quite impossible for a joke. The schwank nature of a song is frequently suggested by its title, such as: "The Frolick in the Mill", "Highwayman Outwitten", "The Cheater Cheated", "A Merry Ditty of a Taylor and his Wife", "The Politic Lowers", "The Witty Maid of the West", etc. Most of these titles indicate that somebody gets the better of somebody else. This is in fact one of the basic traits of the genre. Hermann Bausinger was the first to analyze its basic structure by introducing Formtypen (formal types). He regards schwank as a conflict of two parties trying to defeat each other, preferably by intellectual means. The winning party is superior (s), the loser inferior (i). The parties are given the letter A and B; action has the letter f (for 'fact'). Thus a schwank may develop as in the Ausgleichstyp (compensation type) where B outwits A only to be finally outwitted by A again:

$$\frac{A}{B + f} \longrightarrow \frac{A^i + f}{B^s} \longrightarrow \frac{A^s}{B^i}$$

In the Steigerungstyp (aggravation type B is beaten twice, the second action usually is an unsuccessful attempt to turn tables:

$$\frac{A + f}{B} \longrightarrow \frac{A^s}{B^i + f} \longrightarrow \frac{A^{s^2}}{B^{i^2}}$$

The final Schrumpftyp (reduction type) consists of one episode only:

$$\frac{A}{B + f} \rightarrow \frac{A^i}{B^s}$$

A few well known titles of schwank songs from the Child collection will help to illustrate the nature of the genre: "The Baffled Knight" (no. 112), "The Crafty Farmer" (no. 283), "The Farmer's Curst Wife" (no. 278), "The Friar in the Well" (no. 276), "Get up and Bar the Door" (no. 275), and "The Keach i the Creel" (no. 281). Of all genres of humourous song schwanks are most closely related to the ballad proper and could, if a fairly tolerant definition of the popular ballad was applied, be regarded as part of this group. There are two other members of the family of humorous songs which are not schwanks, the first being the mocking songs, directed against an individual, a social group, or an institution (e.g. Mot. X 500-699). The second group are the comic songs which depict more than one main episode and do not carry a point, as for instance songs of the "Derby Ram" group.

Two models can be established for the interchange between the broadside and oral tradition:

1. A schwank originates as broadside ballad and is passed on into oral tradition.
2. A schwank from the oral tradition is taken over by broadside literature.

There is ample evidence for both cases. In his American Balladry from British Broad-sides G. Malcolm Laws lists a great number of broadsides which were turned into folk ballads. The number is astonishing if one takes into account that in this particular case we have to deal with the border crossing. No matter how important British cultural influence was at the heyday of the broadside and how much of this ephemeral street literature was directly imported into North America, the impact of broadside and similar media on the British singing public must have been far more substantial. Mack writers employed by broadside publishers for the purpose of writing songs must have had a very keen sense for the correct tone of folk literature if their work has continued in tradition.

A study similar to Laws' on the influence of broadside ballads on British folk-song is badly needed. However, the field of broadside study has hardly been touched. The bulk of material will have to be systematized and thoroughly analyzed before one can really see the broadside in its true relation to related genres, be they song, narrative, customs, or other. An initial step in not only a minor section of street literature but a more encompassing subject was done by Leslie Shepard in his three books The Broadside Ballad,<sup>6</sup> John Pitts ballad Printer of Seven Dials,<sup>7</sup> and The History of Street Literature,<sup>8</sup> and Claude Simpson in his The British Broadside Ballad and its Music.<sup>9</sup> There are, however, detailed studies on selected aspects of street literature as for

