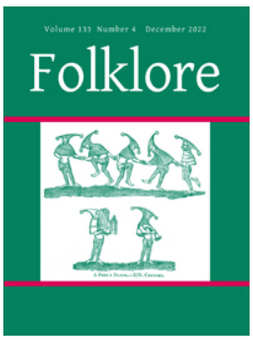

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THE FORTY-FIRST KATHARINE BRIGGS MEMORIAL LECTURE, 16 NOVEMBER 2021

'Peace o'er the World': Village Carolling in the Hope Valley of Derbyshire

Ian Russell

Abstract

The current traditions of Christmas carolling in the Derbyshire Peak District were well established by the end of the eighteenth century. The main centre of activity was and is the Hope Valley with its several settlements based on upland farming, small-scale industries, quarrying, and mineral extraction. These communities nurtured distinctive repertoires of local carols over two centuries and through into the twenty-first century. The research into this phenomenon draws on ethnographic fieldwork undertaken during the past fifty years and aims to understand it in terms of historical development, social context, performance dynamics, musical characteristics, and individual participation.

Introduction

Peace o'er the world, her olive branch extends,
And white-robed innocence from heaven descends.
Swift fly the years and rise the expected morn;
O, spring to light! The auspicious Babe be born! (*DBVC* 2020, 165–67)

'Peace o'er the World' is the signature carol of village communities in the Hope Valley of the Derbyshire Peak District. The text can be found on broadsides and is based on Alexander Pope's extensive poem *Messiah*, first published in 1712 (Pope 1961, 99–122).[1] The text is set to a tune by Richard Furness of Eyam, *c*.1820 (see Appendix 1). It should be noted that these facts are not generally known or considered significant among singers of this carol. Rather, it is the seasonal celebration of Christmas marked by the performance of the carol that is foremost in the minds of carollers, along with other cherished repertoires, that demonstrates the singularity of their tradition, sense of place, community feel, heritage, and identity.

For well over two and a half centuries the performance of distinctive carols has been a feature of the seasonal holiday of Christmas in villages in the Derbyshire Hope Valley.[2] This district, which stretches from twelve to twenty miles south-west of the city of Sheffield, is a wide rural valley separating the gritstone moorland of the Dark Peak to the north from the limestone dales of the White Peak to the south (see Figures 1 and 2).[3] It comprises several settlements, most of which have had and continue to maintain a vernacular carolling tradition. These include Sparrowpit, Castleton, Hope,

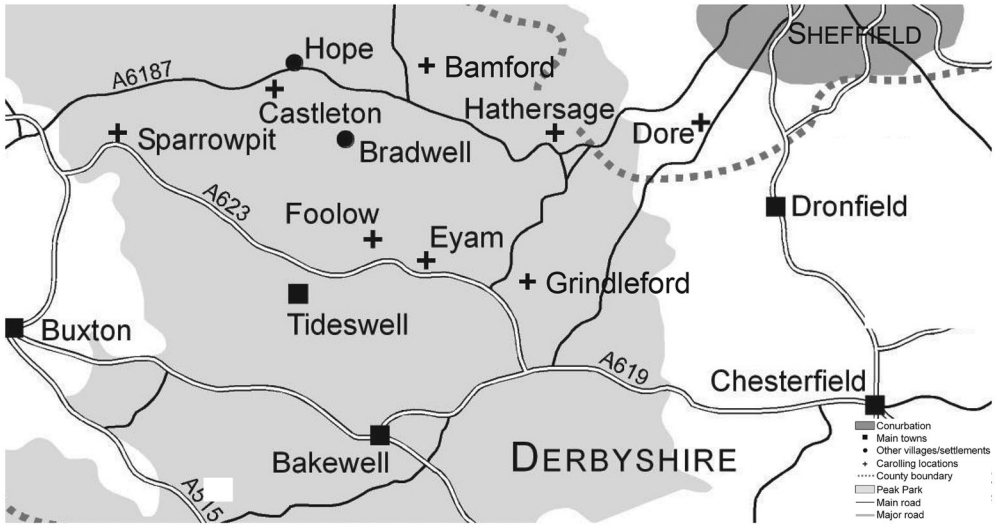


Figure 1. Map of the main carolling villages in the Hope Valley area.

Bradwell, Bamford, Foolow, Eyam, Grindleford, Froggatt, Stoney Middleton, and Hathersage. In this article, I will concern myself with the four main active traditions: Castleton, Foolow, Eyam, and Hathersage. I will not be discussing Bamford and Grindleford, which have undergone a successful revival during the past few years.[4]

In contrast to monodic examples of carols, often referred to as 'folk carols' or 'ballad carols' (Sharp 1911; McGrady 1993)—that is, carols that consist essentially of a melody line only,[5] such as 'God Rest Ye Merry Gentlemen' (*OBC* 1928, no. 12), which were performed solo and recorded by folk-song collectors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—these carols from the Hope Valley (and the manner of their performance) are wholly dependent on group interaction. They are characterized by part-singing, often including a fuguing passage, and represent a distinctive repertoire that until recently was largely undocumented and unrecorded.[6] In this article, I examine the development of such groups in terms of their musicality, belief, sense of belonging, group structure, community, rootedness, and repertoire. I explore the dynamics that have enabled these groups to continue to function, despite major changes in lifestyle and worldview among their participants.

Just as the performance milieux of the groups have altered—currently, most focus their activities on the village pub rather than the church or chapel—so the belief structures that sustain this seasonal activity have become largely secularized (Russell 2004). This article discusses the meanings and motivations of this group activity that have ensured the continuance and validity of this form of cultural expression.

First, it is helpful to think of the carolling groups as 'communities of practice' (Wenger-Trayner 2015). The carollers share an enthusiasm for their activity and learn how to improve as they interact. They are committed to their particular interest and demonstrate proficiency. As the participants perform together, they mentor each other and share information about the tradition. In the process, they

Figure 2. The Hope Valley, looking west from the high moorland above Hathersage towards Kinder Scout. Hope Cement Works is clearly visible. Photograph courtesy of Simon Bull Images.

build up relationships that enable them to learn from each other. This forms part of the process that bonds them together. Mark Slobin refers to such people as '*affinity groups,* charmed circles of like-minded music-makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding' (Slobin 1992, 72; original italics).

I also refer to the community more generally as being the group of people who reside within the villages where the carolling traditions are practised and have been maintained. How the groups present themselves to this community is equally significant. Such activity can be understood as performative actions or expressions. I aim to show how the Christmas carollers in the Hope Valley fulfil aspects of these inward- and outward-looking roles.

The Context

It is important to be aware that the Hope Valley, in its broadest conception, during the nineteenth century and before was an area which not only thrived through dairy farming and sheep-rearing, plus quarrying for limestone and gritstone, but also the exploitation of mineral wealth through the mining of lead ore and lead production (*Hope Valley* 1973; Ford and Rieuwerts 1983; Clarke 2012). Small-scale industries were affected adversely by the building of the railway through the valley as part of the trans-Pennine route from Sheffield to Manchester, which opened in stages between 1867 and 1894.[7] From this point, it became possible to live in the valley and commute to the city, although only in Hathersage did this become significant before the

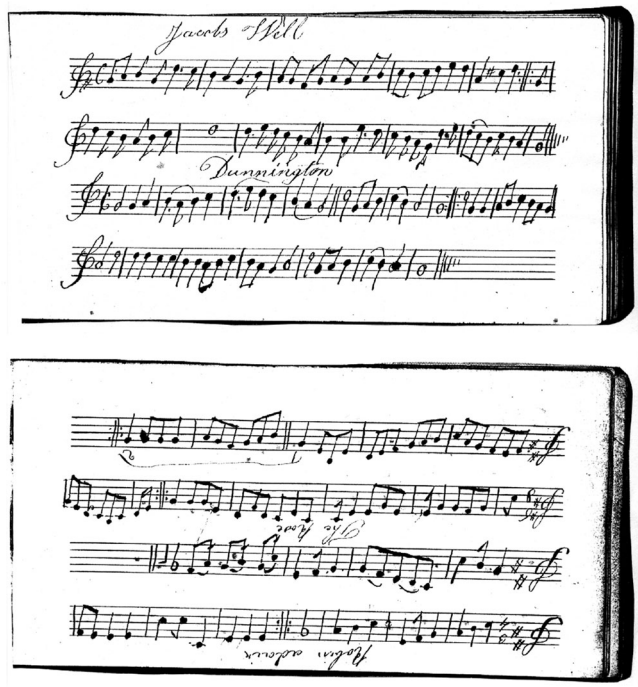


Figure 3. Sacred and secular repertoire. 'Jacobs Well' and 'Dunnington', and 'Robin Adair' and 'The Rose'. Sample pages from opposite ends of MS 'JG', Derbyshire, *c.*1821. Village Carols Archive, Aberdeen, MS137.

