

*‘The Boers have got my daddy’: Politics  
domestic and foreign*

“The Dogs of War” are loose and the rugged  
 Russian Bear,  
 Full bent on blood and robbery, has crawl’d out of  
 his lair;  
 It seems a thrashing now and then, will never help  
 to tame  
 That brute, and so he’s out upon the “same  
 old game.”  
 The Lion did his best to find him some excuse  
 To crawl back to his den again, all efforts were  
 no use;  
 He hunger’d for his victim, he’s pleased when  
 blood is shed,  
 But let us hope his crimes may all recoil on  
 his own head.  
 ‘By Jingo’ or MacDermott’s ‘War Song’

THE POLITICAL SONG, particularly one focussing on a specific figure, posed a conundrum for music hall managers. There was a long and successful tradition of topical songs, such as ‘Is he Guilty?’ which commented on personalities and issues of the day and asked the audience to respond. But, as leisure entrepreneurs sought to offer more respectable entertainment to a wider audience, they felt that they should minimize the number of contentious songs that commented on politicians and princes. Political allusions and political “gags” were deemed undesirable in the theatre and even more so in the music hall,

‘where the audience is usually more impressionable, excitable and pugnacious.’<sup>1</sup> Managers, like James Carter Edwards, of the Theatre Royal, Hull, tried to distinguish between ‘patriotism,’ to which he had no objection, and ‘vulgar party politics.’<sup>2</sup> Others were more pragmatic, simply balancing conflicting interests. In 1888 the audience at the South London Place were regaled by ‘Miss Nelly Farnell ... the glittering star of Erin [who] nightly champions the “grand old man” [William Gladstone] ... [but] an antidote to fervid Home Rule is supplied by Mr Sam Redfearn ... who dilates upon the triumphs of Beaconsfield and what he [Disraeli] did for the “glory of old England.”’<sup>3</sup> There was also a problem for the individual performer who might be faced with a hostile audience. One solution was found by Charles Williams, ‘who found favour in a political song, having reference to the Conservative and Liberal leaders by the anything but complimentary title of little pigs.’<sup>4</sup>

### *Party politics*

Politicians (and other prominent figures) appeared regularly on the music-hall stage, and not just in song. There were impersonators, ventriloquists, puppeteers, even caricaturists, as well as singers. Politicians of all persuasions appeared, and the treatment varied from the adulatory to the condemnatory with varying degrees of gentle (and not so gentle) humour in between. However, as many Liberal politicians, J A Hobson in particular, bitterly complained, this was not an even field on which all politicians, or political parties, were treated equally. Generally speaking, the music-hall industry was more sympathetic towards the Conservatives and more suspicious of the Liberals who, at various times, were identified with teetotalism, censorship and Home Rule. Nelly Farnell was unusual in her praise of the Liberal leader. More of her fellow performers were critical. As Gladstone’s second ministry struggled in 1884, Fred Coyne had ‘a popular ditty, in which the audience, loyally and loudly interrupted by shouting the words “Take it away.” The Government and Mr. Gladstone were voted to be ‘useless lumber.’ In the same year, when Mr Godfrey appeared as “The Grand Old Man” at the London Pavilion, ‘there was sibillation in plenty.’<sup>5</sup> ‘Jolly’ John Nash’s

song "Put it down to Gladstone" similarly 'went excellently.'<sup>6</sup> In similar vein, Vesta Tilley sang 'Chalk it up to Gladstone,' though the song drew cheers and some counter-cheers.<sup>7</sup>

Another leading Liberal, Charles Dilke was much vilified, particularly by the arch-Tory G H MacDermott 'with a sort of nursery rhyme song,' which elicited cheering that was "something tremendous."<sup>8</sup> Dilke's earlier support for republicanism made him a suspect figure in the eyes of many but it was a sexual scandal that finally brought his political career to an end when he lost his Chelsea seat in 1886. MacDermott's 'Dilke song, coming as it did ... so soon after the election returns from Chelsea were published, created more than the customary excitement.'<sup>9</sup> MacDermott was not without his critics. Another contributor to *Era*, itself not known for its pro-Liberal sentiments, attacked him for 'pursuing a questionable policy in attacking [Dilke] in an idiotic song.'<sup>10</sup>

