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Joe Morley, banjo player, his life, works, and his music

Anthony Peabody

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts by Research

January 2018

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the life, works and music of Joe Morley, who was one of the most well-known and respected players of the banjo, and one of its foremost composers. His life coincided with the last embodiments of the Minstrel troupes, and importantly, with the beginnings of the Pierrot tradition. His career covered the beginnings of the banjo in popular entertainment, through its decline after the Great War, and its resurgence in Concert parties with the advent of the wireless.

The primary aim of this research is to place Morley, his family and his associates within a clearly defined and accurate historical framework. This has not been achieved before, and represents a step forward in understanding the music of popular entertainment during his musical career.

Much of what has been written about Morley was written about the time of his death in 1937, and in banjo orientated magazines. None of these authors had any information about his family or his early life, and their accounts are either incomplete or incorrect, and dependent upon oral tradition.

Morley's music offers an insight into the changing tastes in popular music from Minstrels, to Pierrots, and finally to the Concert party. This in-depth examination also throws light on many of the personalities with whom Morley was associated, some well known figures, and some who have now retreated into obscurity.

A note on the presentation of records

Census records are taken every 10 years, beginning at 1841, and the latest available census is 1911. Any records, unless otherwise stated, which are dated for instance from 1871, 1901 etc, can be assumed to be from a census record. Census records give the age of the individual, relationship (if any) to other member of the household, the address, and the occupation (if any).

Thus, an entry for George Morley from the 1881 census is summarised:

1881 50 Helen St., Roath, Cardiff Salesman

A type of census was taken in September 1939, just after the outbreak of war. This is known as the 1939 Register, and any entry dated 1939, unless otherwise indicated can be assumed to be taken from this 1939 Register. This has been helpful for information of some of Morley's associates.

**Joe Morley, banjo player,
his life, works and his music**

1867-1937

Introduction.

The banjo and its music have lingered in the darkened outliers of the musical world for decades. If the banjo is heard at all, it is likely to be either folk music related, blue grass or an exotic addition by Mumford and Sons. For the casual listener “Duellin’ Banjos” might be the only banjo piece ever written, and George Formby (1904-1961) its greatest exponent. Formby was a virtuoso player of the banjulele, a completely different instrument, and never played the banjo.

Classical or finger style banjo, with which this thesis is concerned, is a style of banjo playing which originated in America, and which may have been brought to England by Charles E Dobson in the 1860s (Winans and Kaufman 1994). Although now consigned to relative obscurity, in the late 1890s to the 1920s it was a staple form of entertainment both on the stage and in the home, and continued to be played by amateurs long after this period of popularity. Today, classical style banjo playing is nowhere near as widespread as blue grass (exemplified by the incomparable Earl Scruggs) or folk music as played by Pete Seeger, where more emphasis is placed upon improvisation on a theme or an extempore virtuosic interlude. Classical or finger style banjo playing depends almost solely on written music, which many folk singers and blue grass players do not read, preferring tablature to music notation. Consequently, classical banjo playing has rather unjustly acquired a label of elitism, and has been heard by the author described as “Ivory Tower” banjo by players in other disciplines.

However, classical banjo has much to recommend it, and the work of Joe Morley in particular deserves to be known much more widely. He became the leading exponent of this style of banjo playing, and is considered by banjo players as its greatest composer. His compositions supplied an enormous market for music, from beginners to virtuoso performers like himself. Morley's music is still played by finger style banjo players over the world, and his influence on the "banjo boom" was considerable. During his life, he came into contact with, played with, and played to all sections of society, from Royalty to the ordinary working man or woman. As the popularity of classical style banjo playing has waned, so has Morley's fame as a composer of merit declined.

Finger style banjo music depends on written compositions and the development of sufficient technique to play complex pieces. This style of banjo playing is also either played by a soloist, or as a duo, or by a small ensemble. Improvisation, a prerequisite for blue grass, is almost unknown in finger style banjo playing.

The origins of the banjo in the American slave culture of the 19th century have been discussed and argued over elsewhere (Stewart 1888, Linn 1994). The evolution of banjo music from relatively simple plantation entertainment to more sophisticated arenas has also been well documented, and lie outside the scope of this thesis. The growth of banjo music on this side of the Atlantic however, has been less well documented, but Winans and Kaufman (1994) have made a substantial contribution to the effect of American influence on the British banjo playing. Joel Walker Sweeney is credited with being the first American Banjo player to appear in England (in 1843) with any success, although he and the early banjo players such as Joe Cave used a frailing or clawhammer technique and fretless banjos (Gura and Bollman 1999). Prior to this period and up to the mid-1880s, it is almost certain that the banjo was largely unknown and unheard in the United Kingdom.

The first Minstrel group to tour Britain were the Virginia Minstrels in 1843, followed by the Congo Melodists in 1846 (Pickering 2008). In 1857, a troupe formed from Christy's Minstrels, billed as Raynor and Pierce's Christy Minstrels appeared in London (Winans and Kaufman 1994). By the 1870's the group had changed its name to the Moore and Burgess Minstrels., and continued well into the 20th century as a blackface production group. Morley was engaged by them for at least one concert season.

Practically all Minstrel shows were blackface productions, and included banjo playing, sometimes as a solo performance, sometimes as an ensemble number. This proved to be a successful formula. Banjo playing during this period was heavily influenced by its origin in plantation music, and it is not surprising therefore, that Joe Morley's first appearance as a banjo player was in Minstrels ensembles, some of which were blackface groups including the Moore and Burgess Minstrels. Banjo players began to proliferate after about 1880, and naturally, music was required for these banjo players to perform, and Joe Morley developed into the greatest of these. Morley's life neatly spans the beginning, the apogee, the decline and the end of what might be termed a "banjo boom". His own humble beginnings, both in his personal and musical lives are mirrored in the careers of other celebrated banjo players and composers, such as Oakley and Grimshaw.

Some of Morley's earlier music shows his associations with Minstrel groups in his plantation based pieces, or with his various "Nigger" titles. He continued to write music with this affiliation throughout his life.

Morley's life has not been well documented. The circumstances of his birth were for many years completely unknown. This work will examine his early life, and his first steps into his musical career. Much of Morley's life that has come down to us is in the form of oral history, some of which has more than a kernel of truth, and some of which is incorrect.

Newspaper sources have proved to be an invaluable source of information about his performances, and who his companions were on the stage. His private life remains largely unknown. He left no personal documents or diaries, and very few interviews. The only interviews he gave are also peppered with inconsistencies, not surprising given the expanse of years he was being asked to remember. His family connections have been thoroughly explored for the first time, although the results of exploration often throw up some unanswered questions. The war years are particularly meagre in information sources. These investigations have pulled together what was inferred through oral history and has confirmed, and in some cases, enlarged upon this period. Similarly, Morley's life after the war was a period of relative inactivity, where he was largely out of the public eye. Again, this period has been closely examined, and some impression of his life during this time has emerged. A detailed examination of newspaper archives, which has not been available to any previous investigations, has provided much new and detailed information.

Not only was Morley a virtuosic banjo player, he was also a prolific composer, with more than 200 compositions to his name, ranging from charming parlour pieces (Violet Mazurka), through works composed for performance by Pierrot groups, (Sandown Schottische) to complex virtuoso pieces aimed at showing his own worth both as a composer and performer (Mountaineer's March).

The influence of visiting American artistes such as Vess Ossman, and Hunter and Mays can be seen clearly in the change of his composing style. These American banjoists brought with them a new freedom of expression and an expansion of repertoire. Marches, and ragtime influenced pieces jostled with classical composers arranged for the banjo (Winans and Kaufman 1994). Morley's life was a period of great transition, a period of great socioeconomic and political change, including three wars, the Ashanti war, the Boer War, and of course the First Great War.

The music world was also in a period of flux. Morley was engaged in popular music, both as a composer and entertainer, and the transition from Romanticism to Impressionism, and experiments with the twelve-tone scale probably passed him by, although he would be aware of what was happening in London Concert halls. The pier, the parlour and the music hall were only engaged peripherally in this wider musical development, and although popular tastes also change, they tend to do it more conservatively. Popular music is usually associated with easily remembered melodies or lyrics, and certainly Morley was a master of conjuring melodies seemingly indefinitely. This facility with catchy tunes is one of the reasons behind the popularity of his music., and which is addressed below.

Two further influences that are easily seen on Morley are the marches of Sousa (1854-1932), who visited England in 1901, 1903 and 1930, and who wrote “Imperial Edward” in 1902 for the coronation of Edward VII; and the development of Ragtime. Morley’s marches were a mainstay of his musical output, and although it is not known whether Morley saw Sousa’ band in concert, as Sousa’s music could be heard from almost every bandstand in the country. Ragtime followed Ossman, and Hunter and Mays. Scott Joplin (1868-1917) never visited Britain, and his work was largely unknown here, although his work influenced many other players. Morley would have seen performers of early ragtime such as Eugene Stratton (1861-1918), who also performed with the Moore and Burgess Minstrels, (Pickering 2000).

The English folk song tradition, which was being pioneered during Morley’s lifetime by (amongst others), Baring-Gould (1834-1924), Cecil Sharpe (1859-1924) and Vaughan-Williams (1872-1858) is strangely underrepresented in his music, apart from a few snatches here and there. Conversely, Morley was obviously fond of the American folk song “Bury me beneath the Willow”, which he uses in several pieces.

Over 200 of Morley's known works, all of them apart from a few in private hands, have been transcribed onto midi files as a basis for this thesis. Some of these pieces may not have been heard for over 100 years, but will now be available in the University archives. This has involved considerable effort, both in the actual transcription, but in the collection. In addition, a second part has been included where already available, and a bass part has been written by the author. These pieces therefore, can now be heard as they would have been intended to be performed.

Morley's music is played today by a very small band of individuals who are dedicated to the discipline of classical, or finger style banjo. There may be as many as 100 players of finger style banjo in the United Kingdom, of which about 50 might be seen with any regularity at various meetings, although this number has dropped during the last decade by death and incapacity. About 25 of these players might actually play in public, although many more will play privately. Of the active players there are now only a handful who might approach Morley's virtuosic style. There are a few younger players, enough to ensure that this style of banjo playing will be heard at least for a while longer, but the future of this style of banjo playing, and its repertoire is uncertain.

There will be few (if any) finger style players who will not have played some of Morley's pieces, and it is rare to hear a banjo concert, or the more random sequence of amateur meetings which do not include one or more of Morley's pieces.

His ability with melody, and the inventiveness of his technique earns him a place of honour in this relatively small band of devotees. Morley shares with better known composers such as Johann Strauss, the facility of conjuring memorable tunes, and being profligate with the results, scattering them throughout his compositions. Currently, finger style banjo music in

general is largely unheard and unremarked in any but this small group, and Morley's great talent is sadly neglected

His legacy remains, not alas in recordings of which he made remarkably few, but in his compositions, which are played, and admired throughout the world, wherever there are banjo players to play them. His many unpublished manuscripts, the victims of publisher's account sheets, are only now becoming better known, and his stature as a composer is assured, if only for the moment, to a relatively small number of banjo players.

Literature Review.

There has been no previous in-depth study of Morley's life, based upon detailed study of original sources. A previous biography (Ineson and Peabody 2017) collected together what was known through oral history and tradition, and also revealed how little of Morley's life had been verified. This study, for the first time, makes extensive use of newspaper archives, census records and other official documents which may be available. The study of newspaper archives has been particularly useful in determining the pattern of both Morley's life, and the lives of those around him.

The circumstances of his birth were unknown (to anyone but Morley himself) before the late 1990s, and nothing was known about his family and early life.

Some of the individuals who had known him, and wrote accounts of what they knew or remembered are often misleading, biased or simply incorrect. Clifford Essex for instance, is more concerned with his own life history, in which Morley is a peripheral character (Essex 1916a-c, 1917a-h), and Cammeyer does not refer to Morley at all in his autobiography (Cammeyer 1934)

Morley himself wrote very little, and it seems that his short technical piece on right hand fingering is his only contribution (Morley 1931). An interview he gave in 1936 is full of apparent inconsistencies, remembering events 25 years before in old age (Fletcher 1936).

More reliable accounts of Morley's life were given by some of his contemporaries, but these are restricted to aspects of his later career (Grimshaw 1937, Sheaff 1948, Keeler 1944, and Brewer 1955). However, these accounts are often reliant upon anecdotal evidence, and are often inaccurate. This research has sought to establish and to verify the facts of Morley's life, and to provide the most reliable account to date.

Contemporary newspaper accounts have proved to be a more reliable and certainly more extensive source of information about Morley, his life and his associates than earlier accounts, and establish Morley's position at the centre of the banjo scene in the United Kingdom, and his contribution to an important sector of popular music, now largely forgotten.



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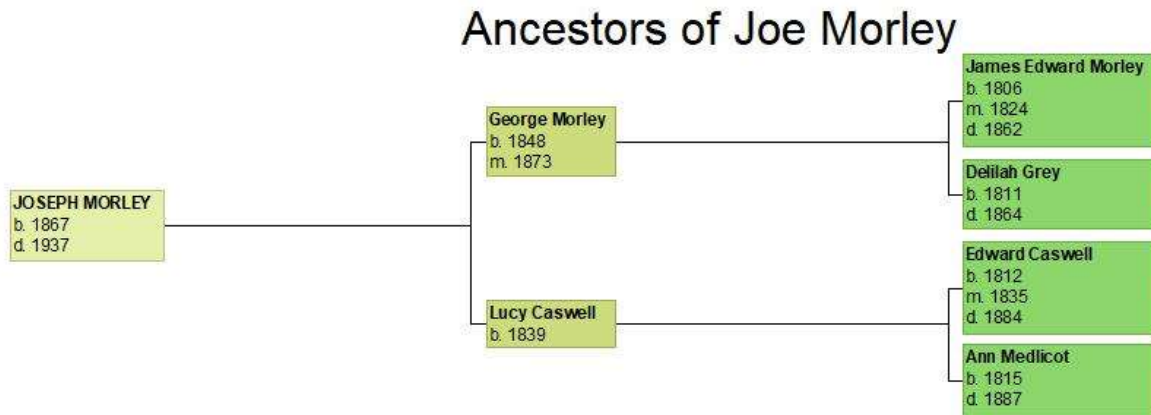
Early Life.

Morley's origins were humble, and largely typical of many working-class families throughout the British Isles, although Morley's immediate family developed into a less settled existence. He was born in 1867 during a period of great social and economic change. A study of census records shows that families and individuals who had hitherto rarely travelled beyond the bounds of their immediate locality could now travel relatively vast distances, by the increasing use of steam locomotion. Most individuals lived all their lives within a short distance of where they and their parents had been born, and in this instance at least, Morley's subsequent early life was atypical of the working class. The lives of the rural population into which Morley was born were to be changed for ever. Many details of Morley's life may never be known, but sufficient has been uncovered to be able to construct a picture of his family background, and his early life.

Because nothing has been known about his family until relatively recently, and because he was unmarried, it is easy to consider him in isolation, uninfluenced by his early family life. This is far from the case. For instance, he had 7 siblings, he also had approximately 22 maternal cousins, and at least 9 paternal cousins, probably many more. It is uncertain however, what contact he had with most of his extended family. We should also remember that as far as we can see, none of these people (apart from Joe himself), left any written record of their words or the reasons behind any of their actions. Their lives are unknown except where they appear in official documents such as census returns, birth, marriage and death certificates, baptism records, and (sometimes) in the accounts of criminal proceedings. This account is the first detailed investigation into the family of Joe Morley.

As with every other individual, Morley had the usual complement of 4 grandparents, the Morleys, and the Caswells, and his short family tree is shown as Fig 1.

Fig. 1



The Morley family.

The Morleys appear to be a large family based around Mildenhall in North West Suffolk, a small town relying mainly on agriculture. Morley’s paternal grandfather, James Edward Morley (b. 1806) was a builder and bricklayer who from examination of census records appears to have spent his entire life in Mildenhall.

1841 Holywell Road, Mildenhall, James Edward Morley was a bricklayer.

1851 North St., Mildenhall, James Edward Morley was still a bricklayer

1861 North St. Mildenhall, James Edward Morley now stated to a builder

In 1824 (aged 18) James Edward Morley married Delilah Grey or Gray in Isleham, a few miles to the West of Mildenhall. Delilah was a Romany from a significant family of Roma in the village, who were both travellers and settled folk (Romany and Traveller family history Society, n.d.). James Edward Morley and Delilah were settled in Mildenhall.

At least two of their children, George Morley (b 1848) and Sophia Morley (b. 1838) followed less settled lives than many other rural people, and although it might be tempting to state that this is a consequence of part Roma ancestry, as a balance it should be said that the remaining

Descendants of James Edward Morley

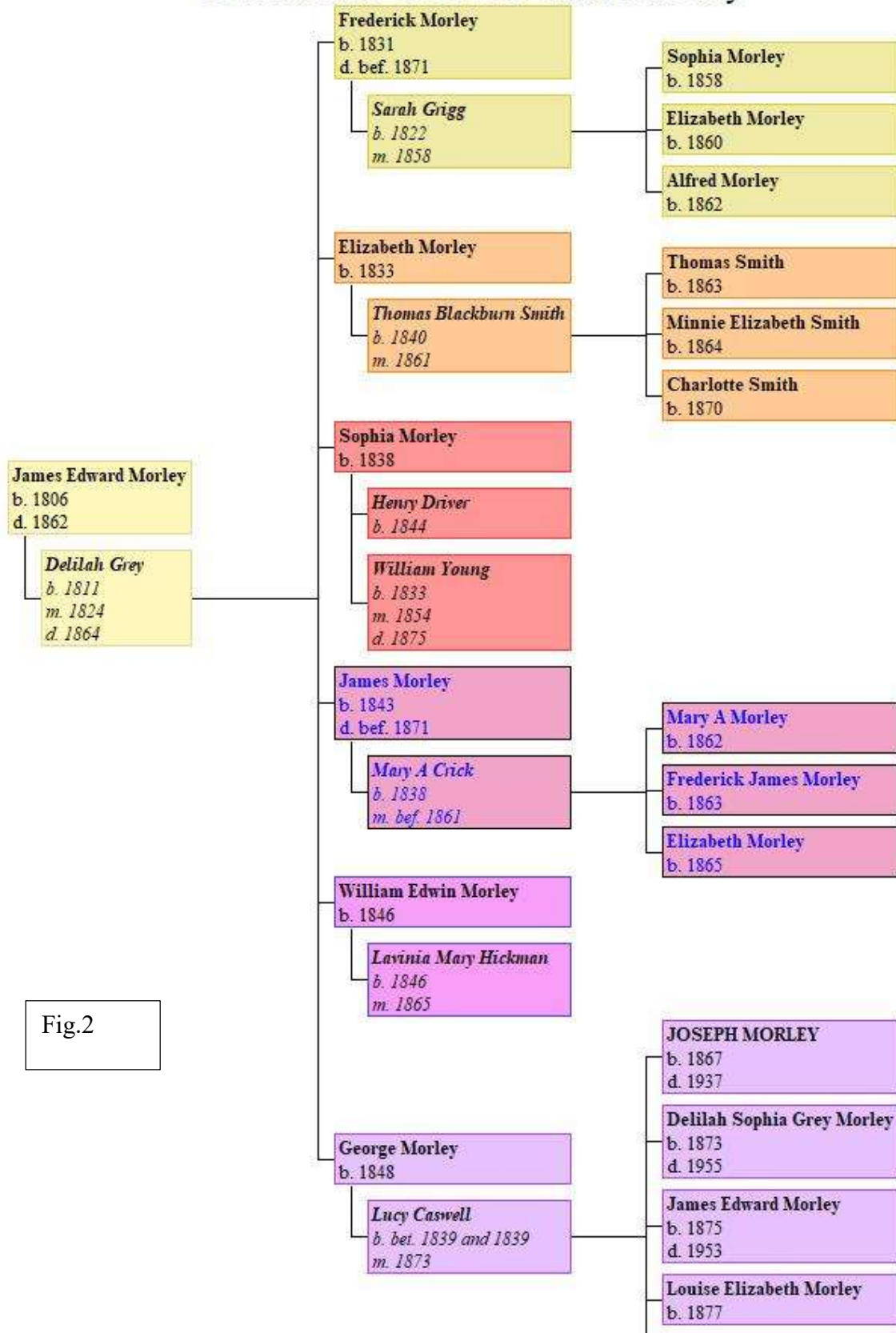


Fig.2

Morley children had a more settled way of life, and census records show them living in and around Mildenhall where they had been born.