example the recent article on "Chapbook Influence on Irish Mummer's Plays" by Alan Gailey.<sup>10</sup> Today folklorists have become more aware of this sadly neglected field. Yet there is one exception to the aforementioned. A few of the major collections from the Black letter time of the broadside (16th and 17th century) have been completely or partially published: the Roxburghe Collection (British Museum),<sup>11</sup> the Pepys Collection (Magdalen College, Cambridge),<sup>12</sup> the Euing Collection (Glasgow University Library),<sup>13</sup> and the Bagford Ballads (British Museum).<sup>14</sup> Of other collections there are lists or descriptive catalogues, such as the Bibliotheca Lindesiana.<sup>15</sup> But not much use has been made of this comparatively extensive published material, except for the fact that most folksong collections of our day give occasional reference to one or the other of those compilations. The reason for a greater occupation with the old type of the Black letter ballad is partly due to concern with 'ancient reliques' rather than the living tradition and partly to the higher aesthetic value of those, with their appealing wood cuts, borders, and pretentious printing, or their literary standards. Yet, what bears a greater relationship to present day folksong is the street song of the last century. Here it can be made explicit to what extent oral tradition influenced the broadside and vice versa.

Judged by their aesthetic value the more recent street literature is certainly trivial. Music-hall songs appear on single sheets; the output of copies is now much more subject to mercantile considerations than to literary ambitions. But isn't the music-hall song of the last century also an important source of later folksong? Since the 'modern' broadside was labeled as trivial literature it remained outside the field of literary scholars, and since the songs were printed they were not and are not regarded as being part of folkloristic research.

More frequent than the entering of an original broadside text into oral tradition seems the adaptation of orally transmitted folksongs to broadside publication. The reason has to be sought in the economic situation of broadside printing and publishing. The primary economic principle was to produce them as cheaply as possible--the price per sheet ranged from 1/2-1 penny--and to present a subject matter which would sell well. Obviously the tradition of local schwank song provided sufficient material. Broadside sellers and peddlers covered a very wide geographic area and in doing this could, for instance, in the North easily get rid of a favorite song from the South, described as "New Song" on a broadside or in a chapbook. They thus fulfilled the demand for topicality without which the broadside in general would have been unthinkable. Why, should the publisher pay a professional writer for a really new and authentic song if it was only necessary to reproduce already existing subject matter and still make a good profit? Toward the end of the broadside period, around the middle of the 19th century, publishers would also save payment by simply copying texts from songbooks if the ballad was not on a strictly topical subject.<sup>16</sup>

So far we have only regarded the change from one medium to another from the point of its genesis, but the transitions are not only limited to the first life stage of a song. A very complicated process of tradition becomes discernible. From oral tradition a song might have been adopted to music-hall

use. From there, as was often the case, it would have been included in a popular songbook or songster, and after having been pirated by a ruthless broadside publisher, it would have passed back into oral tradition. This round trip might have transplanted a 19th century regional oikotype from Sussex to the Highlands of Scotland. Picked up by music-hall entertainment in London, forming part of a songster published in Newcastle, stolen by a broadside printer in Falkirk, sold by a peddler in Truro, it probably ended by being pasted up on a cottage wall or pub door. It would then have created a new oikotypic tradition. This may still be an oversimplified example as the song may have re-entered oral tradition from any intermediate stage and from there gone back into street literature. The same material might also have undergone several of these processes during its lifetime. Even a century later it seems impossible in most cases to retrace the exact development a certain song has undergone. For the broadsides, chapbooks, or songsters of the last century we can assume a near 100% survival of the material. But we have neither the statistics of the actual distribution of oral variants nor their quantity. Furthermore, it seems very difficult to prove definitely that certain sources of broadsides actually drew from oral tradition because ballads appearing on cheap prints were usually anonymous. Of course the borrowing by one medium from another was by no means limited to the categories stated above.