The most unpopular aspect of Liberal policy was the commitment to Home Rule, a policy which split the party itself. Music-hall advocates of Home Rule aroused hostility, notably Charles Collette, who 'sang a song of the warmest and most partisan nature with respect to the Home Rule question' at the Trocadero. The song 'create[d] uproar and cause[d] annoyance and inconvenience' to many in the audience; it was subsequently withdrawn to prevent further trouble.<sup>11</sup> Collette was not deterred and was singing songs such as 'What Should We Do Without Parnell?' and 'Why Don't They Give Us Home Rule?' in the early 1890s.<sup>12</sup> Audience sympathy for Home Rule is difficult to gauge but the popularity of Charles Coburn, who 'waved his banner on high and declared for "Home Rule for Shepherd's Bush"' and of the 'old favourite', Harriet Vernon, who, singing of 'what the public really required,' claimed 'that Gladstone shall "leave Home Rule alone," suggests it was limited.'<sup>13</sup>

If Gladstone was more likely to provoke a hiss, then Disraeli was more likely to generate a cheer – and then some more. Despite (or perhaps because of) his relatively short tenure in office and his early death in 1881, he remained a popular figure in music hall song throughout Victoria's reign. Disraeli was a political outsider, a maverick whom many viewed with suspicion, but a fortuitous set of circumstances during

his only substantial ministry of 1874–80 enabled him and his followers to create the myth of the man who had defended and extended British interests on the world stage, while also looking after the well-being of the country at large, through his “One-Nation Conservatism.” Performing at the Victoria in 1881, Arthur Lloyd ‘called forth much cheering [with a] reference to the possible return of the Earl of Beaconsfield [as Disraeli became in 1876] to political power.’<sup>14</sup> Popularity in life turned to near-adoration in death in certain quarters. In Harry Rickard’s rendition of ‘The Shining Light of England,’ the mention of the late Lord Beaconsfield, as usual, called forth ‘great cheering.’<sup>15</sup> In ‘The Tablet of England,’ written by Oswald Stoll and performed by Vesta Tilley in 1886, Disraeli was lauded as ‘a statesman – a hero – a man!’

While much attention has been focussed on the London halls, Tory popularity was not confined to the capital. One striking example was the response to a performance by MacDermott in Day’s Concert Hall in the Liberal stronghold of Birmingham in 1879. One song contained the following lines:

We have a gallant captain,/ We will be a loyal crew  
And we’ll hold together/ By the Old True Blue.

The chorus was ‘taken up heartily’ by the audience and ‘the close of each verse followed by a whirlwind of applause.’<sup>16</sup> However, there were criticisms of the repeated evocation of the name of Beaconsfield. Vesta Tilley was taken to task for her ‘excessively bad taste ... [in appealing] to vulgar political prejudices in the name of a Conservative leader.’<sup>17</sup> Praised for his dancing skills, Mr. Cairns was condemned for his ‘stale [and] decidedly unprofitable’ political allusions.<sup>18</sup> Other critics condemned the way in which appeals to patriotism were used to disguise lack of talent. Miss Minnie Jeffs ‘employed her vocal resources in praise of Primrose Day and ... Lord Beaconsfield’ but the ‘frantic applause’ owed little to ‘any charm of voice or rendering as she descanted on the flag of “red, white and blue.”’<sup>19</sup> In sum, ‘the continual mention of Lord Beaconsfield to the detriment of any other statesman, whether Conservative or Liberal, is becoming nauseous.’<sup>20</sup>