James Edward Morley's family is outlined as Fig.2

George Morley, Father.

George Morley is undoubtedly a great influence on Joe's early life and development, introducing him to a musical life, but he remains a somewhat shadowy figure., and although rigorous investigation has revealed where he might have been and what he was doing, some of the reasons for his actions are open to conjecture. Much of his life remains hidden from us.

It is tempting to ascribe his somewhat wandering life from Mildenhall to Kinver, Keynsham, Wiltshire and finally Bristol to his Roma inheritance, and certainly his occupation as a hawker, musician, or builder would suggest this. Stereotypes of Roma culture are both suggestive and attractive, and it is perhaps helpful to point to George's older sister Sophia, who married an equally itinerant young musician, William Young. In 1871 George is living with his married sister Elizabeth, (who married Thomas Blackburn Smith, which although a Roma name, is a very common non-Roma name). In the 1871 census he is stated to be married, but there is no wife in residence, nor is there a record of any marriage. However, he had already met Lucy Caswell in Kinver by 1867, the result of which was Joseph Caswell aka Morley, and it may be that he had contracted a common-law marriage with her. This being of an unofficial nature, there is naturally, no record of this arrangement. Lucy Caswell already had two illegitimate daughters Amy Alice Brown Caswell and Mary Jane Lewis Caswell. He did not marry Lucy Caswell officially until 1873, after which he embarked on his peregrinations, and left Kinver after packing off his two stepdaughters to his sister Sophia in Wales. He and Lucy had several other children; James Edward was born in Keynsham in

1875, and his next two daughters Louise and Sophia, were both born in Wiltshire, in North Bradley and Westbury. Their last child George, was born in Cardiff in 1882.

In the baptism records of these children he (George Morley the father) stated that he was either a musician, a hawker, or a general labourer, which gives the impression that he was an itinerant, turning his hand to anything that came along. It is known that he was a concertina player (Brewer 1955), and that he gave Joe and his brother James their first groundings in music by “bottling” around public houses, and presumably by street entertainment. (Brewer 1955). It was George who bought a 7-string fretless banjo for Joe, and this is the instrument which Clifford Essex saw him playing some years later (Essex, 1917a). Brewer says that George discovered this instrument in some hostelry where it had been left by a previous player, possibly in payment of unpaid bills.

The 7-String banjo was largely a British development, and they were popular in the 1880s, presumably when Joe Morley acquired his. He played a fretless model, and the tuning was not particularly settled. Some of the strings might be tuned in octaves, and at least one was usually doubled. They were not easy to play, but most of the fingering was well down the neck. Playing further up the neck began to be developed with the 5-string banjo.

By 1901, George’s wife Lucy had left him, taking with her to Wisbech her two unmarried daughters, Louise (“Lulu”) and Sophia. George himself was now living in Bristol with another “wife” called Susan, for whom there is again no marriage record, which is not surprising as his lawful wife Lucy is alive and living in Wisbech. There are no more reliable records of George Morley’s life after this time, and the time of his death is unknown.

1861	North St., Mildenhall,	living with his parents
1871	3 Prince St., Sudbury,	where he is a bricklayer
1875	Keynsham	Birth of his son James Edward

- 1877 Westbury Birth of his daughter Louise. He is a hawker
- 1879 North Bradley, Wiltshire. Birth of his daughter Sophia. He is a hawker.
- 1881 50 Helen St., Roath, Glamorgan. He is a salesman, aka hawker or pedlar.
- 1891 151 Cradock St., Canton, Cardiff, where he is a musician
- 1901 2 Braggs Lane, Bristol. He states himself to be a musician/hawker

Sophia Morley, Aunt.

Sophia Morley was born in 1838, in Mildenhall, where she lived with her parents James Edward and Delilah Morley, and her brother George. In December 1854, she was living in Shoreditch, where she married William Young who had also been born in Mildenhall in 1833. He is described at this time as being a musician, but it is unknown as to what instrument he played. By 1861, they were living in a beer house called The Bee Hive, in Bury St Edmunds, where William Young is again stated to be a musician. By 1862, (from criminal records at Ancestry.com) he is committed to a term of imprisonment at Gloucester Gaol for being a hawker (presumably without a license). In 1871, William Young is again living in Mildenhall, with his widowed mother, and is still described as a musician. His wife Sophia is not with him, and he died in Mildenhall in 1875.

The reason why she is not living with her husband in 1871 is that she was living in remote Welshpool, with Henry Driver (b 1844). Henry Driver is not everything he might claim to be. In 1871, when he first appears in a census, he says he was born in Belfast, but thereafter in Norwich. He is not married to Sophia, and there is no record of him ever being married to her after her husband William Young dies in 1875.

Despite this, Henry and Sophia lived a life of apparent respectability in Welshpool, and Sophia obviously kept in touch with her family by taking in Joe's half sister Mary Jane Lewis Caswell, and her sister Elizabeth's daughter Minnie Smith to live with them. The fate of

Joe's other half-sister, Amy Alice Brown Caswell is unknown. Henry and Sophia themselves had no children.

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 1871 | 4 Waterloo Terrace, Welshpool, | Henry is a retired clerk |
| 1881 | Havelock Terrace, Welshpool, | Henry is an accountant |
| 1891 | 34, New Road, Newtown, Montgomeryshire. | Henry is a secretary. |
| 1901 | Wylfa, Llanwchaiarn, Montgomeryshire. | Henry has become a coal merchant. |
| 1911 | 73 Arundel Rd., Gt Yarmouth. | Henry has died, and Sophie is described as a "widow", although technically, she has been a widow since her husband William Young died in 1875. |

James Edward Morley, brother.

James Morley, Joe's younger brother is known to have been part of George's "bottling" group, and certainly in 1891, whilst living with the family, he is described as a musician. There is no further evidence that James continued with this career, but instead, entered the licensed premise business (1901 census). It was his son James Hiatt Morley, who registered his uncle Joe's death.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1875 | Born in Keynsham |
| 1891 | 151 Cradock St, Canton, Cardiff, a musician |
| 1901 | Maltman and Shovel, Hammersmith, where he is a barman |
| 1911 | Victoria Tavern, Stoke Newington High St, where he has advanced to publican |
| 1938 | 198 Lewisham High St |
| 1939 | Crowborough Cross Hotel, London Rd., Uckfield, the hotel proprietor |
| 1953 | 83 Vicarage Rd., Eastbourne where he died |

The Caswell family.

The Caswells were a more conventional family in comparison to the Morleys. Edward Caswell worked in the iron trade as a skilled labourer, initially in Stourbridge (presumably at the Bradley Iron works, as the Stourbridge Iron works were called), then to the Hyde Iron Works at nearby Kinver, and finally, as the latter was beginning to fail, he moved to more secure employment in Attercliffe near Sheffield, where Edward died in 1884. His daughter Lucy, Morley's mother, was the second of at least eight children, the first six were born in Stourbridge, and the last two of which were born in Kinver (Fig.3).

1841	Birmingham Road, Stourbridge,	where Edward was a forge man
1851	Lower Lane, Stourbridge	
1861	Whittington, Kinver,	where Edward was a mill turner man
1871	Canal Bank, Whittington, Kinver,	where Edward was an iron furnace man
1881	248 Dunlop St., Attercliffe,	where Edward was a furnace man in an iron mill

Lucy Caswell, mother.

Lucy Caswell (b 1839), the daughter of a foundry worker, lived in Kinver, a small town in North Staffordshire. Whilst still living at home, she had an illegitimate child, followed by three more, the last of which was Joseph Morley (nee Caswell). Three of these children were by two different fathers, almost certainly called Lewis and Brown, since they bore the middle name of Lewis or Brown. One of them, a boy, died young, and as we have seen, Joe was the child of a third man, George Morley. Even accounting for a more liberal rural life, Lucy's life hitherto must have been cause for scandal.

It is unknown how Lucy Caswell and George Morley met. Presumably George Morley was working in the area either as bricklayer, hawker or itinerant musician. One can only surmise

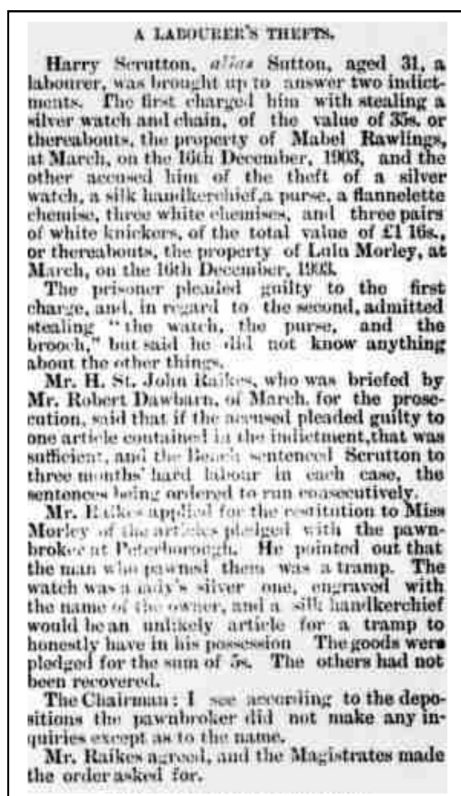
how she lived in a small community with three illegitimate children by three different fathers, or indeed what her reputation might have been. It certainly would not have been helped when she finally married an itinerant like George Morley, a man 9 years younger, and who sent her first two children off to distant Welshpool. This may be the reason for George and Lucy leaving Kinver. Regarding her age, Lucy regularly adjusts her age downwards; she was certainly born in 1839, but by 1871, she declared her birth year as 1843, by 1881 it is 1849, before settling on 1847 in 1901. This is not unusual in census records, particularly in the case of women.

She remained with George and the family until sometime between 1891 and 1901 when she set up home in Wisbech with her two unmarried daughters Lulu and Sophia. There is no record of any prior association between her and Wisbech, apart from it being about 30 miles

from her husband George's birthplace at Mildenhall.

She remained with George and the family until sometime between 1891 and 1901 when she set up home in Wisbech with her two unmarried daughters Lulu and Sophia.

Lucy Morley only comes to the attention again of the world at large, when she (or her daughter Lulu) were the subjects of theft of clothes from a washing line (*Cambridge Independent Press* 6th January 1905, p5). At this time, (1905), she has assumed the name Lulu Morley. She continues her occupation as a dressmaker, whilst her two daughters are described in the census of 1901 as "pianists".



Morley's immediate family was unconventional at best, and possibly dysfunctional by today's standards, but although life would have been difficult at times, the family seems to have clung together, until the children were older, when George and Lucy went their several ways. It is safe to say that some of the aspects of Joe's early life reflect a Roma way of life, for instance street entertainment, under the influence of his father George.

Both George and Lucy appear to be restless individuals, leading what might be described as a ramshackle existence, moving from place to place. George's occupation as a hawker was precarious, and there are no records of him ever being licenced. Presumably he augmented his income by "bottling" however, he somehow managed to raise a large family, and in the process, produce and nurture the talent of Joe Morley.

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Beginning a musical career.

Morley's life as it is recorded in official documents is similar to that of most people. Birth and Death certificates, helped out by census records and electoral rolls, and supplemented by newspaper articles are helpful in describing the bare bones of his life, where he was born, lived and died. How he lived his life, the choices he made and the influences upon him are less apparent, and have required much closer examination.

The basic facts of Morley's life can be summarised:

1867	Birth at Kinver to Lucy Caswell		Named Joseph Caswell
1871	High St., Kinver, living with two half-sister		Named Joseph Caswell
1872	Salisbury		(Brewer 1955)
1875	Keynsham		Baptism of James Edward
1879	North Bradley, Wiltshire		Baptism of Sophia
1881	50 Helen St., Roath		Census
1891	151 Cradock St, Canton	Musician	Census
1892	Worcester		Newspaper reports
1901	37, Rosaville St., Fulham	Banjoist	Census
1905	11, Burnthwaite Rd., Fulham		Electoral roll
1911	11, Burnthwaite Rd, Fulham	Musician	Census
1915	11, Burnthwaite Rd., Fulham		Electoral roll
1920	Salisbury		Ineson and Peabody (2017)
1937	22 Engadine St, Wandsworth	Lodging with Frances May Swain	Electoral roll
1937	Death at Lambeth Hospital		Death certificate

Brewer (1955) recounts what was known about Morley at the time of his writing. He could only repeat what he had heard about Morley, from Morley's friends and associates. It is

unlikely that any of these knew anything about Morley's family life. This included erroneous details of his birth. He refers to Morley's mother as being a "Miss Maxwell", and his father as being a "married man". The first is incorrect (she was a Miss Caswell), and the second is supported only by a description of his father in the 1871 census, and unsubstantiated by any other record. There is no supporting evidence that George Morley was already (or still) married when he finally married Lucy Caswell in 1873. As we have seen, accurate information was not always to hand, and although oral tradition is often accurate, it is often wildly inaccurate, replete with embellishments and falsehoods.

Whilst it is not possible to discard entirely personal reminiscences and recollections, which remain important sources, the accuracy or otherwise of these sources has been tested and evaluated.

Brewer (1955, p75) also describes Morley as bottling with his father George outside pubs in Salisbury. George played the concertina: "The little boy was dressed in jacket and knickerbockers (with stockings encircled by red and black bands) and he step-danced to his father's tunes" (ibid). Bottling may have been the beginning of a Morley's career as a musician, but was hardly a basis for security.

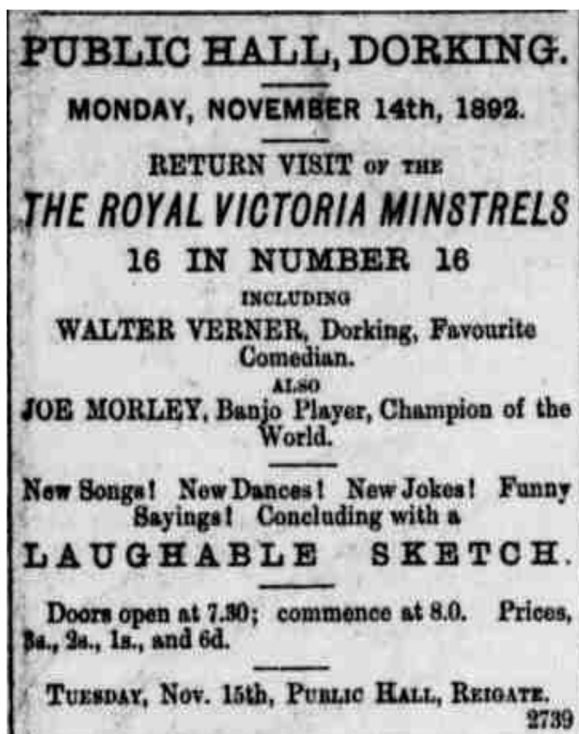
In 1891 he was still living with his family in Cradock Street Cardiff, and this may be the end of Morley's living with his family. At some time after 1891, he left home to perform with a minstrel group in North Wales around Colwyn Bay (Brewer 1955). This group included two other banjo players, Ben Hollingworth and Fred Sanders, and a concertina player, Alf Wentworth.

Minstrel groups had become popular with the emerging lower middle classes (Pickering 2008, pp. 28-38), and who were now able to travel to the seaside for family holidays by rail. Pickering gives a comprehensive account of the development of Blackface minstrelsy in

Britain, which otherwise lies outside the scope of this thesis. Drew (2014), gives a credible account of a minstrel group in Rhyl at about the same time as Morley was appearing in Colwyn Bay and calculated that a Minstrel member could earn about £1 a week, whilst a general domestic servant might take home 8 shillings a week. In 1895, £1 might be worth between £95-100 *Moneysorter (n.d.)*. Many entertainment troupes would bolster their earnings through private engagements away from the sea front with private concerts at civic functions and house parties.

Royal Victoria Minstrels.

November 1892, when he was 25, sees Joe Morley making his first known appearance as the “champion banjo player of the world”, and who was “accorded a well-deserved encore” (*Surrey Mirror*, Saturday 19th November 1892, p2). The description presupposes an already



polished performer. How he came to join The Royal Victorians is unknown, and he appears to have been with them from the summer of 1891, when he was seen by Clifford Essex at Ventnor, (Essex, 1917a), until the end of January 1893.

The Royal Victoria Minstrels were a blackface troupe led by Walter Verner, of whom little is known, apart from him being described as a one-time resident of Dorking

(*Surrey Mirror* 12th November 1892, p.1), although by census records he was probably born in Mayfair in 1857. He was one of the comic vocalists. Other members of the troupe include

Charles Sutton another comic vocalist, and Will Corrie, a balladeer (*Monmouthshire Beacon* 28th January 1893, p5). In 1891, Verner and Sutton shared theatrical digs in Ventnor.

At the last of the four concerts that Morley gave in 1893 with the Royal Victorians, (in Dorking, Reading, Reigate and finally in Monmouth), the correspondent of the *Monmouthshire Beacon* reported that “at both concerts on Monday and Tuesday, the audiences were very small”, and “although the various artistes were accorded hearty applause.....the Minstrels were unlikely to pay a return visit”. (*Monmouthshire Beacon* 28th January 1893, p.5). The correspondent grandly described Morley as “The Banjo Emperor”. This was evidently not a profitable engagement. At a concert in Reigate in November of 1892, (*Surrey Mirror* 19th November 1892) the ensemble had included at least 11 players. By the time Monmouth was played, there were five players, and a “team of Canadian clog dancers” (*Monmouthshire Beacon* January 1893, p5), and perhaps the Royal Victoria Minstrels were struggling to survive.

By 1901, census records show that Walter Verner is “living on his own means” in Battersea, and Charles Sutton is a traveller in Durham, and presumably by this time the Victoria Minstrels had disbanded, or at least Verner and Sutton were no longer associated with them. In any case, there appear to be no more press notices after the 1893 Monmouth concerts, and this suggests that the Troupe had finally disbanded.

Bijou Minstrels.

By early 1893, Morley seems to be living in or around Worcester, judging by his association with the Bijou Minstrels. This group appears to be a local amateur group, performing at events around Worcester. The group leader was Bruce Wyatt, who is probably one Alphonso Bruce Wyatt, a grocer at Belmont Street, Worcester. There are no other individuals with this name in the Worcester census records, and their amateur status is confirmed by the other

members of the group, Ernest Locke, who was a machinist in the boot trade, and Denis Hussell who was an iron range fitter Both Locke and Hussell enter these details in the 1891 census.

Morley is known to have made three engagements with the Bijou Minstrels in 1893, from newspaper reports, including a concert at Powick Lunatic Asylum:

On Tuesday evening last a very successful entertainment was given by the Bijou Minstrels in this asylum, for the benefit of the patients, this being the second time during the season that the company have appeared at Powick. A very excellent programme was provided: the first part consisted of part songs rendered by the whole company, several solos and several pieces by the band. The second part was made up of a banjo solo by Mr Joe Morley, a descriptive clog dance, a new burlesque oration by Mr Bruce Wyatt and various other items, the whole concluding with a laughable sketch by the Bijou Burlesque Team. All parts of the programme were much appreciated, and very hearty applause was given by the large audience that had assembled, composed of over 500 patients, a number of the staff, and a few visitors.

The efforts of Mr Ern Locke, Mr Brookland, Mr Bruce Wyatt, Mr Den Hussell and Master Bowen may be mentioned as being particularly successful.

(Worcester Chronicle, Saturday 25th March 1893, p.5)

It is interesting to note that Edward Elgar (1857-1934) had been bandmaster at Powick Lunatic Asylum for 5 years from 1879 (Shilling, 2014), and presumably the band referred to was the same band that had been conducted by Elgar. The band was made up from the staff rather than the inmates. By the time that Morley was playing at Powick, Elgar had returned to live permanently at Great Malvern, and it is almost certain that the two men never met.