Presumably on the basis of the schwanck song "The Lusty Miller's Recreation",<sup>18</sup> first traceable to a broadside printed around 1685 by P. Brooksby of London, Thomas D'Urfey created the song "Sung by Mary Ye Buxom att her Wedding", which formed part of his play Don Quixote (II,2) of 1696. We can assume that his source "The Lusty Miller's Recreation" was at the time a well-known ballad since there are six Brooksby copies extant, a fact quite unusual for a document of that age. Simpson<sup>19</sup> doubts the priority of the Brooksby print. However, Brooksby gave up printing in 1695, one whole year before D'Urfey's Don Quixote appeared in print. D'Urfey was a favorite contemporary poet who would not have escaped legal prosecution if he had stolen a song the copyright<sup>20</sup> of which belonged to a broadside printer as influential as Brooksby. We can conclude that the original song "belonged" to nobody, in other words, as a folksong. From the play Don Quixote the now recast song was again published as broadside ballad with the title of "The Jolly Miller", now under the name of D'Urfey. Until the second half of the 19th century "The Jolly Miller" appeared in various collections of printed songs, its tune was used for several other ballads and likewise in six ballad operas.<sup>21</sup> We arrive at the conclusion that because of its great popularity "The Jolly Miller" very likely became part of the oral tradition again. For a century and a half at least the ballad and its tune oscillated between the media of folksong, broadside, drama, ballad opera, and printed collections. This constant and diffuse interchange of media doesn't facilitate the task of proving the exact influence of one on the other. Yet with this individual song we have sufficient knowledge of the chronological course of events, although on the side of the oral tradition we are left to a more or less conclusive speculation because of an unavoidable lack of the technical means of recording reliable oral variants. This song is one of the

few with a well documented past due to its popularity, its connection with a known poet who rewrote it, its distribution among a fair number of media and its comparatively long life. With other songs which appeared once or only a few times on a broadside, without any information about the source from which it was drawn, we are completely left in the dark.

Due to the lack of background information the folklorist is reduced to applying stylistic or formal criteria in order to characterize or discern the oral or other nature of a ballad. On this basis G. Malcolm Laws in his American Balladry from British Broadsides, decides whether a song originally stems from a broadside. But although Laws pleads not to regard the long-standing, somewhat procrustean ballad definition of Child and the Child era as a basis for a modern understanding of balladry, he is partial to it. His method is such that he more or less takes the Child ballads as the basis of the non-broadside ballad and from an apt description of those, he arrives at his statements about formal and stylistic criteria concerning the broadside ballad. But provided that there are no easily discernible stylistic criteria typical to the broadside, it logically follows that he would introduce a number of American narrative songs for which a broadside source doesn't exist. And this, in fact, did happen. (Cf. his nos. K 27, K 42, K 43, N 15, N 23, N 24, O 11, Q 2, Q 7, Q 18). For the schwank genre alone he fails to give sources for ten types.

This article is based on a material of some 500 types of schwank ballads from British broadsides. Large as the body of material may be it also lacks the missing broadside links which would support Laws' theory, which at the same time is the standard folkloristic theory. The question of the absence of sources cannot easily be dismissed by a reference to a probable destruction of once existing broadsheets. Older sheets, those of the 16th and 17th centuries have only partially survived. But those printed in the latter half of the 18th and the entire 19th century have almost completely escaped destruction. And the examples from Laws are exclusively of this more modern type. We can only assume that stylistic devices hitherto exclusively ascribed to the broadside are in reality characteristics of a much wider group of songs, common to both broadside and traditional material.

We shall briefly treat one selected item which is frequently proposed as a typical trait of broadside ballads: opening of songs bearing an address to the audience, as for instance "Come all ye jolly gentlemen" and similar beginnings. It is certainly true that if a song was sold in the street the seller had to lure the prospective buyer into a selling mood. As a standard formula with the purpose of evoking interest the direct "come and listen" address--sometimes only aimed at a selected group as the above "gentlemen", "merry maidens", "batchelors", or "married wives"--without doubt attracted, if not buyers, then those people lingering about in the streets hungry to experience something new. And the song usually was declared as being new. If the succeeding performance of the ballad met their expectation many accidental listeners would also pay their "penny for a song." Yet, those "chaunters", as they were called in the 19th century, who would sing their songs in the street were only a minority group. There were also peddlers, running patterers, standing paterers, mountabanks, pinners-up, stationers, and others who used different means to attract customers.<sup>22</sup> Why then should a ballad itself contain lines only

relevant to that small group of the chaunters? Furthermore, once a broadside ballad had been adopted to oral tradition it did not drop its "come-all-ye" beginning. In fact, if songs were indexed according to their first lines we would have to deal with a substantial group of "Come-all-ye's."