Second World War. In 1929 a major employer, Earls, set up a cement works between Bradwell and Hope, which is still in operation, and currently owned by Breedon. The Valley became part of the UK's first National Park in 1951. It is now characterized by picturesque villages, outdoor leisure pursuits, bed-and-breakfast premises, holiday cottages, gift shops, food outlets, and historic inns.

Historical Perspective

A manuscript book, a fiddler's tunebook from Derbyshire initialled 'JG', which dates from around 1821, demonstrates the way in which secular and sacred activities were entwined and equally esteemed by the same individuals. The fiddler 'JG' has written his tunes at both ends of his tunebook by rotating it 180 degrees and turning it over. The tunes upside down represent the secular repertoire, possibly for country dancing, and the ones facing the right way around are the sacred tunes. Thus, 'Robin Adair' and 'The Rose' are from the secular end whereas 'Jacob's Well' and 'Dunnington' are from the sacred end (see Figure 3). This indicates that the playing of recreational tunes and the playing of carol and sacred tunes were both part of a musician's expressive culture (Gammon 2021, 9 and 16).

In the early 1600s, there was a dearth of congregational singing in English parish churches (Temperley 1979, 1, 76). An attempt to remedy this was made by the Puritans, who introduced the use of 'lining out', a practice established in Scotland (Temperley

1979, 1, 89).[8] This may have aided understanding of the text and helped compensate for illiteracy, but it did little to promote the singing. In addition, the celebration of Christmas, and Christmas carolling as such, was explicitly forbidden by the Puritans in 1644 (Routley 1958, 120–21). By the first half of the 1700s, this dearth became transformed by a grassroots movement of composition of tunes for metrical psalms and hymns. The key figures in this movement were members of the artisan class, some of whom had little or no formal musical training; for example, hatters, weavers, tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and other trades (Gammon 2021, 3–4).

John Hall (d. 1794) was a blacksmith who lived and worked in Sheffield Park, an area of Sheffield just above the modern railway station, but sadly he died in the poorhouse (see Figure 4). He was a musician of considerable talent and wrote oratorios on the Nativity and Redemption (Mackerness 1974, 21–22). He also wrote the tunes for several of the local carols that are still sung today, such as 'Hark, Hark' and 'New Christians', as sung at Castleton (Miller 1805, no. 238). Such compositions were polyphonic, distinguished by fuguing sections where different parts make entries at different times, often imitating each other. The tunes were also characterized by melisma, the term used when there is more than one note sung per syllable (see Appendix 2). In this respect, this sort of music shows the influence of the Baroque movement.

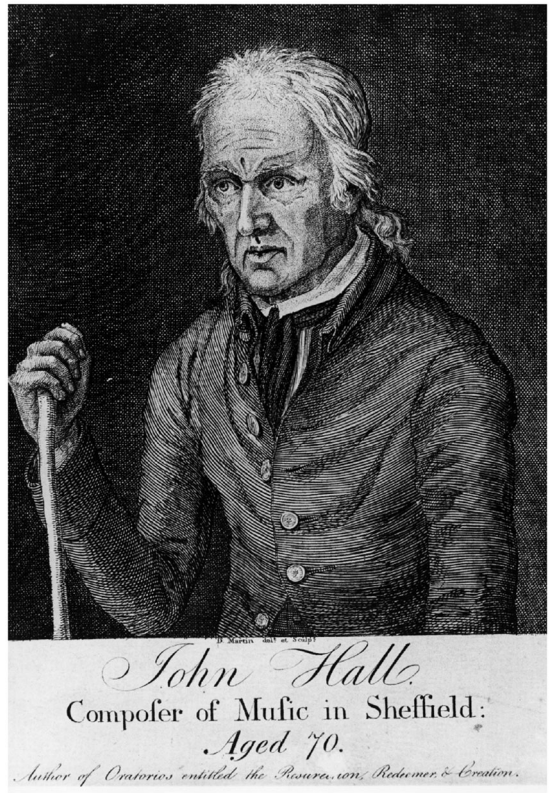


Figure 4. John Hall of Sheffield Park, a blacksmith, d. 1794. Courtesy of Sheffield City Libraries.

The music was performed by bands of singers and musicians, woodwind or stringed instruments, or a combination of both. Occasionally they would include brass instruments such as keyed bugles and ophicleides, and, of course, serpents, bass instruments made from leather and wood. The role of these bands is graphically illustrated in a picture of 'A Village Choir' by Thomas George Webster (1847), in which he represents a country choir at rehearsal in 1820. The choirmaster is in the centre, and members of the choir cluster around individual instruments, such as the cello, learning their parts.[9] There are records of such church bands in Castleton, Eyam, Hope, and Hathersage (Porter 1923, 91; Patmore 1976; Temperley 1979, 1, 149).[10]

The heyday of this style of music was approximately 1750–1820. Church interiors were modified to accommodate the performance of such groups by the erection of a gallery at the west end (MacDermott 1948; Woods 2017, 56–58). However, Church authorities from the early nineteenth century considered such music to be profane and frivolous, and its performance undermining authority (Gammon 1981, 74–76).

The subsequent reform movement was not directed solely at church music; it encompassed the liturgy, church interior architecture, and the behaviour of congregations. The reformers became known as the Tractarians, latterly referred to as the Oxford Movement. Thus, the village choirs were sacked, and organs were installed in place of the instruments, with choirs of boys, wearing vestments in imitation of cathedral choristers, taking the place of the adults. By the time of the publication of the first mass-produced hymnbook in 1861, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, such music had been eradicated almost entirely from official places of worship.

Although the music was initially welcomed by Nonconformist congregations, by the end of the nineteenth century it was largely swept away by the influx of evangelical singing which emanated from the Second Great Awakening (Sizer 1978, 50–82). Two influential American evangelist hymn writers who visited the UK were William Bradbury (1816–68) and Ira D. Sankey (1840–1908) (Bradbury [1867]; Sankey 1906, 20–28; Sankey [1898]; Marini 2002, 303). But people cherished this music (and still do) and reserved its use for singing Christmas carols around their neighbourhoods, often accompanied by instrumentalists, in some cases descended from the redundant church bands.[11]

The reason for the wide distribution of the words of the carols lies in the popularity of street literature sold by chapmen in the form of broadsides and chapbooks containing carols, such as *A Good Christmas Box* of 1847. A typical carol broadside by R. Sutton of Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham, 1816–56, is entitled *Christmas Carols: Suited for the Present Season* [*c.*1830] (*Good Christmas Box* 1967).[12] It comprises the words of five carols, four of which are currently sung in the Hope Valley tradition:

1. 'Christians awake, salute the happy morn' (Foolow, Sparrowpit)
2. 'While shepherds watch'd their flocks by night' (all villages)
3. 'Mortals awake, with angels join' (Foolow)
4. 'Where is the holy heav'n-born Child' (not sung)
5. 'Hark! hark! what news the angels bring' (Castleton, Eyam, Foolow, Hathersage)

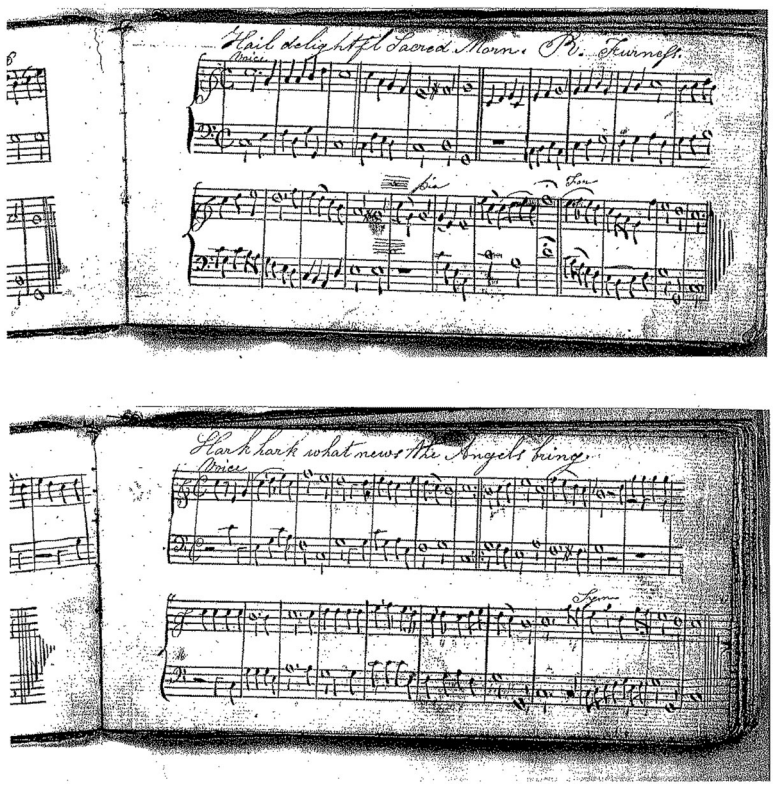


Figure 5. Examples of carols in two parts. 'Hail delightful Sacred Morn', R. Furness, and 'Hark, hark what news the Angels bring' [John Hall]. Brightmore-Maltby MS, *c.*1820, Tideswell, Derbyshire. Village Carols Archive, Aberdeen, MS101.2.76 and MS101.2.80.