Strangely, over a year later in November 1894, Morley made two appearances in Worcester within two days of each other, one at the Bell Hotel, the other at the Bull's Head, both in Worcester, both of them without the Bijou minstrels, one for the Oddfellows, and the other for St John's cycling club. (*Worcestershire Chronicle* 1st December 1894, p6). These

engagements are curious since they might suggest that Morley was still living in Worcester, but also because during the intervening period he had made his first engagements in a London concert with Clifford Essex, Alfred Cammeyer and Francine Dewhurst, and his appearance with Moore and Burgess, the minstrel troupe. The first of these significant improvements in Morley's prospects took place only a few days after his last engagement at Worcester with the Bijou Minstrels. These London concerts are the first larger scale professional engagements in Morley's career.

Meeting Clifford Essex

Morley's meeting with Clifford Essex opened up a much wider stage for his talents. Clifford Essex himself said

“It was the first year of my Pierrot Banjo Team (1891) and after having performed at Henley, Cowes and Ryde Regattas, I was advised to try Sandown, in the Isle of Wight. It was not long after arriving there that I heard of a wonderful banjo player who was performing in a local nigger troupe known as the Royal Victoria Minstrels.I very soon took the opportunity of hearing their show, and heard Joe Morley for the first time, and wondered at his great dexterity.” (Essex 1937).

Whilst it is certain that the Royal Victoria Minstrels were playing in the Isle of Wight in 1891, (*Isle of Wight Observer* 9th May 1891, p8) Joe Morley does not appear on any of their programmes. It is possible, of course, that not all of their concerts were reported in the press at the time, or that Morley's concerts with them were missed.

Essex goes on to say that “nothing happened for three years”, that is with regard to being approached by Morley or vice versa (Essex 1937). By this time, according to Essex's possibly overblown opinion, the popularity of his own white-faced Pierrot troupe, (which he had founded in 1891), had put an end to the black faced troupes, including the Royal Victoria Minstrels, which is something of an overstatement. However, the appearance of Essex and his Pierrots certainly hastened the eventual demise of the Royal Victoria Minstrels:

A letter writer to *The Stage* reports Morley telling him: “We [The Royal Victoria Minstrels] had to go over there [Shanklin] the night Essex brought his Pierrots to augment the minstrel show there in order to put something up against their opening. Well, he soon drove us out”. Benjamin Fuller in Clarkson Rose, *Peradventure*, (*The Stage*, August 17th, 1933, p.10). This might be the occasion when Clifford Essex first saw and heard Joe Morley playing the banjo. It also apparent that The Royal Victoria Minstrels were no match for the entrepreneurial Essex, who had also cast his eye over their personnel. Essex (1937) said:

“I felt sorry that the success of my Pierrots should have been the means of closing down Joe’s show, and as he was the only one I could be of any help to, I suggested that he should come to London in the winter, and I would put him up at my big concert.”

Essex is speaking here about 1891, when in fact Morley remained with the Victoria Minstrels until 1893, and made a few concerts with the Bijou Minstrels in 1893. Essex presumably has assessed the other members of the Royal Victorians, and had concluded that Morley was the only one for whom he could find employment in his own troupe. This was almost certainly that he had just lost Will C Pepper, his banjoist, and Morley seemed like an obvious replacement. He had no vacancies for the other members of the troupe.

Whilst the success of the Essex Pierrot troupe and other similar groups dented the popularity of black face Minstrel groups, groups such as “Uncle Mack’s Minstrels” continued to thrive (Pertwee 1979). The Merrie Men of Rhyl continued until 1903 (Drew 2014). At least some of the Minstrel groups abandoned “blacking up” for all their shows, although the design of the shows began to change to a more informal concert party style.

Royal Osborne Minstrels. Morley joined the Royal Osborne Minstrels, formed from a quartet of buskers with whom he had toured in the early 1890s, namely Ben Hollingworth, Fred Saunders and Joe Morley (banjos) and Alf Wentworth (concertina) (Brewer 1955). The

Royal Osbornes played for two seasons at the Public Hall in Colwyn Bay during 1895 and 1896 with these personnel, (*Colwyn Bay Weekly News* 5th July 1895, p2-June 2nd, 1896, p1). They assumed the “Royal” in their name because they claimed to have played on the Royal Yacht, before European Royalty, and at Queen Victoria’s summer residence, Osborne House, which is at least possible (*The Stage*, 27th December 1956, p5).

The Royal Osborne Minstrels remained in existence at least until 1900, when they had engagements at the Llanfairfechan Dog and Poultry Show, (25th August 1900), and at Lymington Regatta (30th August 1900). From 1895 onwards, their leader is stated to be Donald Marshall. An obituary notice states:

“The members of the Royal Osborne Minstrels were Donald [Marshall] (whistle), Joe Morley (banjo), Alf Wentworth (concertina), a Mr Twinn (harp), Dave Pegg (tambourine) and Ted Scott (bones)”. (Barry Sowerberry, n.d.)

It is least possible that there were two troupes of The Royal Osborne Minstrels, which occasionally exchanged players, one of which played primarily in North Wales, the other in the Isle of Wight. Only the 1895 and 1896 concerts in Colwyn Bay give the names of the players. It seems certain that Donald Marshall did not appear with the Royal Osbornes in North Wales, whereas he did appear in the Isle of Wight with Morley. Either there were two separate troupes, or the Royal Osbornes were an informal grouping who played together as the opportunity arose

What is certain however, is that Joe Morley’s association with The Royal Osbornes ceased after August 1896, when he began his long and fruitful career with Clifford Essex, and some five years after their meeting in Ventnor. He had of course, performed at one of Essex’s concerts in 1893, but it was not until Will Pepper left Essex that Morley joined Essex and his Pierrots.

There is no doubt that these early years, when Morley progressed from “bottling” with his father George Morley to Minstrel shows helped Morley to develop his technique both as a banjo player and composer. In later life he would usually play his own compositions on stage, and there is some evidence that he did so at this relatively early part of his life from composition dating from this period such as “Colwyn Bay Polka” and “Royal Osborne Gavotte”. These earlier pieces are also suitable for playing on a fretless 7-string banjo such as the instrument on which he was playing at this time.

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Clifford Essex.

Clifford Essex was a seminal figure in light entertainment in the later part of the 19th century, and his influence spread beyond the troupes that he organised and managed. He was accepted into an upper social strata, and brought to these more rarefied environs the sort of music and entertainment which had proved popular, and financially rewarding, in seaside entertainment.

We must therefore examine Clifford Essex, his life, and his influences, as they affected Morley, and entertainers like him. Essex and Morley were poles apart both in their background, and in their respective temperaments. Whereas Essex was a middle class extroverted entrepreneur, Morley was working class, and much more introverted. As we shall see, both benefitted by their association.

Clifford Essex, the early years

William James Clifford Essex was born 1858 at 3 Bellina Villas, Kentish Town to William Edward and Fanny Essex née Morley. (Fanny Essex was no relation to Joe Morley.) His father was a currier, a finisher of leather. In 1881, at the age of 23 he was a solicitor's clerk, although there is no evidence that he "studied for the Bar" as later sources claimed (*The Stage* 7th February 1946). A year later he had left the legal profession and set up in business as a wine merchant with William Herbert, trading as Herbert and Co at 32 Fenchurch St. William Herbert retired in 1882, (*Liverpool Mercury* July 29th, 1882). Essex continued the business at 110 Fenchurch St, until being declared bankrupt in January 1885 (*London*

Evening Standard, 30th January 1885, p8).

THE BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1885.—In the High Court of Justice.—In Bankruptcy. No. 1001 of 1884.—Re WILLIAM JAMES CLIFFORD ESSEX, of 110, Fenchurch-street, London, and 6, Holly-village, Swain's-lane, Highgate, Middlesex, wine and spirit merchant.—I, ALFRED COTTON HARPER, chartered accountant, of Billiter House, Billiter-street, London, E.C., hereby Give Notice, that I have been duly appointed and certified by the Board of Trade as TRUSTEE of the Estate of the above-named Bankrupt. All persons having in their possession any of the effects of the Bankrupt must deliver them to me, and all debts due to the Bankrupt must be paid to me. Creditors who have not yet proved their debts must forward their proofs of debt to me.
(Signature of Trustee) **ALFRED C. HARPER.**
Dated 29th day of January, 1885.

In 1882, he had enrolled in the Covent Garden Lodge of the Freemasons, a matter of great significance for his future life and prospects. At this time,

“Most Victorian masons were drawn from the upper middle-classes and the less prosperous, but relatively comfortable, lower middle classes. In the 1880s the minimum initiation fee was five guineas and, with the additional annual dues and contributions to charity, Masonry was restricted to a comparatively small proportion of the community. Lodges normally drew their membership from the professional classes, businessmen and shopkeepers, the latter being mostly owners or craftsmen. In London and other larger towns, the formation of lodges for men of similar interests was becoming commonplace, i.e. for groups such as musicians, graduates of the same university or school, or for the Services” (Aitkenhead 2017).

Essex was expelled for non-payment of dues in 1885 at the same time as his bankruptcy, never to return, but by that time, he had gained entrée into society, and the fees (which were about £450 in 2017 values) were an expense to be pruned.

In 1884, he is reported as singing humorous songs to the Wood Green Musical Society, (*Sporting Life* 22nd November 1884, p4) and in March 1886, he sang several comic songs to the Thames Rowing Club at their annual smoking concert. (*Sporting Life* 29th March 1886 p4). Smoking concerts were popular in the Victorian and Edwardian period, they were informal, men only concerts where music and speeches could be included in the programme. These were ideal opportunities for Essex to widen the circle of his acquaintances. In 1887, he

played banjo duets at the West Kent Conservative Society (*Whitstable Times*, 26th March 1887, p4). He gave a concert in 1887 at the Beaufort Club, presided over by the Duke of Beaufort, and at which George Grossmith was also a performer, (*The Era*, 3rd December 1887, p11).

The individuals with whom Essex performed were largely, but not exclusively, drawn from fellow Freemasons. Whether he had met these people through Freemasonry, or through normal social intercourse is uncertain. Some were amateurs, and some were, or became professional entertainers. The following are those who can be traced:

Dudley Causton	Cadogan Lodge	Musical comedian
Harry Dancey	Putney Lodge	Organist at Putney Parish
George Grossmith	Green Room Lodge	Comedian and actor
Corney Grain	Inner Temple	Song writer
Lionel Brough	Asaph Lodge	Actor
Walter Pallant	Drury Lane Lodge	Stockbroker
Benjamin Pierpoint	Inns Society of Musicians Lodge	Singing Teacher
Harold Savory	Savage Club Lodge	Vocalist
John Pybus-Sellon	Kensington Lodge	Bull dog breeder
Pelham Roof	Lullingstone Lodge	Stockbroker
Harry Baker Spurling	Not a Freemason	Stockbroker
Theophilus Ward	La Tolerance Lodge	Music teacher
Augustus Wheatman	Asaph Lodge	Comic actor

The entertainment in which Clifford Essex performed in the 1880s was with a mixed cast of amateurs, and professional musicians and entertainers who were, like Essex, at the beginning of their careers. Some of the performers were already established; for instance, George

Grossmith and Corney Grain. Some of the amateurs, e.g. Walter Pallant, were consistently praised in the press for their performances, in the case of Pallant, for his rich bass voice. One of the great talents of Clifford Essex was to spot talent, and to associate himself with this talent. He later put this to good use in forming his own successful troupes.

This group of individuals listed above often appeared together, in various combinations as no doubt the occasion demanded and dependent upon their own availabilities. Apart from banjo duets, they performed popular and patriotic songs, comic interludes, and recitations. Their audience was middle and upper class, usually well off, socially connected, frequently titled, and mostly male, although female entertainers were often engaged when the audience was mixed. *The Era* 3rd December 1887, p.11. For the performers, this was usually not their only means of support, but either a “side-line” or a pastime. This social milieu is not one to which Morley was accustomed, and he was never enrolled into Freemasonry. However, it was the social circle in which Clifford Essex operated, and from which he drew support, and into which Morley was introduced when he in turn, was “spotted” by Essex.

In 1883, Essex married Amy Kathleen Wallis, the daughter of an Army Major, whilst he was a wine merchant. By 1891 however he is described as a Musician, his past occupations and bankruptcy put behind him. Thus did Clifford Essex change from Solicitor’s clerk to wine merchant, and finally to musician. “Musician” is possibly not a sufficiently descriptive word with which to describe Essex. A musician he certainly was, and he published over a hundred arrangements for banjo, but he was more the all-round entertainer. He was also an entrepreneur, a business man, and a risk taker. It is certainly not the least of his accomplishments to discover and to encourage the talent that he saw in Joe Morley.



Walter James Clifford Essex

Clifford Essex with his collaborator and partner Alfred Cammeyer were known as bon-viveurs (theorbo2000, 2014), and eventually Essex occupied 15a Grafton Street, where Henry Irving had rented rooms since his arrival in London in 1878 (ibid).

Bram Stoker joined Irving through Irving, Stoker his saturnine appearance, figure of Count

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as his manager, and met Essex. Essex, with inspired Stoker as the

Dracula(Whistler,University of Glasgow 2003).

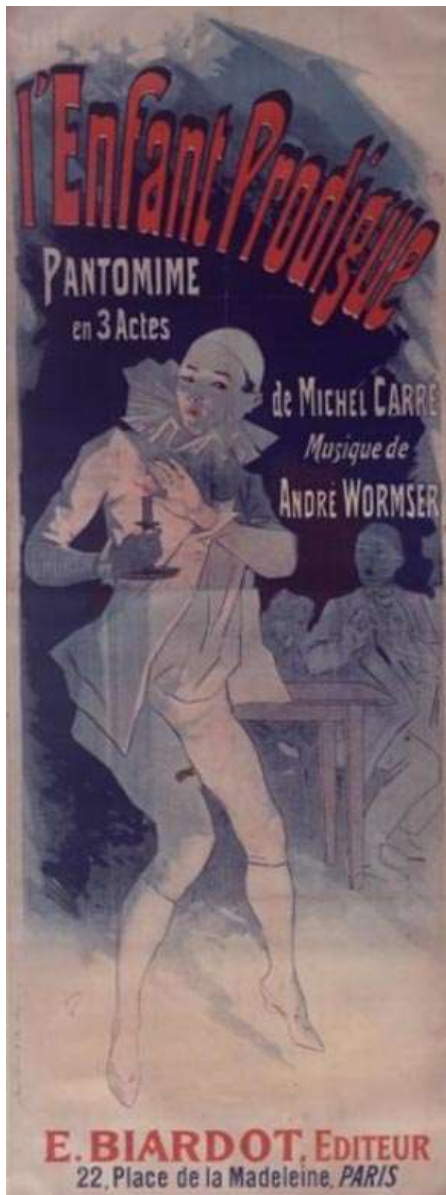
Essex was a confident and extroverted leader of men. It is hardly surprising that he did not settle to being a solicitor's clerk or a wine merchant. His partnership with Cammeyer was relatively short lived, and he forged a successful career directing others. He was adept at spotting and encouraging talent when it suited his own affairs, and it is this which eventually saw Joe Morley set upon his own career as composer and performer.

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Clifford Essex and the development of the Pierrot movement

In April 1891, Essex saw a performance of the mime play *L'enfant prodigue* by Carré and Wormser, at The Prince of Wales Theatre (Essex, 1916b). This was a pantomime (or mime play), in which the protagonists were a family of Pierrots. Essex saw the potential of taking this image of a white-faced entertainer, and appropriating it in a new version (Calvert, 2013b). Hitherto, although the Pierrot had been seen, it was usually either as a white face

clown in the circus.



It was shortly after seeing this play that Essex had the innovative idea of putting together a troupe of entertainers dressed as Pierrots, to entertain the crowds at Henley Regatta (Essex 1916b). He particularly favoured the idea of a troupe which were diametrically opposite to the “niggers” who were the usual entertainment fare. Essex comments on the “general vulgarity of the musical entertainments offered to the patrons of the Regatta, and how one would often give the niggers half-a-crown not to perform, in deference to the susceptibilities of the lady guests on board.” (Essex 1916 c). Essex thought that the white outfit of the Pierrots would be a novelty, and would help in giving his Pierrot troupe a distinctive edge.

Poster from V&A Collection

He had ascertained from the make-up artist for Mlle Jane May, the original Pierrot in *L'enfant prodigue*, the correct procedure for producing the necessary flexible and waterproof white make-up (Essex 1916c).

On this first outing of his Pierrot troupe at Henley, Essex found that one of his competitors was a blackface minstrel called “Curley”, who was “seen off” by Essex (Essex 1916b).

Whilst Essex always professed to adhere strictly to professional courtesy in not interfering with another’s “pitch”, he nevertheless gleefully records all his victories in this regard. His memoirs show a determined streak in this developing entrepreneur (Essex, 1916d, 1917a-j)

Essex was a friend to many musicians, and many, including Morley had cause to be grateful to him. He was however, also an accomplished self-publicist, and ruthless with competitors, both of which character traits were helpful in his success. He took risks, and he had an entrepreneurial flair. He was an inveterate name dropper as may be seen in his articles, which were about himself and his successes, (Essex 1916-1917) and it can be difficult to warm to this talented, but flawed individual.

Whatever Essex’s personal qualities, he excelled at spotting talent, and he was usually unstinting in his praise for outstanding performers. His “Pierrette” on this first occasion was Kate Sampey, who had already caught his eye as a banjo player with Cammeyer and Ellis. (These two banjo players had formed an informal partnership, putting on concerts in London. The other two participants in this historic first outing of the Pierrots were two amateur friends of Essex’s, known to us only as “WM” and “HS”. The identity of “WM” is unknown, but it is possible that “HS” is either Henry Baker Spurling, or Harold Savory who were Essex’s colleagues from his smoking concert days.

Their first experience of Henley Regatta was a success both artistically and financially, and Essex saw that this new venture might be the source of a more permanent form of entertainment.

Pertwee (1979) says that Essex secured a booking in Bray, a small seaside town South of Dublin, presumably to “test the waters”. Despite extensive searches of Irish newspaper archives, there are no newspaper reports to either substantiate or confirm this assertion.

To promote his novel concept, Essex took his Pierrot troupe to Cowes Regatta later that year (1891). They began by putting on an outdoor show, in front of a large hotel on the sea front (Essex, 1916a), and found that it was again, successful in terms of the audience numbers, and importantly of course, financially. Yachting men in the audience suggested to Essex that he should try the Royal Yacht, and by various stratagems, managed to get the Pierrot troupe on board. His determination in the face of uncertainty and improbability of success must single out Essex as a born adventurer, business man and entrepreneur.

It is unclear from Essex’s account who was present in the Pierrot troupe, and he mentions only himself and Kate Sampey, “the Pierrette”. There is also mention of a portable harmonium being transported by rowing boat, and hoisted aboard the Royal Yacht. Essex’s memory is uncertain here, although he is writing only 25 years after an event which changed his life for ever. Whatever the details, he is quite certain about the Royal party on board, and meticulously lists them all by name, whilst omitting the names of his fellow entertainers. The Prince of Wales, as he was in 1891, was apparently very forthcoming and welcoming.

It should be remembered that the banjo and the playing of it was very popular among all strata of society, including the rarefied upper classes:

The latest freak in "society" is banjo-playing. It is stated authoritatively that the Prince of Wales, like his relative the Czar of Russia, is no mean performer on that instrument, and as he has an excellent musical memory, without pretending to too much technical knowledge, he can after returning from the opera or opera-bouffe, pick out the tunes on the banjo with astonishing facility. Mr Gladstone too is said to favour the instrument.

Peterhead Sentinel and General
Advertiser

11th September 1888, p3

Essex continued to perform in the Isle of Wight with his Pierrot troupe, for the remainder of the season, and he became established both as a seaside entertainer, and as a suitable entertainment for the upper classes and "Society" at large. His audacious stunt in gaining access to the Royal Yacht paid off handsomely.