If the folk didn't dispose of the "typical" broadside opening it must have had a useful function in addition to the mere selling purposes. But perhaps we can keep the concept of "selling a song" and "attracting an audience." The singer of a schwank in a public bar or on some other occasion when people met had to in fact "sell his song." He had to influence the others so that they wanted his ballad (unless he was asked to sing). One first step was to draw everyone's attention and this could easily be accomplished by just starting, while at the same time expressing directions: "Come all ye . . . and listen to my song." These two first lines are often followed by concise information concerning the story. Schwank is dependent on an audience. One can hardly imagine a schwank being sung without several listeners as is quite possible for a lyric or love-song. Another characteristic pointing to the relationship of schwank and its listeners is that its very frequent chorus made it possible for the audience to join in.

What has been said so far emphasizes the very close relationship of folksong and broadside up to the point where the two media not only overlap considerably but almost coincide completely. But we have to specify how the different genres of folksong show several grades of affinity to broadsides. Not all types and genres of folksong appear on broadsheets and nor does the stock of wording broadside material enter oral tradition as a whole. All the facts stated in this paper are limited to the relationship of schwank song and schwank broadside ballad. If schwank songs on broadsides are a mere reflection of the existing oral tradition, the hypothesis must hold water if challenged statistically. In order to substantiate the above theory we have selected the favorite group of schwank songs dealing with adultery. The sample study will cast light on the distribution of variants on broadsides and in the oral tradition. Thirty-six different types with several hundred American and British variants have been considered.

Schwank dealing with adultery: Distribution of variants in the oral and broadside tradition

Col.	Br.	Or.*	Title of song
X	X	X	Gentlemen Turned Tinker
X	X		John and his Mistress
X			The Lusty Young Smith
X		X	A Yorkshire Tale
X	X	X	Our Goodman

\*Col.: Collections in which the source is-not specified

Br. : Broadside version

Or. : Song found in the oral tradition



Col. Br. Or. Title of song

X	X	X	The Sea Captain and the Squire
X	X	X	The Old Lady and the Dud'd Knight
X	X	X	The Butcher and the Taylor's Wife
X	X	X	The Merchant and the Fiddler's Wife
X	X	X	The Dog in the Closet
X	X	X	The Poor Old Couple
X	X	X	The Canny Miller and his Wife
X	X	X	The Old Woman of Slapsadam
X	X	X	Johnny Sands
X	X	X	The Boatsman and the Chest
X	X	X	Will the Weaver
X	X	X	The Major and the Weaver
X	X	X	The Squire and the Farmer
X	X	X	The Dyer of Roan
X	X	X	The Brewer and the Cooper
X	X	X	The Molecatcher
X	X	X	Preaching for Bacon
		X	Little Dicky Milburn
		X	The Parson Grocer
		X	The Parson's Fat Cow
	X	X	The Pretty Chambermaid
	X	X	The Thrashing Machine
X	X	X	The Female Cabin Boy
	X	X	The Beggar-Wench Turned into a Devil
	X	X	The Frolicsome Farmer
	X		Down to Pomona
X	X	X	Tom and the Farmer
		X	My Good-looking Man
	X	X	The Westminster Frolic
X	X	X	The Wanton Vintner Done Over
	X	X	The Gentleman Turned Tinker

Results

No. of broadsides among the 26 schwank songs:	27
Broadsides with an equivalent in oral tradition:	19
Broadsides with an equivalent in other collections:	3
No. of oral songs among the 26 schwank songs:	25
No. of songs from the oral tradition not on broadsides:	6

The number of broadside schwank ballads which have oral variants is thus slightly higher than 70%. In this census, I have taken care not to include unspecified song collections which--if regarded as oral tradition--would raise the percentage of equivalents to more than 81%. The fact that broadside ballads have variants collected from the oral tradition does not necessarily mean that the broadside version is the exact transcription from an oral text as would be the case in a scholarly field collection. The number of single songs counted is also not the overall number of schwank songs but can be regarded as a representative group. The likelihood of a similar percentage among other groups is probable if one takes into account that the two types of songs were sung or bought by the same social

groups, the lower strata of urban societies and the peasantry.