No other Tory politician matched Disraeli's popularity. Salisbury was one of many subjects of caricaturists and cartoonist, including the great novelty of the late 1890s, Henri Cazman's 'clever shadowography' show entitled *Medallions of Celebrities*, but appeared less often in song. MacDermott introduced a verse about him in his topical song 'What Would You Like to See?' and he featured in 'Salisbury and Gladstone,' though much of that song was directed at Gladstone's abandonment of Gordon at Khartoum.<sup>21</sup> Whether seen as too aloof, too prosaic or simply too unsympathetic, Salisbury never captured the imagination in the way that his predecessor had done and continued to do. Only Randolph Churchill came close to the larger-than-life persona of Disraeli. Somewhat fancifully, he was described in 'The Tablet of Fame' as being 'a pillar of state, unequalled in debate' and 'with intellect of excellence rare.' Predictably MacDermott and Nash (literally) sang his praises, as did the Tory sympathiser, Harry Rickard in 'Steady and True.'<sup>22</sup>

### ***Patriotism and jingoism***

Despite attempts to distinguish between political songs (unacceptable) and patriotic songs (acceptable), no clear-cut line can be discerned, not least because of the repeated elision of Conservatism and patriotism. There were many patriotic songs that focussed variously on the perceived threats to and successes of the country. Here the distinction was between acceptable and unacceptable patriotism, the latter increasingly condemned as jingoism. Much has been made of the patriotic fervour of late-nineteenth century music-hall, with the Great MacDermott's 'Jingo' song being quoted repeatedly, but there is a danger of generalizing from a highly distinctive performer, performing in particular circumstances. Since the Crimean War, Russia had replaced France as Britain's greatest threat in Europe. Renewed Russian support for the Ottoman Empire provoked a diplomatic crisis in 1878, during which battleships were despatched to deter Russian advances towards Constantinople and the straits. Despite Gladstone's campaigning on the Bulgarian atrocities of 1876, the crisis, which was resolved at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, worked to the advantage of the Conservatives, who benefitted from

the upsurge of popular feeling exploited by, among others, MacDermott and the song writer G W Hunt, who spoke of 'that section of the public who were anxious for bold and patriotic action against Russian aggression.'<sup>23</sup>

The song was undoubtedly popular in its own right, in Liverpool as much as in London, and as a reference point in other productions, such as the 'new and fanciful ballet ... Aphrodite' the opening scene of which showed Beaconsfield in his study, dreaming of Cyprus, while 'a distant chorus of "We don't want to fight"' can be heard.<sup>24</sup> MacDermott was not the only jingoistic singer of the day. W Johnson sung about 'The Lion and the Bear,' while 'Stand to Your Guns,' Clement Scott's 'new patriotic song' proved highly popular. To the questions 'why was Beaconsfield dear to the nation, [and] why Salisbury's cheered as her truest of sons?' he gave the simple answer: 'in the teeth of a crowd's execration, Like England – they pluckily stood to their guns.'<sup>25</sup>

However, that 'section of the population' that responded positively was not as large as Hunt and MacDermott claimed. MacDermott's 'War Song' went down badly in Birmingham and was less popular in several northern towns and cities, where there were criticisms of 'fanatic partisans' as exemplified by MacDermott, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Daily Telegraph* and of the misuse of jingo songs by Tories at meetings across the country.<sup>26</sup> Parodies appeared. According to *Punch*, not only was there the well-known determination to fight but 'we've got the ink, we've got the pens/And we've got the paper too' while, more ominously the *Morning Post* reckoned 'we'll have two shillings income tax/And a d---d good licking too!'<sup>27</sup>

Jingoism re-appeared in the following decades and provoked similar responses. In 1885 the war in the Sudan, and especially the siege of Khartoum, sparked an outburst of ultra-patriotic songs. Vesta Tilley roused 'the patriotic feeling of the audience' as she sang 'Shall England Give In?' Henry Clark at the Trocadero gained 'Jingo applause by cheap sneers at Gladstone and by calling attention to highly-coloured pictures of General Gordon.' Charles Coburn also followed suit, but was criticized for exciting 'the feelings of the foolish and [giving] opportunity to the quarrelsome.'<sup>28</sup> Radicals condemned 'Jingo songs, bawled loudly by some half-drunken sots ... [and] nightly

applauded by men and women who have never thought out a political problem in their lives, and could not do so if they tried.<sup>29</sup> Such strident views provoked a firm defence from the likes of G B Harcourt who praised the patriotic songs of Arthur Lloyd and 'Jolly' John Nash, which they alleged were applauded by thousands, including 'drapers, grocers, and other kindred trades' assistants' rather than drunks.<sup>30</sup> The 'small wars' of Victoria's reign spawned various songs (including street ballads) that reflected and contributed to the growth of popular imperialism and strengthened notions of racial superiority, in which white heroes battled with savage Africans, encouraged by nigger minstrelsy.<sup>31</sup>