However, an eye witness to the performances by the Pierrot troupe in these early days puts them into perspective. Essex himself might wish to gloss over their relative simplicity, but a Sydney Ewart of Bognor Regis writes in 1949:

"I well remember some 54 years ago, when at the Isle of Wight, particularly Shanklin, the Royal Pierrot Banjo Team, consisting of Clifford Essex, Francis Dewhurst, James Blakeley and Joe Morley, who gave performances on Keats Green during the summer evenings, with simply a few bamboo canes hung with Japanese lanterns, and a harmonium, these being their only assets beyond their own individual talent. They had no compère to introduce their items, no topical dialogue, no sets to assist them, and most of their items were published songs". (*The Stage* July 21, 1949, p4)

The Pierrot tradition, founded by Essex in 1891 flourished, and soon Pierrot troupes were to be found in many seaside resorts. For instance, by the end of the century both Tom Carrick and Will Caitlin were performing in East Coast resorts with Pierrot groups. The development of Pierrot troupes in Britain has been examined in more depth than is necessary here, by Calvert who goes on to say:

"If Essex's own contribution capitalised on the trends of 1891-92, it also instigated a new tradition of performance that would eclipse the popularity of L'Enfant Prodigue and expand over the following decades into an established fixture of the British seaside holiday" (Calvert 2013b, p11)

“The trends of 1891-2” are a reference to the increasing popularisation of the Pierrot as an entertainment trope.

Indeed, Clifford Essex’s “new tradition” of Pierrots remained a staple of seaside entertainment until the outbreak of the Second World War Calvert (2013b).

Some five years after Morley met Essex in Ventnor, when the former was performing with the soon to be disbanded Royal Victoria Minstrels, he accepted Essex’s offer of another appearance in one of the concerts that Essex and Cammeyer were producing in London, at the Prince’s Hall where the Essex Pierrots were also appearing.

Essex and Cammeyer in partnership

In 1892, Essex entered into partnership with Alfred Cammeyer at 59 Piccadilly. They began to produce concerts together. Some were large affairs with the Essex Pierrots, and others were much smaller affairs, which may have been overlooked by newspaper critics:

<p>MAY TERM ARRANGEMENTS. JUNE. 16.—Installation of Bishop Selwyn as Master of Selwyn College. Grand Banjo Concert in Guildhall, Messrs. Essex and Cammeyer’s. 17.—Congregation at 9.30 a.m. (Presentation of Supplicants), 11 a.m. General Admission.</p>	<p>Cambridge Chronicle 16th June 1893, p8</p>
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Bishop Selwyn’s installation warranted a report in the press (*The Globe* 17th June 1893, p7), whilst Essex and Cammeyer’s concert did not. Essex and Cammeyer, had just begun their association, and were relatively unknown. Certainly less significant to the Cambridge press than Bishop Selwyn.

Alfred Davies Cammeyer

Alfred Davies Cammeyer was born into a wealthy family in Brooklyn in 1861, and moved in a comfortable social circle. He was introduced to the banjo, and apparently played banjo duets to famous opera singer Adelina Patti (Cammeyer 1934). He also claims to have invented the zither banjo, but this might be in dispute, as in 1869 Temlett patented what is considered to be a forerunner of the zither banjo (Vintage Banjo maker, 2012). However, his Vibrante models of zither banjo are acknowledged to be amongst the highest quality.

In 1888, Cammeyer landed at Liverpool and began to move in the same sort of social circles that he had left behind in New York, and almost inevitably, met Clifford Essex, who was also making his way within the same social environment (University of Glasgow, 2003),

Cammeyer's account of his life (Cammeyer, 1934), is a model of self-aggrandizement, intent on mentioning as many people of influence as possible, ranging from Richard Wagner, to Sir Arthur Sullivan, and running through much of the Court Circular. He rarely gives a date for a meeting or occurrence. He does not mention Clifford Essex or Joe Morley, both of whom he would have known well, and who would certainly have been competitors in the field of performing with the banjo. It seems that the only person he acknowledges who might be close to both Cammeyer and Essex is the actor and dramatist Corney Grain, with whom Essex had performed concerts before he met Cammeyer.

The impression of these two individuals is that they are both ebullient businessmen, each with a strong notion of his own worth and entitlement, but their partnership lasted until 1900, when it was dissolved.

It might seem surprising that the partnership lasted as long as it did considering their temperaments, but each went their separate ways, and did not have any sort of relationship

afterwards. Oral tradition suggests that there was some dispute over copyright which triggered the dissolution, but there is no evidence to support this.

However, it seems that Cammeyer remained on good terms with Morley after parting with Essex, and performed with him many times in later years.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

A. P. V. Firminger and W. H. Anderson, colonial brokers, Cross-lane, City—J. A. White and E. C. J. Dugrivel, dyers and cleaners, Old Southgate, Middlesex—A. Gibbons and T. A. White, grocers and provision dealers, Calabria-road, Islington—E. Bartels and T. Pfister, Lensden-place, City—Sir J. T. Brunner and Sir T. W. Reid, Fleet-street, newspaper proprietors—R. H. King, H. C. Burrell, and E. Marzetti, solicitors, Gresham-street—J. F. Cassy, T. G. Inwood, and A. Hunter, Carter-lane, City, warehousemen—A. D. Cammeyer and W. J. C. Essex, banjo teachers and manufacturers, Piccadilly—J. A. Aiton and J. L. Clark, consulting engineers, Fenchurch-street—Margaret Brown and Eliza Margery Hommersham, Nursing Home, Highgate-road—W. Wilson and W. A. Wilson, London-road, Croydon, corn and coal merchants—Annie Matilda Stiles and Edith Belcher, Broadway, Ealing, bakers—R. Cunliffe, A. Davenport, R. E. Cunliffe, and W. F. Cunliffe, solicitors, Chancery-lane, so far as regards R. E. Cunliffe—E. Riley, W. H. Herdsman, E. Merricks, and A. P. Griffiths, mining and metallurgical engineers, City-road—Sarah Maria M'Vicker and P. R. C. M'Vicker, dairymen, High-street, Teddington—C. H. Wise and C. S. Davis, physicians and surgeons, Waithamstow.

Evening Standard
14th July 1900, p8

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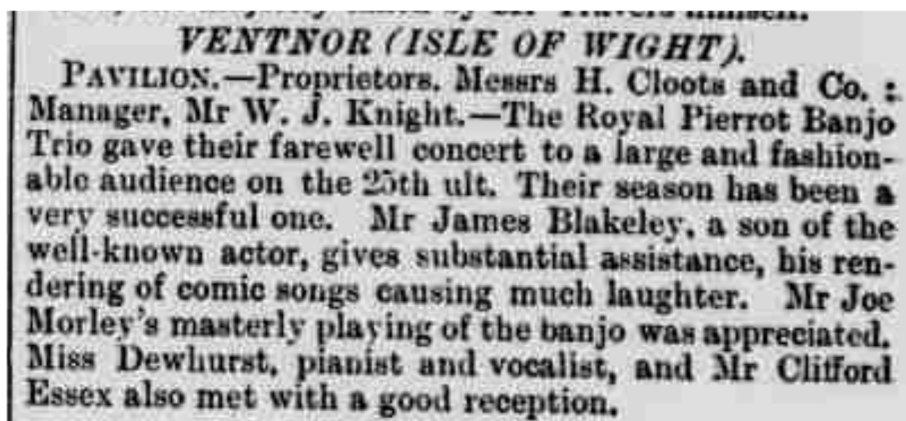
Morley and the Clifford Essex Pierrots.

Morley joined the Essex Pierrot troupe sometime in 1896. Will Pepper was the banjoist playing with Essex in May 1896, and left to form his own Troupe, the White Coons, which first performed in 1897. Morley was his replacement

Essex (1917d) says that “when Will Pepper left I engaged Joe Morley”. He goes on to say that

“He (Morley) was performing with the Royal Osbornes at Colwyn Bay, in Wales at the time with his old troupe which formerly had been at Sandown, Isle of Wight. I sent him an offer by wire, and up he came, made himself master of our repertoire in a week, and opened with us for a week’s engagement I had at Folkestone, and one would have thought that he had been with the troupe for years. I dubbed him “The Lightning Player”, and no-one better suited the title”.

There is no record of this engagement in Folkestone, and the first mention of Morley performing with Essex with the Pierrots is in Ventnor in the October of that year:



VENTNOR (ISLE OF WIGHT).
PAVILION.—Proprietors, Messrs H. Cloots and Co. :
Manager, Mr W. J. Knight.—The Royal Pierrot Banjo
Trio gave their farewell concert to a large and fashion-
able audience on the 25th ult. Their season has been a
very successful one. Mr James Blakeley, a son of the
well-known actor, gives substantial assistance, his ren-
dering of comic songs causing much laughter. Mr Joe
Morley’s masterly playing of the banjo was appreciated.
Miss Dewhurst, pianist and vocalist, and Mr Clifford
Essex also met with a good reception.

The Era
3rd Oct 1896, p24

The troupe is called the “Royal Pierrot Banjo trio” in this review, although neither James Blakeley the comedian nor Francine Dewhurst played the banjo, and there are four performers. This concert in Ventnor was evidently the last of the season, and does not, of course, indicate for how long Morley had been with the troupe, but as he left the Royal Osbornes in August 1896, it must have been about 6 weeks.

This period was one of greater stability for Morley, promising regular work and income throughout the year, and his association lasted from October 1896 to his last concert with the Clifford Essex Pierrots in September 1908.

Morley now had regular employment with the Essex Pierrot troupe, which when out of the summer seaside season was engaged at irregular events throughout the winter. These events were not usually “grand” affairs, and the reality is of small, local affairs, often arranged on behalf of a local charity by a benefactor. An example of one of these events is one held shortly after the Ventnor summer season, in November 1896, at the Hurst Drill Hall, in aid of The Chichester House Training Home for Workhouse Girls, promoted by the Hon Mrs Campion. Whilst the promoter may well have known or have seen Essex in London, and have given it some social cachet, the venue is indicative of its local appeal. In this case, as in many others, the Troupe were the only performers, and were introduced merely as “a Pierrot banjo team” (*Mid-Sussex Times* 17th November 1896 p5). The reviewer goes on to say that “the novelty of a Pierrot Banjo team no doubt accounted for the fashionable attendancethe hall was nearly filled”. The finances of such an event are unknown. It is likely that the Hon Mrs Campion underwrote the event, providing both fees and accommodation for the performers, as well as the hire of the Drill Hall and finally, some financial support for the charity in this case the Home for Workhouse Girls. There is no mention of an entrance fee, but how much of this (if any) would have gone to the performers is unknown. The fee for the performers cannot have been large, and even if it were generous, had to be split 4 ways. Nevertheless, Morley’s association with Essex gave him at least the promise of a more secure and permanent income.

Kate Sampey, a member of the original troupe had given way to Francine Dewhurst as the troupe’s Pierrette, who sang and provided a piano accompaniment. Essex had also decided on the form of the troupe as a quartet of performers two banjo players, a comedian who also

sang comic songs, and of course, the Pierrette. The comedian in this troupe, James Blakeley, was the son of a well-known actor and comedian William Blakeley (1830-1897).

Clifford Essex's ability to spot talent in relatively unknown individuals is shown in his recruitment of the other three members of his troupe, Morley, Blakeley and Dewhurst. Both Morley and Blakeley went on to have further careers of their own when they left Essex, and together they formed an accomplished and professional ensemble, giving themselves a secure occupation, and enhancing the profile of Essex in the process.

The winter months of the Troupe were spent being engaged in similar small-scale events such as that in Hurst Drill Hall. After that concert, another was held in the Corn Exchange at Bedford a few days later. The reviewer here said: "the talented members of the Pierrot team maintained their high reputation, and created the utmost enthusiasm among the audience" (*The Bedfordshire Times* 21st November 1896 p.8). In this concert, the Pierrot team was joined by Alfred Cammeyer, and it is often he, playing as a soloist, who is mentioned rather than Morley. Cammeyer's appearances with the Pierrots are, of course, before his split with Essex in 1900. In this report, Essex, Blakeley and Morley are merely said to be "masters of the instrument", although Blakeley is included here as one of the banjo players, which he was not.

At the larger concerts which were arranged by Essex and Cammeyer, the reviewers were often dazzled by the talent in the acts presented to him. At the St James' Hall Concert of December 1896, the reviewer for *The Sporting Times* said: "Alf Wood [who eventually replaced Morley in the Pierrots] stepped up from below. We have never heard anything to touch him, why such a genius should be hidden under a bushel in the small hall is beyond comprehension. Pretty little Miss Dewhurst sang a Turkish lullaby that sent us all hopelessly in love... Alfred Cammeyer, grand master of the instrument played in his usual masterly

style...we could have wished for more of him.....Joe Morley played the Kentucky Parade as only he can play it. (*Sporting Times* 3rd December 1896 p.12).

It can be seen that at a concert like this, where there were many acts on the banjo, mandolin and guitar, (even a harp solo from a Madame Fortescue), there was a great deal of competition for attention. Morley here is part of the Pierrot team, and not a solo performer. Those who are soloists, Alf Wood and Cammeyer receive the individual attention and praise that would come later in Morley's career. His time would come, but in the meantime, a busy professional life beckoned, in the shadow of Clifford Essex.

In addition, of course, his compositions were now being bought and published by Essex and Cammeyer. When he joined the Pierrots, he brought with him several compositions, some of which betray their inspiration: Shanklin Schottische, Sandown Schottische, Cowes Schottische, and Royal Osborne Gavotte. Bernard Sheaff knew him well in his later years, and said of this period in Morley's life "that when season followed successful season as a matter of course, Morley made a very good living indeed" Sheaff (1948), although whether he is referring to financial reward or security is not clear. Sheaff goes on to say that because Morley had no family responsibilities, he saw no need to make provision for the future.

As far as can be ascertained, Essex paid Morley a flat fee for every piece of music he was given. There were no arrangements made for royalties, and once the piece had been bought by Essex, all profits accruing from it went to Essex. This appeared to be the position with all Morley's composing.

Whether his seasons with Essex were successful or not, it cannot have been a bottomless pot of gold, and although Morley's tastes were not extravagant, Morley never showed any signs of more than surviving quite well. It is also certain that he was a betting man. Essex (1937) said that Morley had just put his last shilling on a horse in the Derby, which necessitated him

walking to Grafton Street from Fulham. Characteristically, Essex must add that “he didn’t expect I allowed him to walk back” (Essex 1937).

THE ORIGINAL CLIFFORD ESSEX ROYAL PIERROTS

CIRCA MID 1890's



JAMES BLAKELEY CLIFFORD ESSEX FRANCINE DEWHURST JOE MORLEY

The white make-up which the troupe used on their first engagements was fairly quickly dispensed with, but the white costume adopted by Essex for his Pierrot troupe was rapidly taken up by other, similar troupes, and became the generic dress for such entertainment groups. It continues into modern times, and although the numbers of Pierrot groups still operating are very small, this, or some variation of it, is their “uniform”. The Pierrotters, a modern troupe in which performed from 1983 to 2009 were obviously and recognisably a Pierrot group in the tradition of Clifford Essex, and possibly even more so, as they retain the white face make-up abandoned by Essex (Lexington, n.d.). However, cultural time change, and it might be suggested that these troupes present a reversion to a former entertainment style, rather than the “up to the minute” entertainment offered by Essex and his Pierrot troupe. It is significant that as early as 1898 Essex published a rider to one of his Ryde

Concerts: “Caution! Mr Clifford Essex finds it necessary to warn the Public against numerous troupes formed in imitation of his original idea”. (*Isle of Wight Observer* 13th August 1898 p.8). This also had the effect of emphasising the prior claim of the superiority of the Clifford Essex Pierrots, and the lower standards of his imitators.

The cost of admission to these concerts varied, naturally dependent upon the seating and the location. At a concert in the Philharmonic Hall, Southampton, the best seats, (reserved and numbered) cost 3 shillings (about £8 in 2017), whilst admittance to the cheapest seats was only 1 shilling, (about £2.50 in 2017). At one of Essex and Cammeyer’s Queen’s Hall concerts in London however, the best seats cost 10s.6d (about £30.00 in 2017) whilst the cheapest were 2s.6d (about £7.50 in 2017). Prices on the same day and at the same venue were cheaper for a matinee performance by the Pierrot Banjo Team, ranging from 2 shillings to 5 shillings (£6-£14 in 2017).

Alfred Cammeyer often played with the Pierrots in concerts outside the summer season, and he usually played the zither banjo. He continued to be associated with the Clifford Essex Pierrots until his last concert with them in December 1899, at the St James’ Hall. By the 14th July 1900, the Essex and Cammeyer partnership had been dissolved.

To some extent, this may have benefitted Morley in removing the extroverted Cammeyer from concerts where Morley’s more introverted personality was overshadowed. Grimshaw (1937) said that Morley was “quiet, unassuming and inoffensive, quite the opposite to Cammeyer, and indeed Essex himself. Although it is almost certain that Essex and Cammeyer did not play together again, Morley and Cammeyer did appear together, much later in both of their careers, when each were independently well known.

The pattern of life with the Pierrots settled into a summer season from around May to sometimes as late as October. Not all the engagements were in one resort, but Essex

favoured the Isle of Wight, Southampton Pier, St Leonards Pier, and many other South coast resorts such as Eastbourne and Bexhill. He made several excursions to Jersey, and in 1909 moved to Felixstowe and Clacton. The troupe were well known in most of these places, and if the reports are to be believed, they played to large audiences (*East Anglian Daily Times* 9th August 1909 p.5) “Bottling” was still the preferred method of persuading the audience to pay for their entertainment. One of the troupe would be delegated to pass among the audience with either a bag or a bottle, and encourage a donation. Several performances a day, probably followed by either a ticketed concert or a private function with a fee, made life possible for a troupe of four people to live in accommodation, to feed themselves, and to cover travel to and from the engagement. There appears to be no doubt that Essex was the manager of the troupe, controlled the finances and arranged venues. How the members of the troupe were paid is unknown, and they were either paid a retainer for the season, or paid a weekly sum. Seaside entertainers are continually at the mercy of English weather, and a rainy season drives the audience away from the outdoor pitches of the entertainers, or deters them from coming to the seaside in the first place.

Clifford Essex Pierrots vs Royal Pierrots.

These names, Clifford Essex Pierrots and Royal Pierrots were interchangeable, and used apparently indiscriminately. The person making the booking might prefer the sound of “The Royal Pierrots” better than the more prosaic “Clifford Essex Pierrots”. The troupe was the same whatever name it performed under. Out of 121 performances traced, only 24 are under the banner of “The Royal Pierrots”, the remainder described as “Clifford Essex Pierrots”. This is surprising given the predilection of Essex for Royalty in particular, and the upper classes in general, but perhaps less surprising given his instinct for self-promotion.

Clifford Essex Pierrots Personnel

The usual number of the troupe was four, and besides Clifford Essex who played the banjo and sang light songs, there was a comedian, a banjo player, and a young woman who both played a piano accompaniment and sang. This format became the norm for the Pierrots (Table 1), although Essex would often engage another performer from time to time to augment the quartet, (Table 2 and Appendix 1). Occasionally a fifth member was added. There were never long periods of stability, when the personnel did not change, although individual members served for substantial periods. Morley was the longest serving member, (apart from Essex himself), and served from October 1896 to May 1908, a period of almost 12 years.

The next longest serving member was Ella Barkley, who served intermittently from February 1901 to a final appearance in May 1908. As with many of the Pierrettes, she served for a year or so, had a break, and then re-engaged. In 1911, after she had left Essex, she wrote “The Floral Dance” under the name of Kate Moss. The shortest serving Pierrette was Margaret Cooper, who served only a few months in 1901, before going on to an independent career. She is probably best known today (if at all), for singing “Waltz me round again Willie” at the Palace Theatre Essex (1917a). It is noticeable that three of the Pierrettes had been trained either at the Royal Academy of Music, (Margaret Cooper and Ella Barkley), or the Guildhall School of Music (Ethel Negretti). Essex was particularly impressed with the ability of Ella Barkley to sing Gounod’s “Ave Maria” whilst playing her own violin obbligato (Essex 1917e).