Tunes for the carols were circulated by oral means supplemented by local manuscripts. In an 1820s manuscript from Tideswell we find a setting for 'Hark, Hark! What News the Angels Bring', as sung in Castleton (and elsewhere), by John Hall, mentioned earlier, and 'Hail, Delightful Sacred Morn' by Richard Furness of Eyam, which is part of Eyam carollers' ongoing tradition (see Figure 5). There are only two parts to each of these transcriptions, bass and treble. This was a common format in which many of these carols were set and in which they are sung today. The contrapuntal nature of these tunes is emphasized by local labels for the parts, notably 'firsts' and 'seconds'.[13]

Ethnographic Fieldwork

I began researching the vernacular carolling traditions from the Hope Valley in the mid-1970s, having researched the traditions to the north-west of Sheffield from 1969 (Russell 2006). Although the carolling groups were not as boisterous or numerous, the repertoire I encountered was equally fascinating with about a third of the carols in common with their neighbours to the north. I started my fieldwork in Castleton encouraged by a friend, Brian Woodall, who introduced me to two remarkable

Figure 6. Sisters Jessie Hall and Nellie Lampe (née Hall) of Castleton, Derbyshire, 1990. Photograph courtesy of Brian Woodall.

upholders of the Castleton carolling tradition, the sisters Jessie Hall and Nellie Lampe (née Hall) (see Figure 6). Not only were they stalwarts of the local tradition in church and chapel, but also in the pub. Moreover, they confidently sang two carols that had fallen out of use at that time—'All You that Are to Mirth Inclined' (*DBVC* 2020, 21) and 'Hark, Hark' (*DBVC* 2020, 101).[14]

Castleton

Castleton has developed over the past three centuries because of its mineral wealth, notably lead and Blue John, but also because of quarrying, ropemaking, and farming. The village is justly famous for its natural caverns and the ruins of Peveril Castle, which have also proved to be an important attraction for visitors, such that today the local economy is largely reliant on tourism.

Inhabitants have long been renowned for their singing; in fact, special performances were regularly put on in the caverns to entertain visitors. For instance, James Ferguson wrote in 1772 'agreeably surprised by melodious singing', and he describes the singers as 'young lads' with candles in their hands performing for a collection (Ferguson 1772, 61). Stephen Glover, writing in 1830, also commented on the element of surprise—they did not light their candles until after they had sung the

first few bars. The choir he saw consisted of men, women, and children singing 'in sharp nasal tones' (Glover 1833, 67).

An intriguing custom was described when Rev. Brooksbank, Vicar of Castleton (1904–10), delivered a paper to the Hunter Archaeological Society on local traditions. He emphasized that carol singing had always been a part of Castleton's life: 'The miners used to select the best piece of ore [ganister] they could find, stick on it the best candle they could procure, and squat round these on Christmas Eve singing their old carols until the candle was burnt out' (Brooksbank 1929, 51).[15] This practice has been replicated in recent years by the current group of carollers led by Brian Woodall.

In 1904 the Rev. William Henry Shawcross published the first collection of local carols, a booklet which included the text of eleven carols with annotation. He had noted that six of these carols were being sung in 1833 in an earlier local history pamphlet: 'New Christians', 'Shepherds Rejoice', 'All You That Are to Mirth Inclined', 'Star of Jacob', 'Hark, Hark', and 'Once More' (Shawcross 1903, 26).

When Ralph Vaughan Williams was staying with a family friend, Rev. Reginald Gatty, at Hooton Roberts near Rotherham in 1908, prompted by Shawcross's booklet (of which he had acquired a copy), he visited Castleton in the company of Reginald's son Ivor. There he noted down four carols from a 'J. Hall'. The identity of his singer might seem simple to establish, but the 1901 Census lists sixteen households with the surname of Hall in the village, several of which included men with the initial 'J'. Fortunately, Joe Hallam, a senior Castleton resident, had asked the same question in the 1950s and established that Vaughan Williams had interviewed James Hall, a steam road-roller driver, residing at Lodge Cottage, Back Street. At the time of Vaughan Williams's visit, James was fifty-two years old, a member of the church choir with a melodious tenor voice.

The carols that Vaughan Williams noted were 'Down in Yon Forest', 'All in the Morning', 'All You that Are to Mirth Inclined', and 'Jacob's Well'.[16] He designated the first three carols 'folk carols', and they were published, arranged for piano and voices, in his *Eight Traditional English Carols* (Vaughan Williams 1919), and later included in the seminal *Oxford Book of Carols* (1928). The fourth carol, because it was sung in parts, was not deemed worthy of this assignation or of publication (Vaughan Williams 1919, preface; Gilchrist 1910, 64).

There is no doubt that the interest shown in the Castleton carols by the Rev. Haydock and other outsiders, well-intentioned and gifted as they no doubt were, had little or no effect on the tradition, which developed steadily throughout the twentieth century (Haydock 1953). The present practice includes the annual pub carol-singing session usually held in the George Hotel on a Sunday evening in December, as well as a carol celebration hosted by the Peveril Centre (formerly the Methodist Church).

Almost fifty years ago, when the carol singing in the pub was in danger of being discontinued, Brian Woodall and the late George Bramall (1932–2006) successfully secured the future of the tradition with a series of initiatives. They photocopied a set of carol folders for use by fellow singers and newcomers; they varied the programme during the session by interspersing the local carols with such well-known national favourites as 'Silent Night' (*NOBC* 1992, no. 86), 'Good King Wenceslas' (*NOBC* 1992, no.

Figure 7. Carollers at the George Hotel, Castleton, led by Brian Woodall (standing on right), Sunday, 18 December 2005. Photograph courtesy of Derek Schofield.

97), and 'O Come All Ye Faithful' (*NOBC* 1992, no. 70); they invited friends and relatives from outside the village to join them to boost numbers; and, they encouraged solos—one such 'party piece' was a rendition of 'My Grandfather's Clock'[17] by Ben and David Wilson from nearby Bradwell.

Their perseverance gradually paid off, such that the carol singing in the George, currently led by Brian Woodall, frequently attracts forty carollers and as many as thirty items are sung during the evening (see Figure 7). Although the villagers I interviewed in the 1970s and 80s were unaware of the carol publications by Vaughan Williams, it is reassuring to note that during the last thirty years all three of the so-called 'folk carols' have been re-established as part of the local repertoire, alongside the stalwarts, 'Peace o'er the World', 'Shepherds Rejoice', 'Sons of Men', 'Hark, Hark', 'Bengal', 'Once More', 'Star of Jacob', 'Jacob's Well', 'Little Bilberry', 'Prince of Orange', and 'New Christians'.

Foolow

Foolow, with about sixty dwellings, is one of the smallest villages in Derbyshire in which carols have been investigated and yet its repertoire is unquestionably the largest. In fact, more than thirty carols have been recorded.

This remarkably attractive village is situated on the high limestone plateau barely two miles west of Eyam, but its neatly trimmed green and its classic duckpond (the mere) were once a communal muddy 'farmyard' surrounding a cobbled watering hole at the centre of a thriving working village. As with the neighbouring settlements of Eyam, Wardlow, and Great Hucklow, it is the combination of sheep and dairy farming

with mineral extraction that sustained the village in the century before the Second World War, and both are still very much in evidence.