Another fact which has an unfavorable effect on the comparison between the oral and broadside tradition is the coincidence of the folksong collecting movement at the end of the past century and the decline and end of the broadside era at approximately the same time. The great majority of broadsides are dated either before or around 1700, whereas the body of oral variants is no older than 70 to 80 years. To compare material from eras which have a time gap of some 300 years or even more between them must have a misleading result. Several once popular songs may have sunk into oblivion during the course of the centuries and other songs have sprung up after broadside printing had seen its day. It must also be said that not all existing variants of these songs have been compiled, but the several hundred versions counted should give a fairly objective picture of the actual relation between the two traditions. When all these facts which have an unfavorable effect on the statistical data obtained, are taken into account, it is surprising to receive a result indicating a 70-80% coincidence of broadside and oral tradition. If a synchronic comparison were possible, all of the data indicates a nearly 100% coincidence of the two traditions. The folklorist, looking at this study, cannot help but feel an increasing concern for the still widely unused reservoir of broadside songs.

#### NOTES

1. David C. Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad, (Durham C. C., 1968,) p. 5.
2. Günter Huhndorf, "Publizistische Kleindrucke in England vor 1558," unpubl. diss., (Münster, 1959), p. 192.
3. Robert K. Webber, The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literary and Social Tension, (London, 1955).
4. Hermann Bausinger, "Bemerkungen zum Schwank und seinen Formtypen," Fabula, IX (1967), pp. 118-136.
5. G. Malcolm Laws, American Balladry from British Broadside, Am. Folklore Soc., Bibl. Ser., VIII, (Philadelphia, 1957).
6. Leslie Shepard, The Broadside Ballad, A Study in Origins and Meaning, (London, 1962).
7. -----, John Pitts Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London 1765-1844, (London and Detroit, 1969).
8. -----, The History of Street Literature, (Newton Abbot, 1973).
9. Claude M. Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and its Music, (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1966).

10. Alan Gailey, "Chapbook Influence on Irish Mummer's Plays," Folklore XLV (Spring 1974), p. 1-22.
11. J. Woodfall Ebsworth and William Chappell, eds, The Roxburghe Ballads, 9 vols. (Hertford, 1869-1899; reprint, New York, 1966).
12. Hyder E. Rollins, ed. The Pepys Ballads (1535-1702), 8 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1929-32).
13. The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads in the Library of the University of Glasgow.
14. J. Woodfall Ebsworth, ed. The Bagford Ballads, 2 vols. (Hertford, 1876-78).
15. James L. Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, ed. Bibliotheca Lindesiana; Catalogue of a Collection of English Ballads of the 16th and 17th Centuries, 2 vols. (Aberdeen, 1890; reprint, New York, 1962).
16. Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, vol. I (London, 1861), p. 278
17. All of the c. 2000 items listed in the 'Catalogue of Songs Kept in Store by Henry P. Such, Printer and Publisher, 177, Union Street, Borough, London,' (n. d.), have been preserved till today. Such printed from 1849-1917.
18. Harvard College Library, shelf-mark EBB 65 = Ebsworth, The Roxburghe Ballads, (s. no. 11), vol. IX, p. 618.
19. Simpson, op. cit., p. 552.
20. The first copyright act wasn't passed until 1709. But something akin to the protection of copyright had existed for at least a century and a half before that date.
21. Simpson, op. cit., 551 f.
22. Mayhew, op. cit., vol. I, p. 213-322.
23. Cf. Rainer Wehse, "Schwank-Songs on British Broadsides. A Classification and Compilation," unpubl. Master's thesis, Indiana Univ., Bloomington, 1969, pp. 2-5.