	Henley 1891	16.03.94	03.10.96	30.10.00	20.02.01	22.06.01	30.11.01	15.11.02	10.01.03	22.01.03	09.05.03	25.07.03	13.08.04	13.12.04	17.05.05	10.08.05	07.04.06	04.07.06	08.09.06	31.08.07	07.09.07	25.10.07	27.02.08	16.05.08	05.09.08	
C.E.Essex	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kate Sampey	X																									
Joe Morley		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
James Blakeley		X	X	X	X																					
Francine Dewhurst		X	X																							
Ethel Negretti				X			X	X		X																
Ella Barkley					X				X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X						X	
Margaret Cooper					X	X																				
Wilson James						X	X	X	X	X	X															
Steve Fitzgerald								X				X			X	X										
Harry Hemsley										X																
Fred Rome														X		X	X		X							
Algernon Newark													X	X												
Walter Walters													X													X
Frances Roscorla													X				X	X	X							
Langford Kirby																	X	X	X							
Kathleen Mayer																					X	X				
Ivy St Helier																					X	X	X			
Wilfred Dale																						X	X			X
Selwyn Driver																					X	X	X	X	X	X
S E Turner																								X		

Table 1
C E Essex Pierrots Personnel 1891-1908

This is a simplified table showing the dates during which various individuals appeared with the CE Pierrots.

	21.11.96	15.01.97	02.10.97	02.10.98	10.12.98	31.10.99	02.12.99	18.05.01	30.11.01	10.01.03	09.05.03	13.11.06	25.10.07	23.05.08	16.10.08	11.07.08	05.09.08
Alfred Cammeyer	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Olly Oakley					X	X	X							X			
Charlie Rogers								X	X	X	X						
Rex Avery												X					
Kate Hastings													X				
Ernestine Walter																X	X
Edith Temple															X		X
Beatrice Lindley															X	X	
Arthur Cowen															X		

Table 2

Guest artistes who appeared with Clifford Essex Pierrots

This is a simplified table showing the dates during which various guest artistes appeared with the CE Pierrots

Frances Roscorla was engaged as a sixth member of the troupe in 1904. (Ella Barkley was still with Essex, and Algernon Newark and Walter Walters had been engaged as comedians.)

Frances Roscorla is not known outside entertainment circles, and this is almost certainly a stage name. Essex was much taken with her legs “A shapely pair of understandings” (Essex 1917f), for which he dressed her in a much shorter skirt than was usual for his Pierrettes.

The comedians in the troupe were essential for success, and when Jimmy Blakeley left in 1901, he was very quickly succeeded by Wilson James, who remained with Essex until 1903. Essex’s recollections (“How I began”) are often either inaccurate or incomplete, and he often suggests that the succession of artistes was strictly “one after the other” (Essex 1917a-j), but this was not always the case. As with the Pierrettes, so it was with the comedians. Steve Fitzgerald made an appearance with Wilson James in November 1902, and he also overlapped with Fred Rome. It is more than likely that these doubled up appearances comedians or Pierrettes were a way of trying out prospective future troupe members.

It is perhaps significant that in May 1908, Sidney Turner was engaged by Essex, whilst Morley was still a member of the troupe. Turner was a very good banjo player, and this was the beginning of a longer association of Turner with the Pierrots.



The Clifford Essex Royal Pierrots have given a performance in the Town Hall, before a crowded audience. The artistes were Miss Edith Temple (soprano), Miss Doris Walthew (banjo), Miss Haidee Hamilton (pianoforte, songs), Mr. Selwyn Driver (humorous pianoforte sketches), Mr. S. Turner (banjo soloist), and Mr. W. Dale (comedian).

Turner also appears to have headed a touring company of the Clifford Essex Pierrots in Lynton in September 1910, using many of the artistes already engaged by Essex: Edith Temple, Selwyn Driver, and Wilfred Dale

This appears to be the only occasion in which it is certain that Essex did not appear, and suggests that this appearance in Lynton, not a resort previously visited by the Pierrots, is evidence of a second touring troupe. Banjo society’s oral tradition, which has so far been denied verification has always suggested a second touring group, and this might be the basis.

There is also fragmentary and elusive suggestions of a second touring troupe in Deauville, but it has not been possible to uncover evidence in support of this.

Perhaps Morley saw the writing of the wall, and with the occasional appearance of Sidney Turner in the troupe decided that now was the time to leave Essex, who is terse in his account:

“About this time, Joe Morley, who had been in the Royal Pierrots for eleven years, suddenly left me, for reasons best known to himself” (Essex 1917g).

The reasons for Morley’s decision are unknown, but since 1903, he had engaged in at least seven private concerts outside of the remit of Essex. These were not necessarily large events, but would at least suggest to Morley that there was a life beyond Clifford Essex and his Pierrots.

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William Charles Pepper

William Charles Pepper is usually referred to as Will C Pepper, and he was known as such throughout his career as an entertainer.

He was born on the 13th August 1863 in Mortlake on the Thames to the West of London to Richard Burford Pepper (1839 - 1920) and to Elizabeth his wife (née Hornsby). Richard Burford Pepper's father was a bricklayer before him, and he himself was a bricklayer in 1863, but had become a builder by 1871, and remained a builder at the age of 72 in 1911 when he was still living in the area, at 9 Festing Rd, Putney. Will C Pepper was the product of the artisanal working class, always housed, a constant income (although though almost certainly not large), and a certain amount of security. His background is dissimilar to that of Essex with whom he both collaborated and competed, but rather better than that of Morley, with whom he had a long relationship.

The timeline of Pepper's life as revealed by census records, newspaper accounts and official records is summarised:

1871	Ivy Cottage, Upper Richmond Rd, Mortlake	
1881	11 Gay Street, Putney	Builder's time keeper
1889	10 Gwalior Rd, Putney	Draughtsman
1891	22 Upper Parkfields, Putney	Builder's time keeper
1893	40 High St Putney	
1901	4 River St., Putney	Banjoist
1906	52 Deodar St., Putney	
1911	52 Deodar St., Putney	Musical Entertainer
1918	15 Oxford Rd, Putney	
1928	15 Oxford Rd, Putney	
1928	Death	

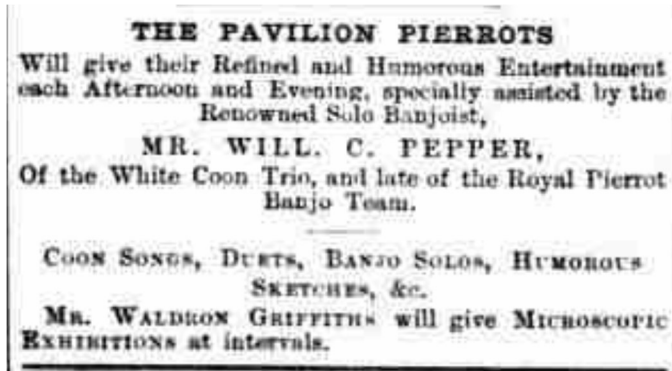
Will C Pepper initially followed his father into the building trade, but certainly by the end of 1893 he was a proficient player of the banjo, and his first professional appearance is in December 1893, at the Princes' Hall Concert organised by Essex and Cammeyer. In this concert, he appeared on the same bill as Joe Morley, who had similarly been "spotted" by Essex. Pepper played Cammeyer's "Cocoanut Dance". It is possible that Pepper and Morley had known each other prior to this particular engagement, but Morley's previous life and engagements had kept him in the provinces and Wales. Whatever the circumstances of their first meeting, Morley and Pepper were to maintain a lifelong friendship.

At some time before 1894 Will C Pepper had been recruited by Essex to join the Clifford Essex Pierrots. Exactly when is difficult to pin-point. We know that Morley replaced Pepper as the banjo player in the Essex Pierrot troupe around August 1896, and that Pepper was appearing in concerts with Essex by November 1893 (*Sporting Life*, 29th November 1893, p7).

Pepper's obituary notice in 1928 is particularly misleading, speaking as it does from decades after the events in question: "It is nearly 30 years ago that Will Pepper helped to found the modern concert party by joining with Francine Dewhurst, James Blakeley and Clifford Essex in a show at Sandown, Isle of Wight." (*The Stage*, 13th September 1928, p.19). This is patently incorrect, as this would indicate a date of 1898 for the beginning of the Clifford Essex Pierrots. The notice goes on: "For three or four years the Pierrot Banjo Team held the affections of the public at Sandown, after which Mr. Pepper broke away and founded the famous White Coons at Margate, and Bray". This would indicate that Pepper had joined Clifford Essex and the Pierrots for some three or four years.

Considerable effort has been made to uncover any reports of Will C Pepper performing with the Clifford Essex Pierrots, but none have as yet been seen. However, by 1896 he is

appearing with the Pavilion Pierrots, in Cheltenham (*Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard*, October 24th, 1896 p.1).



Whilst this report indeed states that Pepper is “late of the Royal Pierrot Banjo Team” (*Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard 1896*), he is also credited with being “of the White Coons Trio”.

The most likely explanation is that Will C Pepper joined Clifford Essex at about the same time of the Princes’ Hall concert in December 1893, and remained with them for “three or four years” and left some time before March 1896, which is the date of the last concert with Pepper as a member of the Essex Pierrots:



THE PIERROT BANJO TEAM.
Photo by Arthur Weston, Newgate Street, E.C.

This is a rare photograph of the Clifford Essex Pierrots in March 1896, just before Will C Pepper left them. Essex is on the left, James Blakeley standing behind Francine Dewhurst, and Will C Pepper standing on the right with his banjo. *The Sketch* (March 1896 p.12), said that

“the entertainment was full of life...there is not one dull moment...and is funny without being vulgar”.

There appears to be a hiatus between leaving the Clifford Essex Pierrots, which Pepper filled by joining with the Pavilion Pierrots for two or three performances, during which he was also performing with a banjo trio, called “The White Coon Banjo Trio”. Nothing more is known of this banjo trio.

Characteristically, Essex mentions Will C Pepper only once by name in his memoirs, as he was particularly scant in his regard for competitors, which Pepper had now become. He says: “The next change that took place was when Will Pepper left, and in his place I engaged Joe Morley” (Essex 1917d). A second reference to Pepper is rather more tangential and refers to the period Essex played in Felixstowe in a marquee which he had erected by the railway station. The Corporation decided that they would own the marquee, to which Essex replied: “Nothing doing. An ex-member of my troupe took on the offer”. (Essex 1917f). The “ex-member” was Will C Pepper, whose name Essex found difficult to remember, and who made Felixstowe one of the “White Coons” regular summer home.

Pepper did not leave sufficient biographical material or writings behind to make anything but a superficial assessment of his character. He appears to have been a family man, and his two surviving sons always spoke very well of him. The Pepper family remained great friends to Morley throughout his life, whereas Essex appeared only to be a business colleague. Like Essex, Pepper was also a Freemason, joining the Putney Lodge in 1904, where he enrolled as a banjoist. The Putney Lodge was his local Lodge, and was not the place to which similar professionals or even socialites might be drawn. He resigned in 1910, but had always paid his fees, unlike Essex who defaulted.

Will C Pepper and his family remained good friends to Joe Morley, and his two sons in particular were responsible, later on his career, for his employment in radio with the Kentucky Banjo Band, and with the revived White Coons concert party.

Will C. Pepper died at Bexhill on Sea, Sussex, in 4th September 1928, and probate was granted to his sons Dick Leaver Pepper (Artist) and Harry Stephen Pepper, (Publisher). His estate was £15,339.17s.1d. His wife, Annie Pepper died 16th January 1941 at The White House, Langford, Somerset, with an estate of £58 18s 10d. The executor was his son Dick Leaver Pepper, (a writer for the BBC).

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The White Coons.

The term White Coons is an expression antithetical to “Nigger Minstrels”. Calvert (2013a, p 108) points out that both blackface and white face performers continued side by side well into the 20th century and although their respective performance patterns were often similar, the obvious distinction between them being that “white coon” troupes did not “black up”, but on the contrary, wore white clothing and no make-up. These troupes owed more to the Pierrot tradition pioneered by Essex than to the more standardised performance practices of for instance, the Moore and Burgess Minstrels and similar troupes, which regularly “blacked up”.

There were several troupes calling themselves “White Coons”. Cousin Freddie’s White Coons were giving performances in Blackpool in 1900 (*Preston Herald* 12th May 1900, p.2) and Fred White’s eponymous troupe of White Coons in Bognor Regis (Pertwee 1979, p 56).

There were many other troupes, both professional and amateur who used the name, and indeed, in August 1910, Will C. Pepper’s White Coons were performing at the Pier Pavilion at Clacton, at the same time that Harry Frewin’s White Coons were appearing at the Jetty Pier in the same resort.

We are concerned here only with the (possibly) most well-known troupe, Will C Pepper’s White Coons.

It has been suggested by Briggs (1995), and elsewhere by Pertwee (1979, p.12 that Pepper formed his White Coons on Mumbles Pier in 1899. No independent evidence has been seen to support Mumbles Pier as the starting point for the White Coons.

In July 1897, Will C Pepper and a troupe calling themselves “The White Coon Banjo Team” was performing at Henley Regatta.

Plenty of amusement is promised visitors this week. Among the attractions will be the "White Coon Banjo Team," which consists of Margaret Foley (contralto), Wallis Arthur, Will. C. Pepper, and Fred Alexander. Of course "Squash" is on the scene.

Sporting Life

13th July 1897, p4

The White Coons were competing with the Essex Pierrots at Henley Regatta, a fact which Essex fails to mention in any of his memoirs of his appearances at Henley. "Squash" was a well-known blackface minstrel who was a constant habitu  of Henley Regatta, (Coleridge 2004, p.217) until ousted by more "refined" Pierrot groups.

The White Coons also began to have a presence in Ireland, especially at Bray, where they appeared regularly in 1897. It would appear that once a week they travelled north to Kingstown (Dun Laoghaire) for a weekly performance

ROYAL MARINE GARDENS,
KINGSTOWN.
—
THE CELEBRATED
WHITE COON
BANJO TEAM.
Mr. WALLIS ARTHUR. | Mr. WILL. C. PEPPER.
Mr. FRED ALLANDALE. | Miss FOLEY.
—
EVERY TUESDAY EVENING,
Commencing at Eight o'clock (weather permitting).
—
ADMISSION 6d.
—
PRESERVATION OF SIGHT.

Freeman's Journal

16th August 1897 p4

There are discussions in the Bray Town Council the following year that "several ladies had not liked the songs, and had to walk away", (Wicklow People 23rd April 1898 p3). However, they were still performing in Bray on the Esplanade in 1899.

By 1901 however, their time at Bray was running into difficulty:

BUSKERS.

Mr Will C Pepper wrote as follows :—“Thank you for yours in which you stated that your council have decided not to allow us to perform on the Esplanade this season. Since your council's decision last Thursday, I have received 63 letters from residents and would-be visitors to Bray, most of them asking where we shall go, as the writers would go there also for their holidays in preference to Bray. I have also offers of ground in Bray to give our performances. I am desirous of doing as your council wish, and am thinking, perhaps, they would allow us to give performances in the morning or afternoon on the Esplanade. I could easily fill up my evenings elsewhere. If your council do not see their way clear to grant this I shall have to decide between a very good offer from a neighbouring township and the offer of the piece of land in Bray.”

Mr Sutton—Let them go to the neighbouring township that wants them—we don't.

Mr Bryan gave notice to rescind the resolution prohibiting performing on the Esplanade.

Mr Lee said some gentlemen spoke to him, and they were very indignant about the action of the council.

Mr Healy—Others are very glad of it. Fully 75 per cent of the people don't want any such noise and rowdyism.

There appears always to have been an element in the Town Council of Bray who disliked or disapproved of the White Coons, and this report of the exchange between Pepper and the Town Council reflects Pepper's exasperation at the situation.

(Wicklow Newsletter, 4th May 1901, p.9)

There is no record of the White Coons either in Mumbles or in Hove in 1899, although they did have a season in Abergele and Tenby in August 1900

The photograph below (which is reproduced by kind permission of Richard Ineson) shows the personnel of the White Coons before Morley joined, and almost certainly before 1909. It shows Will C Pepper in the foreground with his banjo, Ben Lawes and Alf Wood at either side, and the two ladies, Edith Booth and Jessie Jolly. Ben Lawes was the comedian who sang comic songs, and as far as can be seen is not related to Frank Lawes the banjoist and composer.



The first recorded appearance of Morley with the White Coons was in May 1909, at Felixstowe, a favourite venue of the White Coons, and he took the place of Allan Thomas who was temporarily absent. Appearing with him was Rosa Dallow, who had been engaged by Essex to appear with the Pierrots in Jersey in August 1906. She would have met Morley there.

In October 1909, the White Coons made an appearance at the London Pavilion, where both players, Morley and Thomas were joined by Alf Wood who had played with the troupe before Morley joined, together with several other artistes not normally associated with the troupe. After this concert, Ben Lawes left the troupe, and Morley and Thomas became the banjo duet until August 1910, when Allan Thomas left. From this time on, until Morley left the White Coons, he was the only banjo player in the troupe.

The photograph below (reproduced by kind permission of Richard Ineson) shows the White Coons at Clacton. Allan Thomas stands second from the left



Although the title “White Coons” might suggest an affinity with blackface minstrelsy, the troupe was more like a concert party with a comedian who acted as compère and sang comic songs, a lady accompanist who might also sing, and another female singer. The ensemble was rounded off with a banjo duet or solo, and there would be a spot for some banjo virtuoso playing. Unlike the Clifford Essex Pierrots, the number of personnel was usually five or more. The stress was on family entertainment, and advertisements for this type of entertainment would clearly state that the humour is above reproach. (Obviously some lessons had been learned at Bray.) Since outdoor entertainment at the seaside would almost certainly be a mixed family audience, upon whom the troupe would rely for their existence, circumspection was paramount.

White Coons Personnel

Although both the Essex Pierrots and the White Coons had a lot in common, there was surprisingly little interchange of personnel between them (Table 3). Joe Morley and Will C

Pepper himself are the only persons who changed from one to the other, apart from the singer Rosa Dallow, whose engagements with both Essex and Pepper were of short durations.

Joe Morley left Will C Pepper's White Coons in August 1912, for unknown reasons, but it is at least possible that he had already considered and accepted an offer to appear with the Palladium Minstrels. A leader was required for more than 34 banjo players. In addition, Will Pepper's sons Harry S Pepper and Dick L Pepper had been engaged to write some of the music for the new show (Drew 2014).

The White Coons continued to appear, without Morley, until 1914, when they made their final appearances before the Great War at the Kursaal Bexhill (July), and at Southwold August, when Vero Betrie had succeeded Will C Pepper as their manager. By 1925, the troupe had reformed was playing in Sandown, where "thirty-five years ago Will C Pepper made his debut with Clifford Essex" *The Stage* 4th June 1925, p.19. As we have seen above, the reporter is incorrect in saying that Pepper made his debut with Essex in 1890, and it is more likely to be 1893. Will C. Pepper's son Harry S. Pepper was now managing the troupe on behalf of his father.

The company closed their season in Sandown in 1925, and there are no more records of Will C. Pepper's White Coons thereafter.

	31.05.09	19.08.09	31.03.10	02.04.10	19.05.10	21.07.10	28.07.10	30.07.10	04.08.10	11.08.10	14.08.10	25.08.10	08.09.10	22.09.10	06.10.10	22.06.11	13.07.11	07.09.11	28.09.11	12.10.11	11.04.12	01.08.12	
Joe Morley	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ben Lawes	x	x	x	x																			
Allan Thomas			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x											
Rosa Dallow	x		x	x																			
May Windsor	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x		x			x						
Bessie Bowness			x			x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x		x						
Bromley Carter			x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wilfred Stracey					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x								
Lena Copping															x								
Frank Hook																x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Edith Eatherley																x	x	x	x	x			
Florence West																x	x	x	x				
Jessie Jolly																					x	x	
Eileen Morris																					x	x	

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Table 3
 Personnel of the White Coons
 Mayr 1909-August 1912

This is a simplified table showing the dates during which various individuals appeared with the White Coons between 1909-1912.

Palladium Minstrels.

By 1912, black face minstrelsy was on the wane, and as cinemas became more popular as entertainment, so did music halls lose ground (Green, 2007). It was in this uncertain climate that Eustace Gray (1872-1952) collaborated with Charles Gulliver (1882-1961) the owner of The Palladium Theatre to bring to the public a show which was a revival of blackface minstrelsy. Whether the concept was the idea of Eustace Gray or the Peppers who were writing some of the music for the show, is now unknown, but this was a relatively risky venture, which Gulliver and Gray approached with vigour and enthusiasm, coupled with copious advertising at least three months before opening:

MINSTRELSY AT THE PALLADIUM.