Local tradesmen featured strongly in the tradition; for instance, in about 1820 a leadminer called George Maltby composed a tune, known today as 'Marshall', to which words by Henry Kirke White were set (Village Carols Archive MS101.2; *DBVC* 2020, 134–36).[18] Foolow carollers also sing carols that originated in nearby Eyam: 'Joy to the World' written by Richard Furness, and 'Raise Christians Raise', for which the tune was written by George Dawson (*DBVC* 2020, 120–23 and 176–77). Both men served an apprenticeship as curriers (leatherworkers) in Eyam.

Members of the Wesleyan Reform Chapel were at the heart of the carolling tradition, which had been established in the village by the 1840s.[19] The chapel-goers had a great appetite for carol singing and, up until 1970, the party made three outings within the twenty-four hours of Christmas Day: a night sing starting at midnight with 'Christians Awake' (*NOBC* 1992, no. 71), an afternoon sortie to Wardlow village, and an evening sing around their own village. According to Brian Armitt, who led the group for nearly thirty years (1983–2011), the number of carols sung during the three expeditions regularly reached an impressive total in the order of 170. The night sings were discontinued the year of Emily Redfearn's death (1889–1983). She had been the senior caroller for many years, being dependable and providing a constant source of encouragement (see Figure 8). Such was the respect afforded her that, in the village, she was known affectionately by the younger generation as 'Aunty Emily'. In 2011 the chapel closed, owing to the lack of a viable congregation, and was sold as a private dwelling.[20]

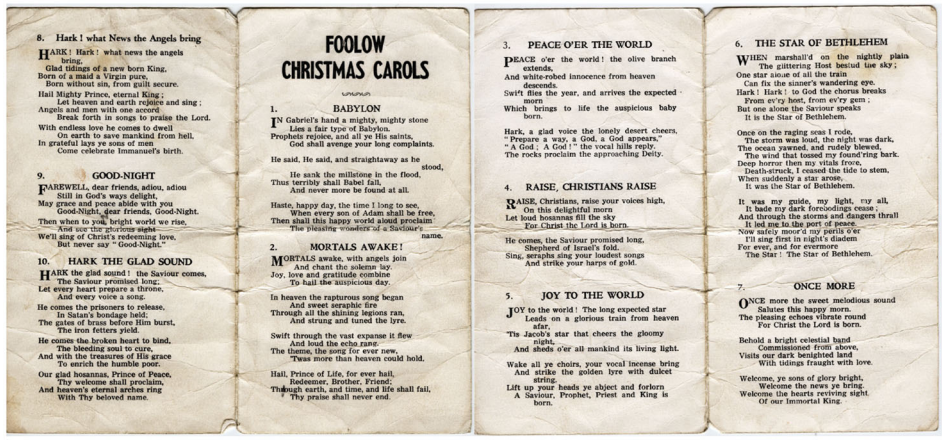
The rich and extensive repertoire of the Foolow tradition includes several carols exclusive to the village. In the early 1950s a wordsheet, sponsored by Tess Hoyland who lived in the Manor House, proved an excellent *aide mémoire* (see Figure 9). The current group, which is not attached to a religious body, sings in the Burdekin Hall in the village on a Saturday afternoon about a fortnight before Christmas and perambulates the village on Christmas Day in the evening, accompanied by a violinist, if one is available.

Eyam

The tradition of carol singing in Eyam goes back over two centuries and perhaps further. Clarence Daniel, a local historian, inherited a family manuscript of carols dating from 1795, which contains twenty-four carols, four of which are related to carols in the current repertoire (Village Carols Archive MS31).[21] Furthermore, the carol composer, Richard Furness (1791–1857), was born in the village (Dunsmore 1991). His tunes and lyrics are the foundation of Eyam's tradition as well as those of most other villages where local carols are sung in the Hope Valley.

Furness's melody to 'Peace o'er the World', commonly known as the 'Bradda Anthem' (after the village of Bradwell), is rated highly and it is a firm favourite wherever it is sung. In fact, Furness's output of carol composition was impressive, such that his biographer and editor of his *Poetical Works*, Calvert Holland, notes after

Figure 8. Foolow Carollers at Home Farm, 25 December 1957, home of Emily and Joe Redfearn. The senior fiddler is Sam Young. Emily Redfearn is behind his bow. The younger fiddler is Bill Brookes. Photograph courtesy of Tony Davis.



8. Hark! what News the Angels bring

HARK! Hark! what news the angels
bring,
Glad tidings of a new born King,
Born of a maid a Virgin pure,
Born without sin, from guilt secure.
Hail Mighty Prince, eternal King;
Let heaven and earth rejoice and sing;
Angels and men with one accord
Break forth in songs to praise the Lord.
With endless love he comes to dwell
On earth to save mankind from hell,
In grateful lays ye sons of men
Come celebrate Immanuel's birth.

9. GOOD-NIGHT

FAREWELL, dear friends, adieu, adieu
Still in God's ways delight,
May grace and peace abide with you
Good-Night, dear friends, Good-Night.
Then when to you, bright world we rise,
And join the glorious sight
We'll sing of Christ's redeeming love,
But never say "Good-Night."

10. HARK THE GLAD SOUND

HARK the glad sound! the Saviour comes,
The Saviour promised long;
Let every heart prepare a throne,
And every voice a song.
He comes the prisoners to release,
In Satan's bondage held;
The gates of brass before Him burst,
The iron fetters yield.
He comes the broken heart to bind,
The bleeding soul to cure,
And with the treasures of His grace
To enrich the humble poor.
Our glad hosannas, Prince of Peace,
Thy welcome shall proclaim,
And heaven's eternal arches ring
With Thy beloved name.

FOOLOW
CHRISTMAS CAROLS

1. BABYLON

IN Gabriel's hand a mighty, mighty stone
Lies a fair type of Babylon.
Prophets rejoice, and all ye His saints,
God shall avenge your long complaints.

He said, He said, and straightaway as he
stood,
He sank the millstone in the flood.
Thus terribly shall Babel fall,
And never more be found at all.

Haste, happy day, the time I long to see,
When every son of Adam shall be free,
Then shall this happy world aloud proclaim
The blessing wonders of a Saviour's
name.

2. MORTALS AWAKE!

MORTALS awake, with angels join
And chant the solemn lay.
Joy, love and gratitude combine
To hail the auspicious day.

In heaven the rapturous song began
And sweet seraphic fire
Through all the shining legions ran,
And strung and tuned the lyre.

Swift through the vast expanse it flew
And loud the echo rang:
The theme, the song for ever new,
'Twas more than heaven could hold.

Hail, Prince of Life, for ever hail,
Redeemer, Brother, Friend;
Though earth, and time, and life shall fail,
Thy praise shall never end.

3. PEACE O'ER THE WORLD

PEACE o'er the world! the olive branch
extends,
And white-robed innocence from heaven
descends.
Swift flies the year, and arrives the expected
morn
Which brings to life the auspicious baby
born.

Hark, a glad voice the lonely desert cheers,
"Prepare a way, a God, a God appears."
"A God; A God!" the vocal hills reply.
The rocks proclaim the approaching Deity.

4. RAISE, CHRISTIANS RAISE

RAISE, Christians, raise your voices high,
On this delightful morn
Let loud hosannas fill the sky
For Christ the Lord is born.

He comes, the Saviour promised long,
Shepherd of Israel's fold.
Sing, seraphs sing your loudest songs
And strike your harps of gold.

5. JOY TO THE WORLD

JOY to the world! The long expected star
Leads on a glorious train from heaven
afar,
'Tis Jacob's star that cheers the gloomy
night,
And sheds o'er all mankind its living light.

Wake all ye choirs, your vocal incense bring
And strike the golden lyre with dulcet
string.
Lift up your heads ye abject and forlorn
A Saviour, Prophet, Priest and King is
born.

6. THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM

WHEN marshall'd on the nightly plain
The glittering Host bestud the sky;
One star alone of all the train
Can fix the sinner's wandering eye.
Hark! Hark! to God the chorus breaks
From ev'ry host, from ev'ry gem;
But one alone the Saviour speaks
It is the Star of Bethlehem.

Once on the raging seas I rode,
The storm was loud, the night was dark,
The ocean yawned, and rudely blewed,
The wind that tossed my found'ring bark.
Deep horror then my vitals froze,
Death-struck, I ceased the tide to stem,
When suddenly a star arose,
It was the Star of Bethlehem.

It was my guide, my light, my all,
It bade my dark foreboodings cease;
And through the storms and dangers thrall
It led me to the port of peace.
Now safely moor'd my perils o'er
I'll sing first in night's diadem
For ever, and for evermore
The Star! The Star of Bethlehem.