The years surrounding the turn of the twentieth century provoked an even greater outburst. A stand-off against the French at Fashoda, Kitchener's exploits in the Sudan and, above all, the war against the Boers in southern Africa, called forth songs which were sung across the country indeed across the empire.<sup>32</sup> The desire to show imperial unity was seen most clearly in another pro-Tory performer, F V St. Clair's 'John Bull's Letter Bag,' the lyrics of which were (allegedly) drawn from letters from Australia, Canada, Ireland and America! The song was praised for expressing 'the best patriotic sentiments ... [but] with not a word of Jingo fustian in the lines.'<sup>33</sup>

The second Boer war gave rise to a minor flood of patriotic compositions from Tom Costello's tear-jerking 'The Boers Have Got My Daddy,' through the recycled 'Goodbye Dolly Grey,' to the lesser-known marches of Ezra Read, all celebrating aspects of the conflict.<sup>34</sup> Also often overlooked were the patriotic, pro-Empire Irish songs. Leo Dryden, best known for 'The Miner's Dream of Home,' and known as 'the Kipling of the Halls' sang 'Bravo, Dublin Fusiliers!' Pat Carey, in stage khaki, sang 'The Irish Are Always in Front,' with its provocative opening line: 'There's talk going round that the Irish are traitors.' Pat Rafferty, better known for his sentimental songs, defended his fellow countrymen in 'You Can't Call Them Traitors Now,' and 'What Do You Think of the Irish Now?' which contained the lines: "You used to call us traitors because of agitators/ But you can't call us traitors now."<sup>35</sup>

There was also a more general 'patriotic' songs praising Britain's armed forces, such as 'Soldiers of the Queen' and

'Sons of the Sea,' and extravaganzas, such as *Our Army and Our Navy*, (1889) and *The Girl I Left Behind Me*, (1894), which celebrated soldiers and sailors on imperial duty around the globe. There were also less obvious sources such as the 1890s musical comedy *A Gaiety Girl*, which included the song 'Private Tommy Atkins,' who was

A-fighting for his country and his queen.  
And whether he's on India's coral strand or pouring  
out his blood in the Soudan,  
To keep our flag a-flying, he's a-doing and a-dying,  
Every inch of him a soldier and a man.

First performed at the Prince of Wales Theatre, London, it soon ran up over a hundred performances. Haydn Coffin, as Charles Goldfield, was much praised for his rendition of 'the "Tommy Atkins" song [delivered] with all the resonant vigour and patriotic enthusiasm imaginable.'<sup>36</sup> But it was not just in London that the comedy was performed. There were performances in major cities in the midlands (Leicester and Nottingham), the north of England (Manchester, Sheffield, Hull and Bradford) and at various resorts from Ramsgate in the south to Blackpool in the northwest and Scarborough in the northeast. The song itself was sung in a wide range of venues: at the Sons of Temperance Cycle Club concert in Hull; at a patriotic concert in Sunderland; at a concert in aid of the Tideswell (Derbyshire) cricket club; at the East End Conservative Club in Hastings; at a concert on behalf of the Duke of Westminster's Fund for Distressed Armenians in Grandborough (Buckinghamshire); as part of a concert by "The Tennessee Darkies" in Waverton (Cheshire); and at the Cinderella Society concert and another concert in aid of the ambulance section of local volunteers at Lockwood (Huddersfield), among others in 1894 alone.