A revival of minstrelsy on a large scale in London is promised this Christmas time, and we shall see once more that merry form of entertainment that should never have been allowed to have died out. In former days, a visit to the St. James's Hall or the Mohawk Hall was to the children an event long anticipated and long remembered, and it equally attracted those of maturer age. Of late years there has been no movement on the part of London managers to place before the public any form of minstrel entertainment. It has remained for the Palladium management to make the first step in that direction, and we sincerely hope success will attend their efforts. Mr. Eustace Gray will be the producer of what will be known as the Palladium Minstrels.

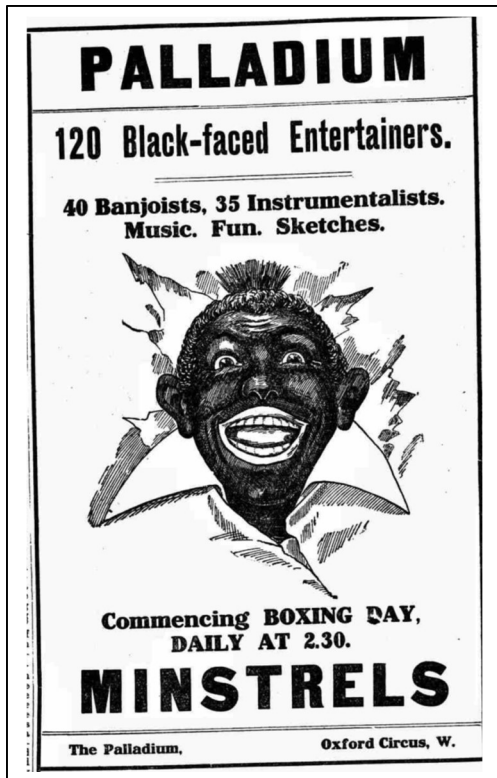
The Globe

23rd Oct 1912, p5

The writer seems to suggest that the public will welcome this revival, and harks back to the Mohawk Minstrels which had been a success in earlier productions of this nature.

The opening date was Boxing Day afternoon December 26th, 1912, presumably to catch the Christmas season audience, but before this there was a

well-staged Charity preview, ostensibly for an audience of “poor children”, but with the Lord Mayor (in state), and several other “important personages” occupying the boxes (*The Stage*



19th December 1912, p17). The cast was to be a staggering 150 strong, with around forty banjo payers, led by Joe Morley (*The Stage* *ibid*), but this may have been optimistic, as this advertisement shows *The Globe*, 20th December, p9).

There was little doubt what sort of entertainment the public might expect, as can be seen from this advertisement, and no doubt to the relief of Gulliver and Gray, and to the cast, the show was a great success. The minstrel cast included great names from the past such as Little Thomas and Uncle

Mack, and the format was essentially the same as previous minstrel shows. The first part was a “walkround” with a compère or Interlocutor introducing and trying to manage a succession of unruly and comedic acts. The second half was the “olio”, which introduced separate acts, (not necessarily strictly of a minstrel nature), and possibly a short comedy drama or sketch.

The Era 2nd April 1913, p6). All the participants, including Joe Morley and the forty banjo players were blacked up. According to oral tradition, Morley is said to have remarked that he had never had to “black up”, but this is almost certainly incorrect.

The banjo players within the troupe who Morley led included several well-known names: Alf Wood, Bert Bassett, Vero Morris and George Morris (Drew 2014 loc 687). They were joined in 1913 by Will Blanche. George Morris, speaking some time later, recalled Jim Bertolle, Bob Thomas, Charles Page, Charles Stainer, Chris Webb, Dave Roberts, George Hewitt, Ted Caselli, Will Mitchell, Alban Booth, John Hawken, Mr. Cole, Dick Spence, Bert Goodall,

Horace Wencker, Mr. Turmean, Charles Read, H. Strickland, Ted George, Jimmy Wells, Horace Somerton, Ernie Colgate, and J.B. Crocker O'Brien (Drew 2014; Ineson and Peabody, 2017). Drew (2014) also adds the name of Mr. Tempus, and points out that Little Thomas the corner man also played the banjo as well as the bones. The banjo had been a popular instrument for at least two decades, and Eustace Gray would have had little difficulty in assembling such a relatively large banjo orchestra including capable orchestral banjo players. It is unlikely that such a large banjo orchestra had ever been assembled before from professional players, and to repeat this feat today would be well-nigh impossible. Whilst it is true that amateur banjo bands such as the Aston Banjo Band may have summoned 20 or so banjoists, these were essentially amateur players.

Gray's venture was successful, and he made two companies, one a touring company, and the other based at the Palladium, but also touring around the London area. To achieve one company of such massive numbers was probably not too difficult, but to assemble two such companies must have stretched the availability of good banjo players to the limit.

Morley operated in both companies, performing with the resident Palladium company in the Palladium in December 1912, and performing in Liverpool, Newcastle, Glasgow and finally Manchester in the Spring of 1914 with the touring company

By this time however, the tide was again turning. A poster from the final series of concerts in Manchester gives an indication.



The Palladium Minstrels were no longer the sole attraction. They shared the bill at the New Palace Theatre Manchester with a revue, "Come Inside", with an added attraction of Beth Tate the "California Girl". The taste of the paying public was changing again, and black faced minstrelsy was again becoming passé.

(Manchester Courier

28th February 1914, p11)

This was to be the last engagement of the touring company, and the London company closed at about the same time. A short time later the Palladium Minstrels Ltd was wound up:

The Companies Acts, 1908 and 1913
The PALLADIUM MINSTRELS Limited.
Passed 12th May, 1914.
Confirmed 27th May, 1914.

London Gazette
5th June 1914, p4493

AT an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Members of the above named Company, duly convened, and held at 88, Edgware-road, London, W, on the 12th day of May, 1914, the following Special Resolutions were duly passed; and at a subsequent Extraordinary General Meeting of the Members of the said Company, also duly convened, and held at the same place, on the 27th day of May, 1914, the following Special Resolutions were duly confirmed:—

- 1 "That the Palladium Minstrels Limited be wound up voluntarily"
2. "That Mr. Frederick Blomfield, of 75, Great Titchfield-street, in the county of London, be and is hereby appointed the Liquidator to conduct the winding-up."

028

EUSTACE GRAY, Chairman.



It could be argued that the Palladium Minstrels represent the apogee of the banjo in the world of entertainment. Certainly there had been nothing quite like it before for the numbers of banjo players assembled in one place, and it is unlikely to happen again. It provided an unparalleled platform for Joe Morley to exhibit his virtuosity, along with other banjo players with him, such as Will Blanche, Alf Wood and George Morris.

The impending outbreak of the Great War probably did not have a great influence on Gray's decision to end his venture, and a more likely incentive was a fall in audience numbers. War was not declared until July 1914, and in any case, the theatre scene continued both in London and the provinces, albeit with an ever-increasing number of performers being called up to serve in the armed forces. The taste for blackface minstrelsy was waning, and Gray's venture was coming to an end.

What is certain is that the world was about to change for ever, and the small part of it concerned with the banjo would change with it, and would not be the same again.

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The War Years 1914-1918.

This is a period of Morley's life about which almost nothing has been known. After the closure of the Palladium Minstrels in February 1914, Morley's regular work seems to have dried up.

He appeared at the end of April 1914 at the Shepherd's Bush Club in Godolphin Road, probably at the request of a cousin, Harry Morley, who was the Chairman. "Joe Morley, no doubt the star of the evening, roused everyone by the skilful performance of selections of his own compositions, (*West London Observer*, 1st May 1914, p12).

Almost a year elapses before Morley's next recorded appearance, at a concert for the Royal Bucks Hussars (Reserve Regiment) in the Town Hall at Buckingham in January 1915. His fame as a banjo player remains undiminished: "And there was no mistaking the admiration elicited in the magnificent banjo solos by Mr Joe Morley. He is too well known and appreciated at the London Musical Halls for any words to do him justice. He simply enchanted the crowded audience, whose deafening applause demanded response. It may be too much to expect another visit to Buckingham of such a talented performer." (*Buckingham Advertiser* 30th January 1915, p8). This concert probably represents the type of performance Morley would give. He played two pieces in each half of the programme, all of them his own composition. Morley's concerts were probably now being focussed on the military, and since most of these would be in camp or behind locked gates, little might be expected to be documented or recorded.

A month later, Morley is again entertaining the troops at a concert sponsored by the piano manufacturers John Broadwood, of London. This was at the YMCA rooms in Diss, and it might be mere coincidence that this is less than 30 miles from his paternal family's home area of Mildenhall. Again, Morley played a selection of his own compositions, "the hall being

crowded to its utmost capacity with military men, many being unable to gain admission”.
(*Diss Express* 12th February 1915, p4).

This concert at Diss is noteworthy for the presence in the cast of Alfred Hurley, an Irish singer of comic songs. This association with Hurley was to bear fruit later.

Fletcher (1936), in an interview with Morley when he was 69 years old, elicited several reminiscences of his war time experiences. Morley said that he toured Ireland during the war with the Jesters, managed by Alfred Hurley, but there is no trace of this in the records. It is possible that either Morley or Fletcher conflated a later tour with Hurley’s Jesters with his wartime visits to Ireland. He also mentions being in a drifter crossing Bantry Bay to play on an American ship in Berehaven. He wryly remarks that “they wanted us to stay on. We couldn’t, or I might have gone down on the Leinster” (ibid). The RMS Leinster was torpedoed by UB 123 on the 18th October 1918. 500 people were lost.

Morley is also credited with playing for the troops both in Ireland and on Salisbury plain during the war (Brewer 1955), and after the Armistice, travelling to France and Germany for the same purpose. He also played for American troops in Coblenz (ibid).

The two photographs below, (courtesy of Richard Ineson) are of Morley on Salisbury Plain in about 1916. Morley had been accompanied by his friend and colleague Alf Woods, and banjo legend has it that Morley is looking tired because Woods had kept him up all night playing duets.

The war years are hidden years for the most part where Morley is concerned, but it would appear that he was kept busy entertaining troops, for which one assumes there was some form of emolument, otherwise it is difficult to see how he survived during this period. It is possible that he had toured Ireland with The Jesters, and it is likely that he maintained at least

some teaching. There has never been any suggestion that Morley was employed in any non-banjo related work at any time during his life

As the upper photograph below shows, Morley was intent on keeping up appearances. He is wearing a dinner jacket and white bow tie, troops or not.

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These photographs of Morley on Salisbury Plain, at one of his concerts entertaining troops have been supplied by Richard Ineson.)

Royal Jesters

After the war, and for all of the 1920s, Morley was engaged for several private engagements. The exception was a season with a revue company, “The Royal Jesters”. This was a troupe organised by Alfred Hurley and not by Alec Hurley as Brewer (1955) claims. This error has persisted into other publications, (Fletcher 1936, Brewer 1955) but whilst Alec Hurley was relatively well known (if only as the husband of Marie Lloyd), he died in 1913, and Alfred Hurley is scarcely known today. Details of his life are scanty.

Alfred Hurley was born in 1874 in Killaloe, Co. Clare, and appeared on the same bill as Marie Lloyd at a Music Hall benevolent Fund concert in 1891 (*The Era* 17th January 1891 p16). It appears to be coincidence that he and Marie Lloyd appeared together, and Alfred and Alec Hurley are not related.

In 1909, Alfred Hurley had joined the Playgoer’s Lodge of the Freemasons, and stated himself to be a comedian, but by 1911 he was a “Vocal Humourist”.

In 1916, Alfred Hurley formed a troupe he called “The Royal Jesters” although there were other troupes with the same name, and Hurley’s made their first appearance in the City Hall at Salisbury, where, it seems, Hurley lived.

As has been stated above, it is possible at least that Morley toured with “The Royal Jesters” during the war (Fletcher 1936), but there are no records of either Morley or The Jesters doing so. Morley already knew Hurley from the Broadwood concert in Diss in 1915.

In 1921 Hurley gathered a cast for a short tour of Northern Ireland. Joe Morley headed the bill as “the famous banjoist from the London Palladium”, (*Belfast News-Letter* Feb 12th, 1921, p6) with Doris Palmer (soubrette), Jackson Potter (baritone, Queen’s Hall London), Jessie Mountjoy (songs at the piano) and Alfred Hurley himself (entertainer).

CARLTON.
EXCLUSIVE ENGAGEMENT OF THE
ROYAL JESTERS,
 Under the direction of Mr. ALFRED HURLEY,
 At 8 o'clock p.m. DURING THIS WEEK
A R T I S T E S :
 Mr. JOE MORLEY, the Famous Banjoist, from
 the London Palladium.
 Miss DORIS PALMER, Soubrette.
 Mr. JACKSON POTTER, Baritone, Queen's Hall,
 London.
 Miss JESSIE MOUNTJOY, Songs at Piano.
 Mr. ALFRED HURLEY, Entertainer.
 A SPECIAL DINNER will be SERVED in the
 RESTAURANT (for which Tables may be Re-
 served) during the appearance of these Artists.
 Change of Programme Thursday Evening.
 The ROYAL JESTERS are available after the
 19th inst. for At Homes, Concerts, Banquets, &c.,
 &c. For vacant dates and terms apply Mr.
 HURLEY, at the CARLTON, or Messrs.
 PHILLIPS, Beethoven House.

Belfast News Letter
 17th February 1921, p1

Doris Palmer and Jackson Potter had also appeared together recently, with May Windsor, who had been with Morley with Pepper's White Coons. This troupe appeared at the Belfast Carlton for a week, but had appeared the week before that in Carrickfergus, and had previously been entertaining the troops in Northern Ireland.

Hurley had hit upon a novel entertainment. Because of unrest in Belfast, there was a curfew, which meant that theatres were severely hit. He had the idea of an entertainment beginning at 6.00pm the Carlton Restaurant, and it was apparently a great success.

The next appearance of the Royal Jesters was in August 1921 at the Esplanade Pavilion, Swanage, which was a theatre owned by Alfred Hurley. Although the cast still included Joe Morley and Alfred Hurley, the production was in the hands of Billy Bray, a comedian. Vera Moore (soprano), Jack Kildare (baritone), Florence Driver (pianist and entertainer), and Amy Saunders (comedienne), completed the troupe.

For some reason Hurley jettisoned the name "Royal Jesters", and during June 1922 was touring Salisbury Plain, entertaining troops, including the 12th Lancers when Earl Haig

“personally complimented Mr. Hurley upon the work of his company” (*The Stage* June 29th, 1922 p.6). No doubt these engagements were a continuation of Morley’s War work during 1914-1918, building on contacts made with the military. It is possible that Morley’s experience here was the basis for the engagement of Hurley’s troupe, although Hurley himself may have had influence with the military from his own experiences during the war. By July 27th, 1922 however, Hurley was advertising for work for his troupe, which was the usual thing to do when engagements were needed, but after this, no more is heard of the Royal Jesters, and Morley enters a period of uncertain engagements.

It is perhaps a sign of the times that “England’s premier banjo soloist” is looking for work.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MR. ALFRED HURLEY,
 Of interest only to the highest class
 Managements, Proprietors or Agents.
 The following unique combination of First-
 class Performers available next Monday,
 July 31, and odd weeks August and Sept. :—
Mr. JOE MORLEY,
 England's Premier Banjo Soloist.
Mr. FRED CURTIS,
 Entertainer. In selections from his
 famous original repertoire.
Miss JENNY WYNNE,
 Contralto.
Mr. ARTHUR ACKERMAN,
 Baritone.
Mr. ALFRED HURLEY,
 Raconteur and Humorist.
Mr. RALPH STANTON,
 At the Piano. And
ACKERMAN & WYNNE,
 In their delightful Old English Songs
 and Folk-lore Duets as given by them at
 London Coliseum.
 The names and reputations of the above artists
 guarantee that their programme cannot be sur-
 passed by any Party touring.
 Write or wire: ALFRED HURLEY, till Friday
 Black Bear Hotel, Wareham; Saturday on
 63, St. Mark's Road, Salisbury.

The Stage
 July 27th, 1922, p4

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The Lean Years.

There is a tradition that Morley spent some time in Salisbury after the war, and this is supported by the presence of Alfred Hurley in Salisbury, and by Morley's first recorded engagement after the Royal Jesters folded:

WILTS COMBINE FLYING CLUB.
Distribution of Awards.
The Value of Pigeons in War.
The annual dinner and distribution of prizes in connection with the Wilts Combine Flying Club was held at the Headquarters, The New Inn, Trowbridge, on Saturday, Lieut.-Col. Osman, of London, who during the war instituted and was responsible for the Army pigeon service, presided, and was supported by Mr. J. M. McMahon, of Salisbury (vice-president); Mr. L. Richards, of Trowbridge (vice-chairman); Mr. J.

Wiltshire Times

December 2nd, 1922,

This is not, as it may seem, an aviation club, but rather the local pigeon fanciers and racing club, meeting at a public house in Trowbridge. It signifies a return to smaller concerts by Morley after several years of larger affairs with the Royal Pierrots, the White Coons, and latterly the Royal Jesters.

A high-class musical programme had been arranged by the Secretary, and Mr. McMahon. Mr. Charlie Rudman, Bradford, was the pianist, and songs were rendered by Mr. Edgar Dyson, baritone, Salisbury Cathedral, Mr. A. J. Luxton, Salisbury; Messrs. E. A. Eades, Hobbs, and White. Professor Joe Morley, banjoist, from the Palladium, London, delighted the company with his selections, Mr. J. A. Tormey, Bradford, told many stories, and Mr. Alf. Matthews, the Salisbury character comedian, caused roars of laughter with his Wiltshire dialect monologues and his exposition of ventriloquism with "Charley."

Morley is referred to here as "Professor" Joe Morley, and is a strong indication that he is known primarily as a music teacher, although he is credited with being "from the Palladium".

"Between this concert in Trowbridge in December 1922 and a concert for John Alvey Turner in Wigmore Hall, London in November 1931, Morley was being engaged for only 14

concerts. Two of these were charity concerts for which there might have been no fee, (the Wounded Fund concert October 1927, and the Concert Artistes concert April 1929). Three were for banjo Clubs where the fee, if any, would not have been particularly substantial, (Ladbroke banjo orchestra December 1923, and two for the Aston Banjo Club in May 1926 and May 1930). Only about eight of these fourteen concerts hold out any prospect of an appreciable fee.

By 1923, Morley appears to have moved back to London, where, presumably, he resumed teaching. Although the heyday of the banjo was over, in that it was not particularly fashionable to either play or listen to the banjo, there was still a considerable amateur market. Morley would have had considerable potential as a teacher. Talented players also required music to play, and Morley supplied it through his publishers.

As a consequence, there emerged a new market for Morley's talents, if only by proxy. The wireless in the form of 2LO had begun broadcasting in 1922, and banjo players were called upon to broadcast. When they did, they often played Morley's music:

24 th July 1923	George Hewson	Camptown Carnival
15 th December 1923	George Hewson	Mountaineer's March
19 th January 1924	Amboyna Banjo Quartet	Merry and Bright
3 rd May 1924	R Tarrant Bailey	Georgian Medley
“	“	Minuet
“	“	Zarana
27 th June 1924	George Hewson	Darktown Dandies
4 th July 1924	George Hewson	Niggertown
12 th September 1924	George Hewson	Darkie's Chuckle
26 th November 1924	Amboyna Banjo Quartet	Zarana

30 th December 1924	Amboyna Banjo Quartet	Corn Cob
		Donkey Laugh
5 th January 1925	George Hewson	Banjo Oddity
		Niggertown
		Piece Characteristique

George Hewson has been lost to the banjo world, and nothing is known about him. The Amboyna Banjo Quartette was made up from W.D.Lennard, Percy Newell, Stanley Paull and Fred F Miller.

It is not known whether Morley was paid a fee for his music, or whether any such fee was paid to the publisher instead, who probably owned the copyright. Morley himself made his first radio appearance on the 14th October 1927, at the age of 60, in a concert with the well-known mandolinist Mario de Pietro, together with fellow banjoist Sidney Turner, who had replaced Morley in the Essex Pierrot troupe. This was a 30-minute concert, and there is no record of the music they played.