7. ONCE MORE

ONCE more the sweet melodious sound
Salutes this happy morn.
The pleasing echoes vibrate round
For Christ the Lord is born.

Behold a bright celestial band
Commissioned from above,
Visits our dark benighted land
With tidings fraught with love.

Welcome, ye sons of glory bright,
Welcome the news ye bring.
Welcome the hearts reviving sight
Of our Immortal King.

Figure 9. 'Foolow Christmas Carols', a wordsheet sponsored by Tess Hoyland of the Manor, early 1950s. Village Carols Archive, Aberdeen, Oakley Collection, PD 5.1–5.2.

the text 'Hymn for Christmas' (known today as 'Joy to the World') that this is only one of thirty such compositions set to music 'all of the same kind' written by him (Furness 1858, 280–81). He adds that Furness was 'in the habit of' writing a carol every Christmas for thirty-one years. However, only eight of these carols have been identified to date and none of the original manuscripts has been traced.[22]

For most visitors to and commentators on Eyam, there is an understandable preoccupation with the devastating outburst of the plague in 1665 and the heroic determination by the community to contain its spread, yet the village's subsequent history is also of interest.[23] Like Castleton, it was a significant centre for mineral extraction and the Barmote Court, the regulatory body that oversaw leadmining

practices and disputes, met in the village. There was also a thriving leather industry in the nineteenth century, and stocking knitters operated in the district as a cottage industry. In the twentieth century, quarrying at nearby Stoney Middleton became the principal source of employment. Moreover, workers' education was considered a priority such that a branch of the Mechanics Institute was founded in 1834.

During most of Richard Furness's lifetime, the association of the church with Christmas carol singing was generally robust, and yet from the mid-nineteenth century the mantle passed to the Nonconformists whose members at both the Methodist and Wesleyan Reform Chapels sustained the tradition right up until the 1970s. Between the two World Wars, the erstwhile village brass band also played its part by performing several of the local carols as part of their village tour on Christmas Day.[24]

Clarence and Cecily Daniel were particularly active in their support of local carol singing. Clarence researched and wrote several magazine articles about Richard Furness and the Eyam carols, whereas Cecily ensured that the carolling was continued, albeit by a small group of women who sang in private in the Wesleyan Reform chapel above the Square (Daniel 1957, 1958, 1971, 1972).

In November 1997 Cecily helped at a carol workshop held in the Mechanics Institute, with the support of villagers and carol enthusiasts from outside the village. This initiative resulted in a tour around the village the following Christmas, which has been maintained and built upon over the subsequent years. Currently, the group consists of about thirty singers and all of the parts are sung. The usual arrangement is to meet on the evenings of the two Wednesdays before Christmas, the first to sing indoors in one of the village halls or the Miners Arms and the second to sing around the village.

Hathersage

In the nineteenth century, the industrial village of Hathersage developed a thriving wire industry with two hundred employees at the time of the 1851 Census, alongside gritstone quarries that produced grindstones for the small metal trades of Sheffield (Brooksbank 1932; Brown 1970). By the time the railway had reached the village in 1894, the wire industry was in serious decline because of a lack of water. Instead of reviving the local industries, the railway provided a means whereby the local labour force could gain easy access to the vast Sheffield industries (Brooksbank 1932; Tomlinson 1979, 1981). It also attracted Sheffield business people to relocate to and thus commute from the village. This gradual drift continued throughout the twentieth century and remains today. The other major element is tourism, based around outdoor activities, including rambling, hillwalking, rock climbing, and mountain biking.

In contrast to the situation in Foolow and Eyam, the local carols did not feature strongly among the various religious groups, which also included Roman Catholics. Rather, they were fostered in the village pubs and by the brass band, not unlike the traditions to the north and west of Sheffield (*SBVC* 2018, 12). In the early 1970s, a group of younger villagers, some of them newcomers, determined to revitalize the tradition. They consciously involved several older residents who relished such communal singing and knew the repertoire; they produced a wordsheet of the carols

to aid participation; and they organized a programme of carolling during the week before Christmas, progressing to a different pub on different nights to maximize community involvement. The initiative captured the prevailing spirit: their singing quickly achieved wide acclaim and they became known locally as 'The Little John Singers', after the pub in which they had first sung the carols.

The carollers made a deliberate decision not to become a formal choir, resisting the pressures to hold rehearsals or formally appoint a conductor or leader. Rather, they preferred to enjoy the singing of the carols as it had been practised in the past, by participants learning to sing the carols off by heart and by learning to sing the parts by ear. They also quickly appreciated the potential of the carol sheets to generate funds, such that every Christmas since that time they have raised hundreds of pounds for local charities.

The carolling tradition in Hathersage is an active one and thoroughly heterogeneous, combining popular carols alongside older and more remarkable examples, some of which, including 'New Christians', 'Christmas', 'Hark, Hark', 'A Song for the Time', 'How Beautiful upon the Mountains', 'Hail Smiling Morn', and 'Peace o'er the World', have a strong local presence. In fact, one of the carollers, Len Capper, wrote a third verse to the Hathersage version of 'Peace o'er the World', which has become an established part of the local tradition during the past fifty years (see Figure 10).

Christians now proclaim this holy day,
Give thanks to Christ who in a manger lay;
Let trumpets sound and hail His royal birth,
For Christ the King, for Christ the King is come to dwell on earth!
Let trumpets sound and hail His royal birth,
For Christ the King is come to dwell on earth!

Figure 10. Hathersage carollers at the Little John, 27 December 2007. Len Capper stands with his arms folded. Photograph by author.

In common with other local carol-singing traditions, such as that performed at Dungworth north-west of Sheffield, the repertoire also includes examples of a glee, an anthem, customary songs, favourite hymns, as well as secular songs (a hunting song), the sole criterion of selection being that they are accepted and appreciated as part of the celebration of Christmas. New items have also been incorporated into the repertoire, such as 'The Derbyshire Wassail' (a localized version of 'The Gloucestershire Wassail'; *OBC* 1928, no. 31), 'The Hathersage Carol' by a former resident, Brenda Jackson (*DBVC* 2020, 108–109), and 'Eyam' ('Merry Christmas' from Eyam; *DBVC* 2020, 146–47), whereas other items have dropped out of use.

The Dynamics of Village Carolling[25]

There is no doubting the commitment and passion that many of the carollers have towards their shared traditions of carolling, whether they sing in a pub or around their community. Bill Brookes, who played the fiddle for Foolow carollers, explains this unswerving loyalty:

> Over the years we went, come hail, come thunder, come snow. We never missed. I've walked across the tops of a wall through the snow and not known it was there. We've walked through middens [muckheaps] and not realised where we were going, it was so dark … And we've sung to shippons [cowsheds] and not realised it wasn't a house until we heard the moo of a cow.[26]

Clearly, a stoical sense of humour helped them in their nocturnal rambles. Very occasionally the stillness of the night enabled sounds to be carried, such that they would be aware of other itinerant carolling groups from neighbouring villages, including Great Hucklow, Eyam, and Stoney Middleton.

In each of the groups, there is a healthy blend of those who have been brought up with the tradition and those who have adopted it. For those who have moved away or are not residents in the local community, there is a willingness to travel, and to make it an annual pilgrimage. This commitment manifests itself in many ways, such as offering lifts to venues, turning out in all weathers, sharing hospitality, welcoming newcomers, helping the inexperienced participant find words to a particular carol, and building long-lasting relationships that are meaningful beyond the carolling milieu. Communication in a choir tends to be hierarchical; this contrasts with the carol groups who function more as a network with two-way contacts in several directions.

Undoubtedly the most effective form of learning takes place in the company of fellow carollers. Here, the most powerful force is the oral tradition; participants learn by ear and by being immersed in the performance of the music (Titon 2016). Rarely do carollers sing from a music score as such, although transcriptions are available. Rather, they use songsheets to prompt them with the words. If they are learning the tune or a bass line, they sit or stand next to an experienced singer in a mentor/mentee relationship. Of course, in private they may sing through a carol on their own, or perhaps join in with a recording on CD, tape, or download, especially on a car journey.

The importance of leadership to the success of a group is self-evident. This may be in the hands of one person, as with 'Aunty Emily' at Foolow, whose single-handed dedication and enthusiasm nurtured the local tradition for almost fifty years. At Eyam, Cecily Daniel fulfilled a similar role. It may be a partnership, as was the case with

George Bramall and Brian Woodall, who shared the load and revitalized the Castleton tradition, or it may be a small group, such as at Hathersage, where Judy Dawson and her late husband Bob, together with Angie and Brian Ward, plus Len Capper and the late Sean Jennings, provided the impetus and organization to take the group forward. Unquestionably, the contributions of women in this respect have been significant.