The popularity of songs such as 'Private Tommy Atkins' is striking but there was not an uncritical and unchallenged surge of patriotism sweeping the country. The second Boer war, in particular, was a divisive event and enthusiasm for war was not shared by all, as the number of anti-war parodies, such as 'Call Out The Boys of The Old Brigade' or 'Riding In The



Ammunition Van,' bears witness. For many performers there was an element of commercial calculation in their choice of songs. Gus Elen, not averse to adding a 'Dr Jim' verse in praise of the controversial figure of Leander Starr Jameson, was also happy to sing about being 'One Of The Deathless Army,' facing shells by the thousands and surrounded on all sides by cannons – the former in the oyster shop, the latter in the billiard hall.<sup>37</sup> Elen stood out against the tendency for comedians to 'spout doggerel and cheap Jingoism,' and was praised for treating the war from 'the comic standpoint of a Bethnal-green Boer.'<sup>38</sup>

Historians, notably Linda Colley, have stressed the importance of empire in creating a sense of Britishness that subsumed Irish, Scottish and Welsh identities into a broader (and greater) identity, to which music-hall contributed. Undoubtedly certain performers felt obliged (or felt it commercially wise) to conform with this notion, taking a positive view of the co-operation and unity of interest between Scots, Irish and English – the Welsh featuring less often. The Irish singer, Pat Feeney, the so-called "Irish Ambassador," sang of "The Rose and the Thistle and the Shamrock Green," to 'tremendous plaudits'.<sup>39</sup> At the Middlesex music-hall, the Great Northern Troupe of Characteristic Male and Female Dancers, which hailed from Scotland, made 'patriotism ... the keynote ... of the programme.'<sup>40</sup> It is not known why they choose to refer to themselves as 'Northern' rather than 'Scottish' but in the late-nineteenth century, when the popularity of empire was high, there was in certain quarters a 'voluntary suppression of separate Scottish nationality in favour of the popular concept of "North Britain."<sup>41</sup> Likewise, the Clan Johnstone Troupe, appearing at the Sebright music-hall, London, appealed to patriotic sentiments.<sup>42</sup> Pipe Major Albert Johnstone's choice of tune was not accidental. "Cock of the North" was the march tune of the 1<sup>st</sup> Gordon Highlanders, who had played such a decisive and heroic role in the battle of Dargai.<sup>43</sup>

The much-publicised heroism of Piper Findlater at Dargai provoked a miniature cultural storm. He himself enjoyed a brief career in music hall after his discharge from the army.<sup>44</sup> His exploits were also celebrated in poetry, song and musical sketches, such as the 'dramatic musical military sketch, 'One of The Boys,' which was performed across the country, from Dover

to Darwen via Dudley. Among singers, Jess Burton, noted for his patriotic ballads, sang a new song about Findlater, 'What Shall We Do With Our Heroes?' while 'Jovial' Joe Culvard, 'famous ... for his faithful portrayal of the typical John Bull,' added a new verse to 'a familiar song' of his praising Findlater.<sup>45</sup> Although it was a Scottish regiment that triumphed at Dargai, their achievement was woven into a wider British imperial narrative. Similarly, the popular romantic military drama, which was produced in several provincial towns and cities as well as London, made its priority clear from its very title: *Our British Empire; or, the Gordon Highlanders*. Less overtly, Oswald Stoll, capitalizing upon the popularity of Piper Findlater, included him in a bill which symbolically included the well-known Irish singer and dancer, Pat Rafferty and the Welsh Quartette, who sang 'The Boys of the Old Brigade.'<sup>46</sup> Whether these attitudes were shared outside England is less clear cut.<sup>47</sup>

### ***Some concluding observations***

The development of music hall, the creation of a national network of venues and performers, contributed to an emerging popular national culture. While the focus of the industry was entertainment, music hall was not divorced from its wider political context. There were lyricists and performers who made their politics known, more often supporting the Tory party than the Liberals, more often defending the union than advocating Home Rule. They reflected political divisions in the country at large and, even if only by confirming pre-existing beliefs, contributed to the wider political life of the nation. In celebrating empire, the halls contributed to a sense of Britishness associated with its alleged achievements, ranging from military campaigns to civilizing missions, which in turn inculcated a sense of superiority over those deemed less fortunate. However, it is easy to exaggerate popular jingoism and popular patriotism. There was a degree of scepticism and indifference, the latter being particularly difficult to measure.