During the period between 1924 and 1932, Morley played at four of John Alvey Turner's concerts. Turner was one of Morley's publishers, and Morley's participation would have been mutually beneficial. These concerts were a showcase for well-known banjo players, and Morley shared the bill with Bernard Sheaff, Alfred Cammeyer, George Morris and Edward Fairs. The Turner concert of October 1924 was organised by the Sydney Larkin, who is another shadowy figure, about whom little is known.

Another radio concert followed in May 1928, this time by himself, and we can see the beginnings of fresh openings for Morley in this relatively new medium of mass entertainment.

In 1930, Essex began a “shilling fund” to raise money for Morley, sending out 1000 cards to prospective donors. Only 200 were returned. Essex responded by writing an article entitled “Poor Old Joe” (Essex, 1932a). This well-meaning but most unfortunate article included such phrases as “we cannot let a man like Morley starve or go into the workhouse”. Essex explains that Morley (a) has few public appearances, (b) many of his compositions remain unpublished, and (c) very few pupils for lessons. A month later Essex publishes the result of the appeal (Essex 1932b), which amassed the sum of £21.14s.5d., meagre by today’s reckoning but worth about £1000 in 1932. 61 recipients of Essex’s appeal are listed, of which 11 gave the minimum shilling, whilst 5 more generous donors gave a guinea. The largest contribution came from the Lewisham Banjo Band, with £2.15s.0d.

This humiliating episode is a graphic insight into the poverty into which Morley had sunk. Although his friend Bernard Sheaff must have been aware of Morley’s precarious financial position, he said that “*he never appeared down at heel. Whenever his inevitable navy-blue suits acquired a shine, they were always carefully brushed and pressed*” Sheaff (1948).

However, Morley was possessed of a stubborn streak, and resisted any temptation to adopt a plectrum to play in Essex’s dance band. In 1913, he said “Cliff, if I hadn’t soles to my shoes I would not put a pick to a banjo” (Essex 1937). He also declined to write compositions for the growing numbers of plectrum players (Sheaff 1948). Such obstinacy cost him dear, and removed him from another source of income. For instance, Emil Grimshaw, one of Morley’s contemporaries in finger style banjo playing, ran a successful dance band playing the banjo with a plectrum, and also wrote music for this growing section of banjo players. Morley’s refusal to do so placed an extra burden on his already strained income.

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The Wireless Years.

During this lean time for banjo players, and when Morley was in his mid-60s, the wireless came to the fore in Morley's professional life. 2LO had come into being in 1922, and the first wireless transmissions were limited in both time and quality. By 1927, the BBC had been formed, and regular wireless transmissions of higher quality were being broadcast. Morley's first radio broadcast was in October 1927, and a second in May 1928.

White Coons revived

In 1932 Harry S. Pepper, the son of Will C Pepper, reformed the White Coons as a Radio concert party, and invited Morley to join him as the banjo player in this new troupe. In outline, it was a development of the seaside concert party. Elsie and Doris Waters, who had appeared in Will C Pepper's original White Coons, also starred in the first concert of the revived version in August 1932. Later, Stanley Holloway, Fred Emney and Tommy Handley supplied the comedic personae, whilst C Denier Warren, an experienced American actor performed as both compère and foil to the comedian. The format did not adhere to the minstrel format in any strict sense (Pickering 2008), but did offer the same pattern of banter, songs and comic monologues. In this sense at least, the White Coons shared an affinity with black face minstrel troupes, but without any overt any reference to either blackface or "nigger" songs. It was in essence, a Concert party, but on the radio, and consequently restricted to the aural senses.

Stalwarts of this troupe, apart from Morley, were the soprano Wynne Ajello, the baritone Paul England, and the actress Jane Carr (Table 4). Doris Arnold was the pianist throughout its run

Morley made 35 transmissions of the White Coons from its inception in 1932, until his last performance with them in March 1937, the year of his death, although the concerts were repeated over the various regional programmes.

	13.08.32	12.09.32	27.09.32	19.05.33	01.06.33	20.05.33	01.06.33	21.06.33	04.09.34.	03.10.34	11.05.35	11.06.35	22.06.35	06.07.35	30.05.36	17.06.36	29.06.36	15.07.36	01.10.36	28.10.36	05.11.36	03.12.36	13.01.37	11.02.37	11.03.37	09.11.37	17.01.37	04.01.38	
Joe Morley	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Wynne Ajello	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Paul England	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Elsie & Doris Waters	X																												
Reg Morphew	X	X																											
C Denier Warren	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Jane Carr	X	X	X								X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Doris Arnold	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Harry S Pepper	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Anona Winn		X																											
Stanley Holloway			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								X										
Dorothy Gadsden			X																										
Eve Becke				X	X	X	X	X	X	X																			
Nellie Sargent				X		X																							
Dudley Rolph									X	X																			
Tommy Handley											X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Leslie Henson															X		X												
Fred Emney															X		X												
Coram and Jerry																X													
Janet Lind																		X											
Patrick Waddington																			X										

Table 4
Personnel of White Coons revived

This is a simplified table showing the dates during which various individuals appeared with the White Coons revived between 1932-1938.

On Morley's death in September 1937 the White Coons continued without a banjo player

Kentucky Minstrels and Banjo Team

In 1933, at the same time as the successful shows of White Coons were running, Harry Pepper and Doris Arnold, (who Pepper married in 1943) conceived the idea of a revival of the blackface or "nigger" Minstrel show. Pickering (1996, p161) said that only Pepper and Arnold had any great faith in the success of the Kentucky Minstrels, but the show proved very popular.

Kentucky Minstrels was an openly blackface troupe, but with the obvious drawback of radio rather than a visual medium. The radio performers could not be seen, but might be visualised by the listener. The format was very similar to the White Coons, but had a slightly more formalised structure. Black American performers were engaged, which helped to set the authentic "Minstrel" scene. The singer Ike Hatch, and the comedians Scott and Whaley became the staple performers. Scott and Whaley also appeared at the seaside, where Scott, a lugubrious clown wore distinctive white lipped minstrel make-up, and were well known as such. Transferring this image to a non-visual radio medium was therefore, less of a problem (Pickering 2011). The first singer was Aubrey Pankey, now little known, but who was a classically trained black lieder singer who emigrated to East Germany. The Kentucky Minstrels and a black lieder singer do not, at first glance, seem suited to each other, but Pankey's only appearances in the British Press are with the Kentucky Minstrels. The 1930s may have been more relaxed with a Black American in a Minstrel show than as a lieder singer.

Although the ethnicity of the black performers could not be seen on the radio, advertising material from the Radio Times during this period shows them clearly.

C. Denier Warren took the role of Mr Interlocutor, and in this way at least, the connections between the Kentucky Minstrels and the White Coons become apparent, with Warren competing both shows.

The Kentucky Minstrels differed from the White Coons in offering a banjo trio, originally Joe Morley, Tarrant Bailey Jnr, and Dick Pepper (Table 5). The latter played throughout the life of the Kentucky Minstrels, and because banjo playing was an inherent part of the blackface “ethos”, the trio was kept up.

Tarrant Bailey Jnr stepped down in November 1935, and his place was taken by Edward Fairs. When Morley stepped down in February 1937, his place was taken by Bernard Sheaff

The personnel of the Kentucky Minstrels was quite stable in its constitution. Percy Parsons, an American actor, and Wally Wallond, music arranger, completed the cast. One thing which certainly separates the cast of The White Coons and the Kentucky Minstrels, is the lack of any female cast member in the latter. Judging by a sample script, the humour is slightly more raw (without being coarse):

Cuthbert: Say, Puss, I’ve always been meaning to ask you. What is your family name?

Pussyfoot: E. Pussyfoot Print

Cuthbert: That’s an unusual name!

Pussyfoot: My father’s name was Print, my mother’s name was Paper; they went to press and I was the first edition. (Pickering 1996)

Conforming to tradition, Denier Warren’s stump speech was quite likely to include misogynistic humour.

Morley completed 19 shows with the Kentucky Minstrels between January 1933, and when he stepped down in February 1937, as with the White Coons, these shows continued to be broadcast at different time on Regional programmes. In addition, Morley also took part in two televised performances of the White Coons, in January and March of 1937.

Morley’s last known performance was with the White Coons on the 12th March 1937

	06.01.1933	05.05.1933	22.12.1933	23.01.1934	16.04.1934	24.06.1934	15.10.1934	30.10.1934	26.12.1934	23.10.1935	19.11.1935	26.12.1935	24.01.36	14.02.1936	30.10.1936	27.11.1936	21.12.1936	29.01.1937	26.02.1937	30.10.1937	
Joe Morley	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Bernard Sheaff																					X
Tarrant Bailey Jr	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X										
Edward Fairs												X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dick Pepper	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
C Denier Warren	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roland Smith	X																				
Scott & Whaley	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Percy Parsons	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
Edward Pierce															X	X	X				
Robert Burns																		X	X		
James Carew																					X
Aubrey Pankey		X	X	X	X	X															
Wally Wallond						X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ike Hatch							X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

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Table 5
 Personnel of the Kentucky Minstrels
 1933-37

This is a simplified table showing the dates during which various individuals appeared with the Kentucky Minstrels between 1933 and 1937

The End

Morley had apparently been feeling unwell for a time, (*Nottingham Journal*, 17th September 1937, p.7) and Harry Pepper had cared for him at his (Pepper's) home on the Thames.

Morley had been a cigarette smoker for almost all his life, smoking a thick shag tobacco.

He was admitted to Lambeth Hospital in September 1937, and during an exploratory operation on his throat, died there on the 17th September. His death was certified as being from carcinoma of the larynx, and his nephew James H Morley is stated as being the informant on the death certificate.

His occupation says simply "a banjoist".

It might be supposed that "trade" journals such as *The Stage* or *The Era* might have featured an obituary, especially as Morley had been in the public eye for almost 50 years, and had achieved recent acclaim on the wireless and television. No such obituary notices were published. Several provincial newspapers announced his death:

JOE MORLEY DIES AT 76

Joe Morley, the music-hall, radio, and television banjoist, died in a London hospital yesterday, aged 76.

He was in Harry S. Pepper's "The Kentucky Minstrels" and many other B.B.C. shows.

MR JOE MORLEY, the banjoist, who appeared in a number of concert parties, including Harry S. Pepper's "Kentucky Minstrels," died in London yesterday, aged 69. He had been ill for some time.

The Portsmouth Evening News, 17th September 1937, along with the Western Morning Post, and the Sheffield Daily Independent gave his age as 76, whilst the Scotsman gave his correct age of 69.

The Nottingham Evening Post and the Yorkshire Post were equally as brief, but gave no age.

The most comprehensive obituary published at the time of his death was written by Emil Grimshaw (1937), who knew him well. Grimshaw was a banjo player who had made the successful transition to plectrum playing and dance bands, as well as being a successful

composer and publisher. Grimshaw (ibid) said “[he was quiet, unassuming and inoffensive, he had his own definite ideas about the banjo and how it should be played, and he saw no good reason why he should change or endeavour to improve his early methods.” This is a clear reference to Morley’s stubborn refusal to adapt to modern trends to banjo in the dance hall rather than as a strictly solo instrument. Grimshaw goes on to say, “plectrum playing, to Joe, was a desecration, and although he made frequent appearances before a big public, few of who were banjoists, he would insist on playing only his own compositions, many of them unpublished manuscripts” (ibid). Although Morley had certainly played a wider repertoire with the Clifford Essex Pierrots and the White Coons, this is true when it came to his solo performances. By playing unpublished compositions, Morley’s publishers were unable to sell the piece he had just played to banjo players who might want to play it..

Morley was buried in an unmarked grave in Streatham cemetery, which remained unmarked, until 2001, when in a final postscript to the unfortunate “Poor Old Joe” subscription of Clifford Essex in 1932, members of the International Banjo Circle led by Pat Doyle, and other banjo players throughout the world, subscribed to provide a suitable headstone for this remarkable but unassuming man.

Morley’s reputation as a player is largely based on the opinions of others who heard him, as he left very few recordings. His music however, is played wherever banjoists meet. It would be rare indeed, at any banjo concert if some piece by Morley was not heard.

The heyday of the banjo player has long gone, but Morley’s music remains both as a gift to the future, and as a testament to times past.



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Publishers.

Morley was a prolific composer of banjo music, which coincided with a market hungry for music which could be played by and listened to by professional and amateur players alike. It is natural that Clifford Essex should be the first to promote (and to sell) Morley's music, but other established publishers, particularly John Alvey Turner considered the potential commercial value of Morley as a composer.

It is not known how Morley was paid. He may have been paid a flat fee for each piece accepted for publication, and that royalties were not part of the agreement.

The cost of the published work to the consumer was not negligible. A copy of A Banjo Diversion published by John Alvey Turner in 1925 sold for 2/6d, a sum approaching £10.00 at 2017 prices (http://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html#calculator). A Banjo Diversion was, and still is, a very popular banjo piece, and would have sold many copies. However, Morley needed to sell his work, and publishers must take both the risk and the profits. Morley, was not a hard-headed businessman, whereas his publishers certainly were.

Chappell & Co

Chappell and Co were a long-established music publishing company, now part of the Warner entertainment group. They published Beethoven, Gilbert and Sullivan and Gounod, amongst many other well-known classical composers. It seems an aberration therefore that they published an arrangement by Morley of Arthur Pryor's A Whistler and his Dog, from their premises at 58 New Bond Street. This is the sole production of Morley's work by Chappell and Co.

John Eastwood Dallas

He was born in 1857 in Preston to George Dallas (a coachman) and Ann Eastwood. He married Mary Ann Coford in 1889. In 1873 he had moved to London and began making banjos there with J E Brewster.

Between 1914 and 1926, the firm operated from 202 High Holborn, and it is here that Dallas Artistic Banjo published three titles by Morley, DAB 383-385, Radio Jig, Popcorn and Pimpernel respectively. The firm also published in its banjo magazine an arrangement by Dave Thomas of Pongo's Parade. It is possible that Dallas was testing the water with regard to the banjo music market, but presumably thought better of it.

He died 21st June 1921 at 52 Verdant Lane, leaving an estate of £5111 7s 4d.

1871	23 Whitefield Terrace Court, Everton	
1890	8, Princes St., Lambeth	Instrument maker
1891	8, Princes St., Lambeth	Instrument maker
1893	57, Denmark Rd., SE	
1898	63, Warner St	
1901	63, Warner Rd. Camberwell	Music publisher etc
1911	52, Verdant Lane, Lewisham	Musical instrument maker
1914	52, Verdant Lane, Catford	Musical instrument manufacturer
1921	52, Verdant Lane, Hither Green, Kent	

Premises

1893	419, Strand
1898	415, Strand
1914	202, High Holborn
1926	6-10 Betterton St., Covent Garden
1937	Ridgemount St
1947	Clifton St, EC2

Clifford Essex

As might be assumed, he was a significant publisher of Morley's works from the very beginning. After the dissolution of the Essex and Cammeyer partnership, seven pieces were published in 1900 ostensibly by Morley himself from Morley's home address at Burnthwaite Road.

Slip along Polka

Ragtime Jubilee

Fun in the Cottonfields

Celebrated Grafton Parade

Coon's Picnic

La Plus Belle Polka

Spread £Eagle March

It is unknown why this ploy was necessary, but it may have something to do with copyright. (Ineson, n.d).

Essex published over 40 of Morley's works (not including those published in partnership with Cammeyer. Most of the pieces were published at 15a Grafton Street, but some were published at 90 Shaftesbury Avenue, and some were published or reissued from 8 New Compton Street after Morley's death.

1900 15a Grafton St

1936 -90 Shaftesbury Ave

1942 8 New Compton St

1957 20 Earlham St

Essex & Cammeyer

Essex and Cammeyer published 33 of Morley banjo pieces, and were the first to do so.

Violet Mazurka (E&C 21) is the earliest numbered work, and was published in 1896, shortly

after Morley had joined the Essex Pierrots. Festival Dance (E&C 153) was the last numbered, published in 1896.

1893 59 Piccadilly

1896 13 Greek St, Soho Workshop

Sydney Larking

Sydney Larking is scarcely known. In October 1924 he organised the John Alvey Turner Concert, in which Morley, Sheaff and Cammeyer played. It is possible that Larking was on the John Alvey Turner staff at this time. He set up business as a music publisher, which lasted only during 1927-1928. He published just two pieces, one by Morley, Banjo Revel (LBB1) and Jan Wien's Marche Vivacité, (LBB2). LBB presumably stands for Larking Banjo Budget., as TBB stands for Turner's Banjo Budget. He disappears from the music publishing scene after 1928.

1927 18 Berners St, W1 Music Publisher

1928 18 Berners St, W1 Music Publisher

John Alvey Turner I

John Alvey Turner established a music publishing firm in London at 19, Poultry in 1845. When he died in 1862, he passed it on to his son.

John Alvey Turner II

His eldest son John Frank Turner was born on the 17th August 1845 at 19 Poultry. He married Sarah Anne Wall in 1875. In 1871 he called himself John F Turner in the census, but in 1881, he called himself John A Turner. He died in 1901 in Islington leaving estate of £7390 0s 6d to his wife Sarah Anne Turner. At his death he is described as a musical instrument maker

and music publisher of 37 and 39 Oxford Street, and of 40 Whitfield St. He died at 18 Highbury New Park

1871 11 Almorah Rd, Islington Music setter

1881 7 Cloudesley Sq, Islington

Sarah Anne Turner

1911 92, Carleton Rd, Tufnell Park Music publisher

Sarah Turner's niece Lily Elizabeth Wall, married Edward Butler, and their grandson Max Allen Lionel Butler was the last family member to run the family firm of John Alvey Turner.

1911 425, Holloway Rd, N

Edward George Butler 1881 Music publisher

Lily Elizabeth Butler (nee Wall) 1886

Max Allen Lionel Butler 1910

Premises

These dates are taken from London Electoral Rolls. The premises at 39 Oxford St and 33 Bishopsgate ran concurrently.

C1851 19 Poultry

1889 33 Bishopsgate

1907 Keynotes founded

1894 39 Oxford St

1926 68 New Oxford St

1934 28 Store St

John Alvey Turner began publishing Morley in about 1898, when he published Ashantee March (TBB 400) and continued to do so until Desert Trail (TBB 902) in 1933 from 68 New Oxford St. Some pieces published from 28 Store St were very likely reissued editions. It is a feature of the TBB catalogue that several pieces were advertised, and given a TBB number, but were not apparently published:

TBB 815	Titania
TBB 820	Rustic Belle
TBB 823	Popinjay Polka
TBB 824	Ambrosia Waltz
TBB 830	Electra Polka
TBB 835	Lady Vanity
TBB 844	Savannah
TBB 845	Banjohemia

It is possible that Turner received several manuscripts which remained unpublished, (for whatever reason). It is equally possible that these pieces were commissioned from Morley but never produced.

Turner also published Morley's Banjo Tutor in 1929, long after many other banjo tutors had appeared and been successful, (S S Stewart 1887, Ellis 1898, Parke Hunter 1903).

Turner's was a major publisher of banjo music, and it is perhaps inevitable that it was a major publisher of Morley's music, publishing over 70 of Morley's works.

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The Music

There has been no comprehensive examination of Morley's compositional output and Table 6 is the first to be released. A more detailed treatment is to be found in the Catalogue at Appendix 2. This thesis has identified 250 pieces of both published and unpublished works. It is likely that this is not an exhaustive list. For instance, a private collector affirmed the presence of an unpublished Tango, which has not been examined. Until this piece has been seen, it cannot be verified as a previously unknown piece, or whether it might already have an existence under another name. They may be other unpublished manuscripts as yet unknown. Of the 250 pieces so far identified a few are nearly identical but with different names, e.g. Kentucky Jubilee, and Pepper and Salt, and similarly with American Jig and Popcorn, Aviator's Parade and Blackbird, and Czardas and Bolero.