The structure and organization of these village carolling groups are strictly informal in contrast to, for example, a choir. There are no requirements for exclusive membership; they function by inclusion. They do not ascribe parts; carollers sing what and how they choose. There are no auditions and no attempts at uniformity to blend the sound or conform to choral conventions of diction, particularly vowel sounds and the pronunciation of consonant endings.[27] They do not adopt light and shade in their phrasing; they generally sing a capella (apart from the solo violin at Foolow), full-voiced and loud (strong), using traditional emphases and dynamics, such as pauses, sustained notes, speeding up, or slowing down. They dress informally as they would at other times, and when they sing, they stand or sit as they wish, next to whomever they wish.

The repertoires of these villages at their core are characterized by the carols sung to fuguing tunes, but in other ways they are eclectic. Hence there are evangelical revivalist hymns from the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, such as 'Hark What Mean Those Holy Voices' at Eyam and 'Rolling Downward' at Hathersage (*DBVC* 105–107 and 173–75). Classic hymns such as 'Cwm Rhondda' are sung, as well as the tunes 'Crimond', 'Belmont', and 'Lloyd' that readily accommodate the ballad metre text of 'While Shepherds Watched'. There are anthems, such as 'How Beautiful upon the Mountain' at Castleton and Hathersage, and 'Babylon' at Foolow, plus a glee, 'Hail Smiling Morn'—a great favourite at Hathersage (*DBVC* 2020, 44–45, 98–100 and 116–17). In both Hathersage and Castleton a few of the popular well-known carols are also in the mix (see Appendix 2).

In different ways the groups take ownership of all their carols on an equal basis, giving each one respect, and singing it to the best of their ability. This can be seen in the local form of titles, in the attributions, the choice of starting and finishing carols, the sequencing, and textual variations. Humour is a vital component. Thus, at Castleton before singing 'Peace o'er the World' ('Bradda Anthem'), Brian Woodall asks everyone to face east towards the village of Bradwell (i.e. Bradda) and its cement works, known somewhat ironically as 'The Cathedral of the Peak' (see Figure 2). Fellow carollers chuckle at the comic *ad orientem* allusion but make no move.

Taking ownership of the carols is also expressed through custom. With the perambulatory groups, it matters at whose house a particular carol is sung. This is how Edie Taylor of Foolow encapsulated this sense of place:

> We met at Aunty Emily's at midnight … We'd all have a chat and exchange greetings … We'd really be waiting for the Brookes … As soon as they came Aunty Emily would say, 'Come on, it's time you were going'. We'd set off on the road to Dale Head (the Books family) and cut across the main road and sing at Gill's and Liversedges, … across three big fields to Castlegate Farm, right up in a little wood, we just knew the path … Then we'd come to Foolow and sing outside Harry's [Bradshaw] 'Peace o'er the World', and outside Aunty Emily's and Uncle Joe's 'Hark, Hark!'[28]

The exact route was ingrained in Edie's memory. The more senior members were never lost, even on a moonless night, using the landmarks of house names, family names, fields, walls, and copses to find their way.

Moreover, particular dwellings were associated with certain carols. Thus, at Home Farm, the carollers would sing 'Hark, Hark!' for Emily and Joe Redfearn, as mentioned by Edie. Although the residents may have formerly opted for this carol, the association was far stronger than a simple request. It was more of a statement of ownership, denoting that the carol and their property were firmly wedded.

Having this knowledge of such intricacies was important to both singers and listeners. Hence Joe Bown (b. 1920), Edie's younger brother, told me that when he was a child his family would be able to judge the progress of the carol party around the village of Foolow on Christmas morning by the choice of carol, and from this they would estimate the time of arrival at their house. For the Bown household the arrival of 'the Singers' marked the official start of Christmas:

> Life was very level and uninterrupted, … so Christmas was an absolute milestone. It stood out … My Christmas started when my mother came in at 3 or 4 a.m. and said, 'They're here!' It was like a magic wand being waved … Then they sang beneath the people next door … They would always sing 'While Shepherds' to 'October' [the tune name], and then *we* had 'Raise, Christians, Raise'. And my uncle used to shout out, 'Goodnight, Clara (my mother)!' And then we heard them go across the road and sing and eventually finish up round the Cross. We were all allowed to open the stocking at the foot of the bed but there wasn't much more … We'd gone to bed leaving an ordinary house in an ordinary state of dress and then we came down to a Christmas tree, holly, and mistletoe—a complete transformation.[29]

Similarly, when the Eyam carollers sing at the Olde House, the birthplace of Richard Furness, the four carols from the local repertoire that are ascribed to him are performed for his descendants.

As regards the groups singing in the pubs, ownership is expressed rather differently. For example, at Hathersage 'A Song for the Time' was a great favourite of a particular individual; hence the local title, 'Billy Bocking's Anthem', was adopted. Similarly, when Hathersage carollers started singing one of Eyam's carols, 'Merry, Merry Christmas', they called it 'Eyam'. Castleton carollers call one of their settings for 'While Shepherds Watched' 'Bradda Tune' after Bradwell, from whose singers they learnt it. There are several other examples.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, all four villages sang their carols at Christmas. Thus in 2020, when government restrictions forbade gatherings, virtual carol sings were held over the Internet via Zoom, which proved to be very popular and attracted several participants from further afield. In 2021 in-person carolling was held, although in some cases the venue was changed to ensure that singers felt safe and were not in cramped unventilated conditions.

The resilience of these traditions is quite remarkable, not simply because of the age of the traditions but because of the way they demonstrate the creativity and musicality of ordinary folk. This expression of Peakland identity has at its core the importance of participation, in contrast to polished presentation; singing from the heart and mind as opposed to the artificial constrictions of a music score. The carolling tradition is an example of a grassroots cultural and spiritual legacy that has

been cherished and shared by local people in an act of fellowship, as opposed to the censure of a musical and ecclesiastical hierarchy that would prefer to see it marginalized or forgotten (Turino 2008, 28–29 and 41).

There are concerns about the younger generation's lack of interest, but this may resolve itself in course of time. The enthusiasm of individuals does have an impact, because there is genuine respect for the local carolling traditions and their expression among younger participants.[30] Whereas, on the one hand, they embrace a fast-changing world, on the other they seek to connect with and hold on to their heritage of carols, breathing new life into it (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 369).

The sustainability of village carolling has also benefited significantly from the interest shown by carollers from outside the Hope Valley. These enthusiasts help to endorse the validity of the traditions and ensure their viability. Moreover, they demonstrate that the carols have relevance to wider audiences, such that all four of the groups have been guests at the biennial Festival of Village Carols at Grenoside, Sheffield (launched in 1994, ongoing), where they have been given enthusiastic and warmhearted receptions.[31] Local folk choirs and natural voice choirs seek to include carols from the Hope Valley in their repertoires and it is to be hoped that some of their members may choose to join one of the traditional groups.[32] My experience with the virtual carol-singing sessions from the Hope Valley in December 2020, during the COVID pandemic, strongly suggests that there are many potential carol singers wanting to participate.

There is no question that wi-fi connectivity coupled with social media and Web resources has had a beneficial effect in raising awareness of the traditions and inducting the inexperienced into the repertoires.[33] The exclusivity of the groups, be it religious, social, familial, gendered, place-based, or occupational, no longer holds sway and access is there for all who wish to take advantage. Appendix 2 provides evidence of the extent of the carols of local provenance in contrast to the popular and nationally known items in the repertoires; sixty-three out of a total of eighty-five, representing seventy-four per cent. This figure not only underlines the distinctiveness of the Hope Valley traditions and their singularity but demonstrates their continuing strength and growing diversity.