Looked at in their entirety, music hall songs were characterised by the diversity of subject matter and the success of the halls rested on their ability to fulfil several functions and to satisfy a range of emotions, from pathos to patriotism, even in a single evening. It offered an escape from mundane reality

and, for some at least, a shared experience that helped to make sense of and come to terms with the dreariness, inequalities and harshness of everyday life. Even for those unable to go to the halls, a cheerful (or even a sad) song to be sung or whistled at work, or a barrel-organ tune to dance to at the fair or with passers-by in the street, brightened and enriched everyday life. Music hall was fundamentally about entertainment and enjoyment rather than education; and it is too easy to lose sight of this important fact.

### *Endnotes*

- 1 *Era*, 'Politics on Stage,' 6 April 1889. See also the critique of the 'excessively bad taste' of Vesta Tilley in 'exciting the political feelings of her audience,' *Era* 8 December 1883.
- 2 *Era* 23 March 18889
- 3 *Era* 18 February 1888
- 4 *Era* 29 February 1880
- 5 *Era* 22 March 1884
- 6 *Era* 11 April 1885. Nor was this confined to the 1880s. in 1892 Harry Freeman's 'good humoured banter of Mr. Gladstone' summed up his policy 'in the phrase 'Ta-ra-ra Boom-de-ay,' thereby combining political commentary with the hit tune of the time. *Era* 2 July 1892
- 7 *Era* 8 November 1884
- 8 *Era* 6 March 1886
- 9 *Era* 10 July 1886
- 10 *Era* 29 May 1886
- 11 *Era* 6 April 89
- 12 See for example *Era* 9 May 1891
- 13 *Era* 3 March 1888 (Coburn) and 4 June 1887 (Vernon)
- 14 *Era*, 26 February 1881. Similarly, the Great Vance at the Oxford 'alluded to Earl Beaconsfield whose name was the signal for enthusiastic applause.' *Era* 8 January 1881
- 15 *Era* 1 September 1883. See also *Era* 14 May 1881, 11 October 1884, 28 April 1888 and 6 November 1897
- 16 *Birmingham Daily Globe*, 10 December 1879 reprinted in *Era* 14 December 1879. There is scattered evidence of limited popular support for McDermott in the Liberal strongholds of the West Riding of Yorkshire.
- 17 *Era* 8 December 1883
- 18 *Era* 18 July 1885
- 19 *Era* 28 April 1888
- 20 *Era* 18 July 1885
- 21 The line 'Poor Gordon was left to his fate' directly mirrored Conservative

political propaganda, which turned the GOM (the Grand Old Man, as Gladstone was commonly known) into the MOG (the murderer of Gordon). See for example, *The Gladstone Almanack, 1885*, London, Blackwood & Sons, 1885, price 6d.

22 *Era* 21 November 1891

23 *Era* 20 June 1878. See also 'A Chat with G H MacDermott,' in which he talked of 'national sentiment ... the spirit of the moment ... [and] the question of England's supremacy among nations.' *Era* 23 September 1893

24 MacDermott created 'the greatest sensation' with his jingo song at the People's Palace, Liverpool, *Era* 11 August 1878 and 6 October 1878

25 *Era* 21 July 1878

26 *Penny Illustrated Paper* 23 February 1878, *Examiner* 30 June 1877 & 16 February 1878, *Northern Echo* 7 February & 5 April 1878

27 *Punch* reproduced in *Huddersfield Chronicle* 11 May 1878, *Morning Post* 30 January 1878

28 *Era* 14 March, 2 & 9 May 1885

29 *Era* 20 June 1885

30 *Era* 20 June 1885

31 J Mullen, 'Anti-Black Racism in British Popular Music (1880-1920),' *French Journal of British Studies*, 17(2), 2012 at [https://www.academia.edu/2002759/\\_PDF\\_full\\_text\\_Anti-Black\\_Racism\\_in\\_British\\_Popular\\_Music\\_1880-1920](https://www.academia.edu/2002759/_PDF_full_text_Anti-Black_Racism_in_British_Popular_Music_1880-1920)