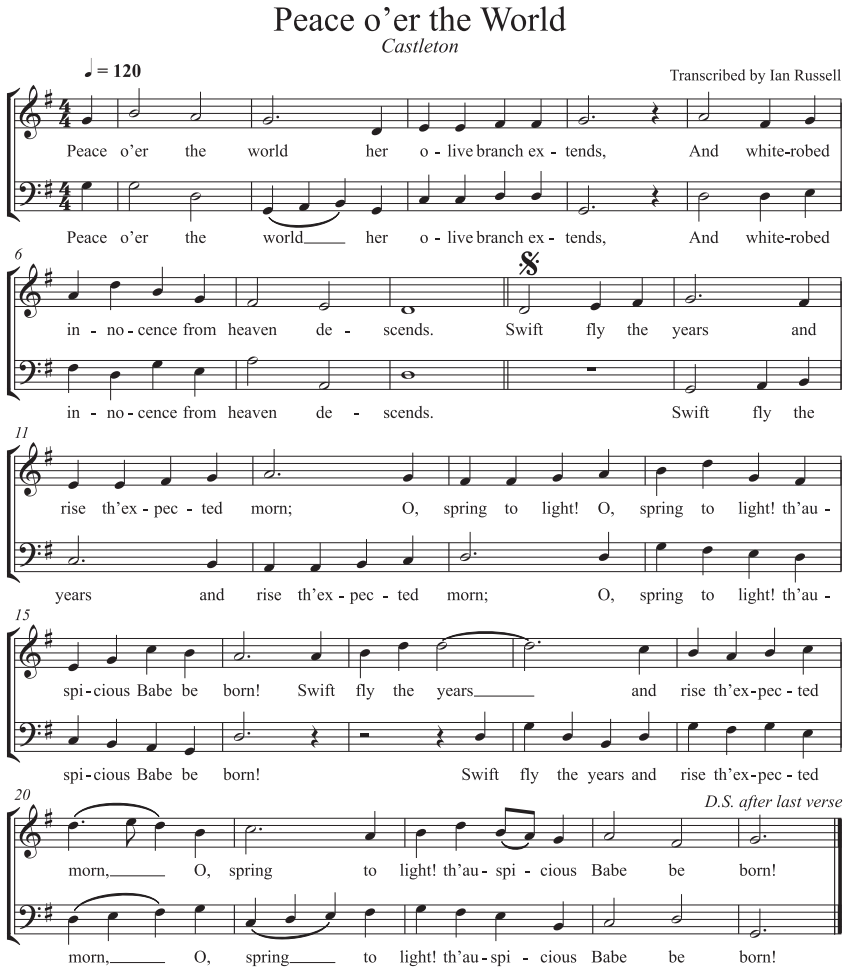
Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available at doi: 10.1080/0015587X.2022.2130617

Appendices

Appendix 1: 'Peace o'er the World'

Transcription of 'Peace o'er the World' as sung at the George Hotel, Castleton.



1. Peace o'er the world her olive branch extends,
   And white-robed innocence from heaven descends.
   Swift fly the years and rise th'expected morn;
   O, spring to light! O, spring to light! th'auspicious Babe be born!
   Swift fly the years and rise th'expected morn;
   O, spring to light! th'auspicious Babe be born!

2. Hark! a glad voice the lonely desert cheers,
   Prepare the way, a God, a God appears.
   A God, a God, the vocal hills reply;
   The rocks proclaim, the rocks proclaim th'approaching Deity.
   A God, a God, the vocal hills reply;
   The rocks proclaim th'approaching Deity.

3. The Saviour comes, by ancient seers foretold;
   Hear Him, ye deaf, and all ye blind, behold!
   He, from thick films, shall purge the visual ray
   And on the sightless eyeball pour the day.
   He, from thick films, shall purge the visual ray
   And on the sightless eyeball pour the day.

Appendix 2: Carol Repertoires

A listing of the eighty-five Christmas carols recorded in the villages of the Hope Valley. A carol is deemed to be 'popular' if the tune is well known. For example, the lyrics of 'While Shepherds Watched' are sung to the tune of 'Amazing Grace'. Where a melody demonstrates elements of fuguing and/or exhibits characteristics of melisma, this is also indicated.

Title	First Line	Village	Local/Popular	Fuguing (F) Melisma (M)
All Glory to God	All glory to God and peace upon earth	Eyam	Local	
All in the Morning	It was on Christmas Day and all in the morning	Castleton	Local	
All You that Are to Mirth Inclined	All you that are to mirth inclined	Castleton	Local	
Amazing Grace	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Hathersage	Popular	M
Angel of the Lord [Lyngham]	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Castleton	Popular	F/M
Angels	Angels from the realms of glory	Foolow	Local	M
Angels from the Realms (aka 'Prospect' in Thorpe Hesley)	Angels from the realms of glory	Eyam	Local	M
Antioch	Hark the glad sound! the Saviour comes	Foolow	Popular	F/M
A Song for the Time ['Billy Bocking's Anthem']	A song for the time	Hathersage	Local	
Awake, Awake, Awake	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Foolow	Local	F/M
Babylon	In Gabriel's hand, a mighty, mighty stone	Foolow	Local	M
Belmont	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Foolow	Popular	M
Bengal	Behold, the Prince of Life	Castleton	Local	
Bless this House	Bless this house, O Lord, we pray	Castleton	Popular	
Bradda Tune [Buckley]	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Castleton	Local	F/M
Buckley	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Foolow	Local	F/M

(*Continued*)

Chime On	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Foolow	Local	M
Christians Awake (aka 'Old Christians', 'Stockport', 'Yorkshire' and 'Wainwright'))	Christians awake, salute the happy morn	Sparrowpit Foolow	Popular	
Christmas (aka 'Mount Zion', 'Providence')	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Hathersage	Local	F/M
Conquest	Hark, hark! what news those angels bring	Foolow	Local	F
Cranbrook	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Hathersage	Popular	F/M
Crimond	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Castleton Hathersage	Popular	
Curly Hark	Hark! the herald angels sing	Eyam	Local	F/M
Cwm Rhondda	Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah	Castleton Hathersage	Popular	M
Deck the Halls	Deck the halls with boughs of holly	Hathersage	Popular	
Deep Harmony	Jesus shall reign where e'er the sun	Hathersage	Local	
Derbyshire Wassail (based on 'The Gloucestershire Wassail')	Wassail. wassail all over the town	Hathersage	Local	M
Diadem	All hail the power of Jesu's name	Castleton Foolow Hathersage	Popular	F/M
Down in Yon Forest	Down in yon forest there stands a big hall	Castleton	Local	
Eyam [Buckley]	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Eyam	Local	F/M
Farewell	Farewell, dear friends, adieu, adieu	Foolow	Local	M
Foolow (also known as 'Expectation')	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Foolow	Local	F/M
Foolow Doxology	Praise God, from whom all blessings flow	Foolow	Local	M
Fulda	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Hathersage	Popular	M
Gabriel	Angels from the realms of glory	Foolow	Local	F/M
Glad Tidings	Hark, hark! Hark, hark! what news the angels bring	Foolow	Local	F/M

(*Continued*)

Good King Wenceslas	Good King Wenceslas looked out	Castleton Hathersage	Popular	
Grandfather	Hark! the herald angels sing	Sparrowpit	Local	M
Hail Delightful Sacred Morn	Hail! delightful sacred morn	Eyam	Local	F/M
Hail Smiling Morn	Hail! smiling morn that tips the hills with gold	Castleton Hathersage	Local	M
Hark, Hark!	Hark, hark! Hark, hark! what news these angels bring	Castleton	Local	F/M
Hark, Hark! [Glad Tidings]	Hark, hark! Hark, hark! what news the angels bring	Hathersage	Local	F/M
Hark, Hark! Hark, Hark! [Glad Tidings]	Hark, hark! Hark, hark! what news the angels bring	Eyam	Local	F/M
Hark, Hark, Hark!	Hark, hark, hark! hark the herald angels sing	Foolow	Local	M
Hark! the Herald Angels Sing [Mendelssohn]	Hark! the herald angels sing	Hathersage	Popular	
Hark to the Ringing of the Christmas Bells	Hark to the ringing of the Christmas bells	Hathersage	Local	
Hark! What Means	Hark! what means those holy voices	Eyam	Local	F/M
Heavens Our Home	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Foolow	Local	F/M
How Beautiful upon the Mountains	How beautiful upon the mountains	Castleton Hathersage	Local	
Hush! Be Still	Hush! be still, the Holy Infant sleeps	Hathersage	Popular	M
Jacob's Well	At Jacob's well a stranger sought	Castleton	Local	F/M
Joy to the World	Joy to the world! the long expected star	Foolow	Local	F/M
Little Bilberry	Hark! the herald angels sing	Castleton	Local	M
Lloyd	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Castleton	Popular	
Lyngham	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Foolow Hathersage	Popular	F/M
Marshall	When marshalled on the nightly plain	Foolow	Local	F/M
Merry, Merry Christmas [Eyam]	Merry, merry Christmas everywhere	Eyam Hathersage	Local	
Merry, Merry Christmas Bells	Merry, merry, merry, merry Christmas bells	Hathersage	Local	
Mighty Trump	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Sparrowpit	Local	M

(*Continued*)

Mortals Awake	Mortals awake, with angels join	Foolow	Local	F/M
New Christians	Christians awake, arise, rejoice and sing	Castleton Hathersage	Local	M
O Come All Ye Faithful	O come, all ye faithful, joyful and triumphant	Castleton Foolow Hathersage	Popular	
October	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Foolow	Local	F/M
Old Rugged Cross	On a hill far away stood an old rugged cross	Castleton	Popular	
Old Towler	Bright Chanticleer proclaims the morn	Hathersage	Local	M
Once More	Once More the sweet melodious sound	Castleton Foolow	Local	F/M
On the Dew Besprinkled Lawn (adopted from Dore)	On the dew besprinkled lawn	Eyam	Local	F/M
Peace o'er the World	Peace o'er the world, her olive branch extends	Castleton Eyam Foolow Hathersage Sparrowpit	Local	F/M
Prince of Orange	Hark! the glad sound, the Saviour comes	Castleton	Local	F/M
Raise Christians Raise	Raise, Christians, raise your voices high	Foolow	Local	F/M
Rolling Downward	Rolling downward through the midnight	Hathersage	Local	M
Shepherds Rejoice	Shepherds rejoice, lift up your eyes	Castleton	Local	F/M
Silent Night	Silent night, holy night	Castleton	Popular	M
Softly the Night Is Sleeping	Softly the night is sleeping	Hathersage	Local	
Sons of Men	Sons of men behold from 'far	Castleton	Local	F/M
Star of Jacob	Awake my harp, my lute and cheerful voice	Castleton	Local	F/M
The First Nowell	The first Nowell, the angels did say	Hathersage	Popular	M
The Hathersage Carol	Stand and welcome Christmas in	Hathersage	Local	
The Holly and the Ivy (tune from Peter Jones of Herefordshire)	The holly and the ivy, when they are both full grown	Castleton Hathersage	Local	M
To Us a Child	To us a child of royal birth	Sparrowpit	Local	M
T'Owd Virgin	A virgin most pure the prophets foretold	Eyam	Local	M
Twelve Days of Christmas	On the first day of Christmas	Hathersage	Popular	M

(*Continued*)

Victorious Love	Victorious love, how uncontrolled thy power	Eyam	Local	F/M
Watchful Care	While shepherds watched their flocks by night	Foolow	Local	F/M
We Twine our Festive Garlands	We twine our festive garlands	Eyam	Local	

Notes

[1] Alexander Pope, 'Messiah', *Spectator*, 14 May 1712, lines 19–40. See 'Let peace her olive wand extend', 'Hymn III' in *Nativity of Christ, with Hymns for Christmas*, Pitts of Seven Dials [*c.*1830], K. S. Goldstein Collection, in Archives and Special Collections at the University of Mississippi Libraries, Broadside Ballads: England, 1368, https://egrove.olemiss.edu/kgbsides_uk/1368; see also 'Let peace her olive-wand extend', no. 2, in *A Hymn for Christ*-Day, R. and W. Dean, 81 Lower Hillgate, Stockport [*c.*1805], Bod11890, Bodleian Broadside Ballads Online, Roud V7175, http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/02504.gif.

[2] There are several indicators for this statement. For instance, John Hall of Sheffield Park, the composer, wrote the melodies for several carols sung in the Peak District which date from the 1760s or earlier.

[3] The Hope Valley is not defined here as a clear-cut geographical entity but rather a socio-cultural grouping that encompasses communities that identify with the valley. Thus, Sparrowpit is included because it belongs to the Methodist circuit centred on Castleton and Hope.

[4] Joanna and Peter Mackey have researched and revived the Bamford carols (Mackey and Mackey 2004; *Sing Another!* 2018). Ray Whitely and the late Mick Hibbs have spearheaded local carolling in the Grindleford district, largely based on the tradition practised in the north-west of Sheffield.

[5] In most cases, confusingly, published arrangements have harmonization added by editors, arrangers, and compilers, in line with modern four-part choral conventions. See, for example, Bramley and Stainer (1871).

[6] All my audio and video recordings, photographs, manuscripts, and printed documents, dating from 1969, connected with the local carol-singing traditions are deposited in the Archives of Village Carols in Aberdeen.

[7] The line opened for freight in 1893 and the passenger service opened in the following year. See 'Dore and Totley Tunnel', http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Totley_Tunnel; and Paul Salveson, 'Hope Valley Line, The: Through the Heart of the Peak', Today's Railways UK 121, http://hopevalleyrailway.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/121HopeValley.pdf.

[8] The Westminster Assembly of Divines directed in 1644 that the minister or clerk read aloud each line of the psalms before it is sung.

[9] Victoria & Albert Museum, FA.222[O], https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O18124/a-village-choir-oil-painting-webster-thomas-ra/.

[10] References to these church bands are given in the booklets accompanying the following recordings: *Bells of Paradise*, pp. 41–42; and *Peace o'er the World,* pp. 27–29.

[11] In Ecclesfield near Sheffield, the band of instrumentalists was dismissed from their duties in church in 1826. Some sixty years later one of the two carol parties active in the village called themselves the Church Band, although they had no official connection with the parish church. Rather, the members chose to associate themselves with their erstwhile colleagues and their choice of music. See *A Song for the Time*, booklet, pp. 22–23.

[12] Bodleian Libraries, Bod18411, http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/00732.gif.

[13] These terms were used by Albert and Bernard Broadhead, who sang carols at Lodge Moor. See Russell (1977, 1: 119).

[14] For audio recordings of these two carols, see *The Bells of Paradise* (1990) and *English Village Carols* (1999) under Musical Recordings.

[15] In Thorpe Hesley near Rotherham the coalminers at Barley Hall Colliery stayed underground after the last shift on Christmas Eve to sing their local carols (Russell 1995, 161).

[16] Ralph Vaughan Williams, 'Derbyshire Carols', British Library, Add. MS 54189, ff. 100–103.

[17] The song was written by Henry Clay Work in 1876.

[18] Brightmore-Maltby MS, *c.*1820, Tideswell, Derbyshire, Village Carols Archive MS101.1.1-2.

[19] See the booklet accompanying the CD/tape *On This Delightful Morn*, p. 36. Here, records of payments at Christmas made by a wealthy farmer (William Wyatt) to the 'Foolow Methodist Singers' are recorded from 1849 to 1856. See Bagshawe Collection, 558 and 3412, Sheffield Archives.

[20] Gillian Armitt, daughter of Brian Armitt and parish administrator at Eyam Parish Centre, confirmed this date.

[21] The original, formerly owned by Clarence and Cecily Daniel, is in Eyam Museum.

[22] The eight carols are: 'Peace o'er the World' (all villages), 'Sons of Men' (Castleton), 'Joy to the World' (Foolow), 'Hail Delightful Sacred Morn' (Eyam), 'Victorious Love' (Eyam), 'On the Dew Besprinkled Lawn' (Dore), 'Awake my Harp' (Dore), and 'Let Sorrow and Darkness' (Dore).

[23] See Eyam Village website: https://www.eyamvillage.org.uk/history.

[24] Mrs Pat Robinson's grandfather, Percy Willis, was the bandmaster before the Second World War (interview, 8 January 1998).

[25] I have written extensively on the performance dynamics of Christmas carollers (see Russell 2017).

[26] Bill Brookes, interviewed 11 January 1986.

[27] See, for example, https://www.choraegus.com/learn/choral-diction/.

[28] Editha Taylor, interviewed 14 December 1985.

[29] Joseph Bown, interviewed 4 January 1986 (original emphasis).

[30] Bella Hardy has promoted the carols of the Peak District in Edale. See *Folk on Foot* podcast, 'Bonus Xmas Episode', with Jon Boden, Bella Hardy, and The Melrose Quartet, hosted by Matthew Bannister, 12 December 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JWR19Q17o0c.

[31] See 'Festival of Village Carols', https://www.facebook.com/villagecarols/ and 'Village Carols', http://www.villagecarols.org.uk/.

[32] See, for example, the Fishpond Choir (https://www.fishpondchoir.com/About), the Baslow Choir (https://baslowchoir.co.uk/), and the locally based Garden Singers. All three include carols from the Hope Valley in their repertoires.

[33] A website that provides extensive data is Village Carols: http://www.villagecarols.org.uk/. Local Carols provides a listing or diary of events in South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire: http://www.localcarols.org.uk/.

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