32 For example, Mr Colverd's 'topical verse about the victory gained by General Kitchener at Khartoum' *Era*, 10 September 1898; Miss Kitty Rayburn's 'He's a bloke as I'd like to walk out wiv,' praising Kitchener and Roberts, *Era* 18 November 1899; 'the Two Bees with their ultra-jingo songs and patter' in Newcastle, *Era* 22 July 1899; Miss Amy Farrell in Plymouth appealing to the 'fiery instincts of the loyal citizens' *Era* 30 September 1899; and Miss Amy Grace's 'jingo ditty' in the military spectacular melodrama, *Under the British Flag*, performed in Cape Town, *Era* 28 October 1899.

33 *Era* 3 February 1900

34 'Goodbye Dolly Grey' was originally written for the Spanish-American war but was never used because of the brevity of that conflict. It can be heard in the background in the film 'Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid,' which was set at the time. Read wrote The Mafeking March, The Ladysmith March, The Kimberley March, The Transvaal March and, by way of variation, The March to Pretoria as well as The Relief of Mafeking.

35 Pulling, *They Were Singing* p.79 and *New York Times*, 14 October 1900. The latter also drew attention to the publication of pro-Boer songs in several American cities.

36 *Era* 17 February 1894

37 The botched Jameson Raid (December 1895/January 1896) was an embarrassing and counterproductive incident for the British government but, initially at least, Jameson was feted as a hero in some sections of London society in particular.

38 *Era* 25 November 1899

39 *Era* 6 August 1881 and 14 January 1882

40 *Era* 21 July 1894

- 41 P Maloney, *Scotland and the Music Hall, 1850-1914*, Manchester University Press, 2003, p.19.
- 42 *Era* 30 July 1898
- 43 The storming of the heights of Dargai was part of the Tirah campaign (in what is now Pakistan) in 1897. Where others had failed, the Gordons carried the day. Two VCs were awarded to Gordon Highlanders for their bravery that day, one being to Piper George Findlater, who continued playing the regimental march despite being shot through both thighs. Findlater's memory was hazy and he suggested that he played "The Haughs of Cromdale." His son was also a piper and wounded in battle at Loos in 1915.
- 44 Findlater was extremely well received at the Empire Palace, Edinburgh where he appeared for a week, clad in tartan, pipes skirling as he played "The Haughs of Cromdale" and "Cock of the North." He toured northern England as far south as Birmingham, but critics were more impressed with the Scottish dancers who accompanied him than with Findlater's piping. He appeared once on stage with the violin virtuoso James Scott Skinner, an interesting contrast that went beyond their different instruments. Despite his fame, Findlater was also beaten in a piping competition for the Queen's medal by Albert Johnstone of the Clan Johnstone Troupe. His career was cut short when the War Office requested that he not perform at the Alhambra, London in June 1898. He was found a place in Her Majesty's household. *Era* 4 June 1898 and *Music Hall and Theatre Review* 13 May 1898
- 45 *Era* 8 July and 10 September 1890. Culvard also added a verse dedicated to General Gordon. In addition, performers such as A L Lloyd boosted their acts by impersonating Findlater.
- 46 *Music Hall and Theatre Review*, 1 July 1898
- 47 For a variety of reasons, from commercial self-interest to a genuine identification with empire, particularly as an opportunity for Scots, popular song collections, such as *The Scotia Music Hall Songbook* or *The Modern Scottish Minstrel*, contained several imperialist songs, such as 'Cheer Boys Cheer (for Mother England!)' words by Charles Mackay. However, the same volumes also contained more overtly nationalist Scottish songs, such as 'Hurrah for The Bonnets of Blue' and 'Caledonia.' In fact, in Harvie's phrase, there was 'a fruitful schizophrenia' whereby Scottish audiences 'applauded imperial achievements or aspirations ... through Scottish involvement ... [and] criticised or satirised ... the English establishment.' See Maloney, *Scotland and the Music-Hall*, especially p.163 and p.171