Dating Morley's compositions is fraught with difficulty and a provisional dating scheme is outlined in the Catalogue at Appendix 2. Several sources and methods have been pooled, including publishing dates on the score, names of horses, and discography. Dating pieces by the names of horses which were running during Morley's life, and which might have caught his eye as a horse racing man, provides only an indication of date. On some scores in general circulation, there are handwritten notes by an editor of BMG, Joseph MacNaghten which indicate a publishing date. Some pieces reflect an identifiable historical date.

There is no doubt that Morley was a prolific composer, and is known to have performed his own music when he was playing with the Royal Osborne Minstrels, years before he met Essex, who opened the possibility of publishing. Some of Morley's earliest pieces reflect his pre-Essex days, namely Shanklin Schottische, Sandown Schottische, Cowes Schottische, Royal Osborne Gavotte and Colwyn Bay Polka, when he was performing with the Royal Osbornes. The last was not published by John Alvey Turner until 1898, and it is at least possible that several years elapsed between composition and publishing.

Ad Astra	Canadian's Parade	Favourite Waltz
	Cane Brake Dance	Felicita
	Cannon Jig	Festival Dance
Alabama Barn Dance	Celebrated Grafton Parade	Firefly Polka
Alpine Waltz	Chrysanthemum	Florida Cracker
Ambrosia Waltz	Circus Parade	Fly Round
American Jig	Clematis	Fortissimo
Andante & Dance	Colwyn Bay Polka	Freckles
Apple Blossoms	Concert March	Fun in the Cottonfield
Arizona Jig	Coon's Picnic	Gavotte
Ashantee March, The	Corn Cob Parade	Gavotte de Concert
Aviator's Parade	Court Beauties Gavotte	Georgia Medley
Bagpipe Patrol	Cowes Schottische	Georgia Walk Round
Bal Masque	Crackerjack	Georgian Breeze
Banjo Capers	Cupid's Serenade	Gladiolus
Banjo Diversion, A	Czardas	Gold Diggers
Banjo Frolic	Dance	Golden Shadows
Banjo Frolic II	Dance of the Imps	Graceful Dance No1
Banjo Oddity, A	Dancing Bear	Gunner's March
Banjo Revel	Danse Arlequin	Hailstorm Jig
Banjoemia	Darkie Chuckle	Heel and Toe Polka
Banjoland	Darktown Dandies	Hoedown
Banjollity	Desert Trail	Hoe-down
Banjollity II	Diana	Hornpipe
Banjoviality	Dig Dag	Il Bacio (arr)
Baridore March	Dimples	In the Moonlight
Battledore	Donkey Laugh	International Medley (arr)
Belle of the Pantomime	Dora Breakdown	Jacko on Parade
Billet D'Amour	Dream Dance	Japanese Patrol
Billet Doux	Dreamland Gavotte	Jig in E Minor
Black Pearl	Dresden China	Joe Morley's Minor Jig
Blackbird	Drum Major	Joette
Blush Rose	Egyptian Princess	Jogging Along
Bolero	Egyptian Princess	Jollity
Boston Walk Round	El Contrabandista	Jovial Huntsman
Bouree	Electra Polka	Joy Ride
Bright Eyes	Elfaetha	Kaffir Walk Round
Brooklyn Polka	Eli Green's Cakewalk (arr)	Kentucky Days
Butterfly	Escort March	Kentucky Jubilee
Butterfly	Ethiopian Mardi Gras (arr)	Kentucky Parade
Butterfly	Ethiopian Shuffle	Keynotes Rag
Café au Lait	Exercise	Kiddies Scamper
Camptown Carnival	Fairlyland Schottische	Kiddies Scamper

Kingdom Comin'	Park St Polka	Spread Eagle March
La Plus Belle Polka	Parrakeet Polka	Sprig of Shillelagh
Lady Vanity	Pastime Schottische	Step Lively
Leprechaun, The	Patricia	Sunbeam Sand Dance
Limerick Races	Patrol Eccentrique	Sunflower Breakdown
Limerick Races	Peach Blossom	Swan Dance
London Club Parade	Pep	Sweet Briar
Magnolia Waltz	Pepper and Salt	Sylvan Dance
Malmaison Mazurka	Pepperpot Parade	Sylvanesque
Mandy's Wedding	Piece Characteristique	Tannhauser (arr)
Mauna Loa	Pierrot's Parade	Tarantella
Mazeppa	Pimpernel	Terriers March (arr)
Mazurka	Polka de Concert	Thumb and Fingertricks
Merriment	Polka in C	Thumbs Up
Merry and Bright	Pompadour	Titania
Merry Minstrel's Two step	Pongo's Parade	Tomato Polka
Minstrel Maiden's Medley	Popcorn	Tomorrow
Minuet		Torchlight Parade
Mississippi Bubble (arr)	Popinjay Polka	TV Parade
Mixed Grill, A (arr)	Pussy Foot Parade	Twiddley Polka
Monkitrix	Radio Jig	Twiddly Bit
Moonbeams Shadow Dance	RAF's Parade	Valley of the Rocks
Moonlight Revels	Ragtime Jubilee	Varsity Polka
Morceau	Rayon d'or Polka	Vaudeville Dance
Morleytrix	Refrain	Violet Mazurka, The
Mountaineer's March	Ringmaster	Walk Round
Mountaineer's March	Rose Leaves	Waltz
Movement in G	Rosemary	Water Nymphs
Mr Punch	Royal Osborne Gavotte	Wendy
Mr S	Rubiana	Whistler and his dog, The
Musketeer's March	Rustic Belle	Wimbledon Barn Dance
Nadasia	Sandown Schottische	Zarana Orientaal Quickstep
New Jersey Breakdown	Sandringham Gavotte	
New Year Polka	Savannah	
Nigger in a Fit (arr)	Scarborough Schottische	
Niggertown	Sea Breeze	
Nuts and Wine	Senegambian Revels	
Old Fashioned Breakdown	Shanklin Schottische	
Old Plantation Melodies No1	Shuffle Along	
Old Plantation Melodies No2	Skibbereen	
Olivia Schottische	Slip along Polka	
Olympian March	Snowdrops	
Ottawa March	Solo 'A'	
Palladium March	Sorella (arr)	
Palladium Rag	Sports Parade	

Table 6

It seems likely that Morley kept a stock of unpublished material which might or might not eventually find its way to a publisher. Publishing date is no certain indication of composition date. A prime example of this is Mandy's Wedding which was published in Morley's *Banjo Tutor* in 1929, but which had been recorded by Olly Oakley in 1912, some 17 years earlier (Heier and Lotz 1993). There are several works which from their less developed style indicate an earlier date than their publishing date, e.g. Banjo Revels, the only piece published by Larking in 1928, but which sounds earlier, possibly c1910, Park St Polka, which was recorded on wax cylinder in the 1910s, but is certainly an earlier piece.

Morley's horses

Several of Morley's associates comment on his penchant for horseracing (Essex 1930, Keeler 1944), and it is very likely that some of his compositions were named after horses, and this opens slightly unusual means of dating some of them (Table 7). The following list cannot of course, be prescriptive, complete, or even totally reliable and has been compiled from pedigree websites (<http://www.pedigreequery.com> and <http://www.britishhorseracing.com>).

Table7

Alabama	1895	Alabama Barn Dance
Clematis	1913	Clematis Waltz
Dora	1890	Dora Breakdown
Diana	several	Diana
Electra	1906	Electra Polka
Festival	1892	Festival Dance
Freckles	1908	Freckles
Malmaison	1894	Malmaison Mazurka

Merriment	1912	Merriment
Patricia	1917	Patricia Rondo
Peach Blossom	1917	Peach Blossom
Pimpernel	1926	Pimpernel
Pompadour	1918	Pompadour
Popinjay	1905	Popinjay Polka
Popcorn	1912	Popcorn
Rayon d'or	1894	Rayon d'or Polka
Slip Along	1900	Slip along Polka
Spread Eagle	1895	Spread Eagle March
Scarborough	1889	Scarborough Schottische
Sunflower	1900/06	Sunflower Breakdown
Titania	1904	Titania
Zarane	1914	Zarana Oriental Quickstep

Column 1 the name of the Horse

Column 2 The date of the horse's birth. The length of the horse's racing career would depend on the branch of racing involved.

Column 3 the title of the banjo piece possibly inspired by the horse's name.

A steeplechaser named Zarane (born in 1914) ran throughout most the 1920s, winning at Hurst Park in 1922, (*Yorkshire Post* 6th January 1922, p12), and this is almost certainly the origin of Morley's Zarana published in 1923. Elfaetha, one of Morley's unpublished pieces appears not to be the name of a real horse, but an example of a puckish humour.

A more reliable source of enquiry for the dating of Morley's compositions is his discography. This is a specialised area of study which necessarily must lie outside the scope of this thesis. The results of a detailed examination of the extensive discography of Heier and Lotz (1993), The University of California (n.d), and Walker and Walker (1971) are outlined in Appendix 3. It should be noted that sometimes, the dates when the pieces were recorded are before the dates the pieces were published. Morley very often played unpublished works throughout his career.

The last category which helps in dating Morley's pieces are the historical events they refer to. Among these are the London Olympics of 1908 (Olympic March), and possibly the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897 (Ragtime Jubilee); This last piece was published ostensibly by Morley from his address in Burnthwaite Rd in 1900, although Essex was actually the force behind this particular venture. The Ashantee March, published in 1898 may celebrate the end of the Fourth Ashanti War of 1895-6.

Middleton (2017) points out that when Morley was using a fretless 7 string banjo, he would have had ready access to a bottom "D" string, which would have been lacking in a standard 5 string tuning. Middleton suggests that some of Morley's earlier pieces have an instruction to tune down to "D", which reflect their original composition for the 7-string banjo, and thus probably written before Morley joined the Clifford Essex Pierrots and changed to a 5 string. These pieces include Belle of the Pantomime, Court Beauties, Dora, Firefly Polka, Royal Osborne, Wimbledon Barn Dance, La Plus Belle Polka, and Slip along Polka. Middleton points out that the last two, although being published at Burnthwaite Rd in 1900, were probably written before 1896.

Stylistically, Morley's music mirrors the periods during which he was writing and the popular music of the time, and by the tastes of his potential audiences, whether they were on holiday

by the seaside, in a provincial concert hall, or the amateur banjo player at home. The arrival of American players such as Mays and Hunter, the American banjo duo, made their first appearance in Brighton in January 1897 (*The Era* 30th January 1897), but their experience of ragtime would have been limited. Winans and Kauffman (1994, p.20), suggest that Hunter and Mays were the first to introduce ragtime music to an English audience. By the time of their second visits in 1901 and 1902, their exposure to ragtime was much more extensive, as Parke Hunter's own compositions demonstrate. In 1900 ragtime came to England again from the United States, in the person of Vess Ossman in 1900 and again in 1903 (Schreyer 1985). There are no newspaper accounts of any concerts that Ossman might have given in his few month's visit in either 1900 or 1903, but his cylinder recordings of ragtime were available at this time. Morley possibly wrote *Ragtime Jubilee* in 1897, (when his experience of ragtime was very limited, and this is reflected in the music). In addition, Sousa and the Sousa Band made tours of Europe and the UK in 1900, 1901, 1905 and 1910. As well as bringing his brand of marches to the ears of listeners which almost certainly included Morley, Sousa also reinforced the ragtime element (Hasse 1985)

Alfred Farland, another celebrated American banjo player visited England in 1903, but Farland brought a style called "elevated banjo playing", and presented arrangements of classical pieces, (Chopin, Liszt, and Beethoven). This was not widely accepted by British audiences, but nevertheless, some of Morley's Pieces for instance (*Dresden China*) reflect the influence of classicism.

We can be assured therefore, that by the early 1900s, Morley had heard both ragtime and Sousa marches, and these influences are reflected in Morley's music from this period. Gone are the polkas, gavottes and schottisches, which are replaced by cakewalks, ragtime and stirring marches. It should be pointed out however, that Morley's own ragtime pieces were limited in number, but it is fair to say that ragtime, and its syncopated style were a major

influence on him. Morley's first apparent foray into ragtime, *Ragtime Jubilee* of 1903, is not perhaps a masterpiece, but is a signpost to changing public tastes, and a change in Morley's output. The influence of ragtime on his music is more properly indicated in a development of a more rhythmic and freer style. His marches after this time, for instance *Ringmaster* and *Torchlight Parade*, both of 1905 sound much more like a Sousa march than, say, *Ashantee March* (1898), which although a fine piece has a period feel to it. Similarly, strongly rhythmic and syncopated pieces such as *Merriment*, *Freckles* and *Butterfly*, all dating from 1903-5 show this step change in Morley's output style.

His public performances required that he should be able to live up the soubriquet of "The Lightning Player" given to him by Clifford Essex, and pieces such as *La Plus Belle*, *Slip Along* Polkas, or his *Minor Hailstorm* jigs, when played at speed and from memory would certainly have prompted favourable comment (*Surrey Comet*, 22nd November 1902, p12). Subsequently to address the players' market it became necessary to produce virtuoso pieces such as *Mountaineer's March* and *Danse Arlequin* (1909), *Canadian's Parade* (1915), *Zarana* (1923) and *Crackerjack* (1909). At the same time Essex needed him to produce pieces for the less capable end of the amateur market one of these being *Gold Diggers March* (1905).

Morley is not known ever to have played any arrangements of pieces by anyone who may be termed a "classical composer", which some banjo players, especially Alfred A Farland favoured. These "elevated" banjo players had limited impact on the development of banjo playing in the UK, but certainly bars 21-28 of *Dresden China* have a distinct feel of J S Bach, in its harmony and chordal progression, and another fugal passage in *Egyptian Princess*. *Gavotte* is a curiosity, in that it sounds like a composition exercise, with some very baroque style harmonies, and *Twiddle Bit* also sounds like an exercise in composition. It is possible that Morley took some form of instruction in harmony and musical theory, and that these pieces are the result, although there is no record of this. Morley also developed chromaticism

in Joette, Monkatrix, and Ad Astra., Morley's music shows a continuum of popular music from Lutz's Pas de Quatre, which is the first piece that Morley is recorded as playing, through waltzes, polkas and gavottes to stirring marches and ragtime. It is "popular music" in the sense that it was music designed to appeal to an audience bent on entertainment either on the seafront, in music halls or in charity concerts in the Town Hall. Morley produced music of high quality too for the amateur player and virtuoso alike.

Apart from his published works, Morley left a considerable number of unpublished pieces, over 50 of which have come to light. Some of these unpublished pieces have undoubted merit, and for example, Step Lively is often played. Other pieces are less well formed, and may not have been deemed suitable for publishing either by Morley himself, or his publishers. These hitherto unpublished pieces have received a posthumous edition from Alan Middleton who has published them on behalf of a revived Clifford Essex Co Ltd, and by the American Banjo Fraternity.

Mr S has been included in Morley's unpublished manuscripts for many years possibly because it was similar in style to some of Morley's other works, and was of the same age as many of his other unpublished works. However the title, which was believed to represent Bernard Sheaff, is now thought to be a misreading of "ms" (for manuscript), and is now recognised as an arrangement of several rags by Ossman.

Morley was a man of his time and his music developed along with the culture around him. He could write music for the beginner as well as for the virtuoso. He wrote music that entertained and which when he played it himself, became a memorable performance.

Above all, Morley has that ability to produce memorable tunes in all his pieces, and sometimes he is profligate in throwing tunes away sometimes four or five in a single piece.

In this, he is the equal of Strauss and his waltzes, Joplin and his rags, and Sullivan and his comic operas.

Morley, although he attained celebrity in his lifetime both as a composer and a performer, is now alas, sadly neglected. Changing tastes mean that he is now largely forgotten, and not accorded the recognition afforded to composers of similar merit. One can only hope that the future will bring Morley a recognition which he deserves, but which he has not achieved.



Joe Morley

1867-1937

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Timeline

Royal Victoria Minstrels

Bijou Minstrels

Royal Osborne Minstrels

Clifford Essex/Royal Pierrots

Palladium Minstrels

White Coons

Kentucky Minstrels

Jesters/Alfred Hurley

Concerts with Cammeyer and/or Essex

Independent Concerts

Appendix 1

Showing where Morley was performing, and with whom

02/04/71		High St. Kinver		Joseph Caswell
03/04/81		50, Helen St., Roath		
31/03/91		151, Cradock St., Canton		
31/12/92	Victoria Minstrels	Town Hall, Reading	Berkshire Chronicle	+Stoddart+Smith+Sutton
19/11/92	Royal Victoria Minstrels	Public Hall, Dorking	Surrey Mirror	+Verner+Sutton
28/01/93	Royal Victoria Minstrels	Rolls Hall, Monmouth	Monmouthshire Beacon	+Verner+Sutton+Corrie
22/03/93	Bijou Minstrels	Lunatic asylum	Worcestershire Chronicle	
08/04/93	Bijou Minstrels	Worcester Public Hall	Worcestershire Chronicle	
02/12/93	Bijou Minstrels	Worcester Public Hall	Worcestershire Chronicle	
16/03/94	Essex & Cammeyer	Guildhall, Cambridge	Cambridge Chronicle	+Pierrots+Cammeyer

20/03/94	Cammeyer & JM	Sunderland Library	Sunderland Daily Echo	+Francine Dewhurst
31/03/94	Moore & Burgess	St James Hall, Piccadilly	The Era	
28/11/94	Concert	Bell Hotel Worcester	Worcestershire Chronicle	Solo
30/11/94	Concert	Bell Hotel, Worcester	Worcestershire Chronicle	Solo
12/07/95	Royal Osborne Minstrels	Public Hall, Colwyn Bay	Weekly News, Colwyn Bay	+Hollingsworth+Wentworth+Saunders
24/07/95	Royal Osborne Minstrels	Public Hall, Colwyn Bay	Weekly News, Colwyn Bay	+Tom Wood's Merrie men (Rhyl)
30/08/95	Royal Osborne Minstrels	Public Hall, Colwyn Bay	Weekly News, Colwyn Bay	+Hollingsworth+Wentworth+Saunders
14/09/95	Royal Osborne Minstrels	Public Hall, Colwyn Bay	Weekly News, Colwyn Bay	+Tom Wood's Merrie men (Rhyl)
06/05/96	Essex & Cammeyer	St James' Hall	Daily Mail	+C E Pierrots
05/06/96	Royal Osborne Minstrels	Public Hall, Colwyn Bay	Weekly News, Colwyn Bay	+Hollingsworth+Saunders
03/10/96	Royal Pierrots	Pavilion, Ventnor	The Era	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
10/10/96	C E Pierrots	Public Hall, Croydon	The Era	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
17/11/96	C.E Pierrots	Drill Hall, Chichester	MidSussex Times	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
21/11/96	C E Pierrots	Corn Exchange, Bedford	Bedfordshire Times	+Pierrots+Cammeyer
05/12/96	C E Pierrots	St James' Hall	Sporting Times	+Pierrots+Cammeyer
12/02/97	C E Pierrots	Stamford Corn Exchange	Stamford Mercury	
15/01/97	Royal Pierrots	Corn Exchange, Chelmsford	Chelmsford Chronicle	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
06/03/97	C E Pierrots	Shoreditch Town Hall	Shoreditch Observer	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
06/03/97	C E Pierrots	Chesterfield Friendly Socs	Derbyshire Times	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
31/03/97	Royal Pierrots	Portland Hall, Southsea	Portsmouth Evening News	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
01/04/97	C E Pierrots	Cancer Hospital	Charity Record	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
10/04/97	C E Pierrots	20 th Middlesex Rifles	Ill. Sporting & Dram. News	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
22/05/97	Royal Pierrots	St Leonard's Pier	Hastings & ST Leonards Obs	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
31/05/97	Royal Pierrots	Portland Hall, Southsea	Portsmouth Evening News	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
24/07/97	C E Pierrots	The Pavilion, Southampton	Hampshire Advertiser	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley

07/08/97	C E Pierrots	Pier Pavilion, Ryde	The Era	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
02/10/97	C E Pierrots	Town Hall, Reading	Reading Mercury	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
16/10/97	Royal Pierrots	Drill Hall, Basingstoke	Hampshire Chronicle	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
06/11/97	C E Pierrots	Putney Assembly Rooms	The Era	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
14/04/98	C E Pierrots	Shire Hall, Chelmsford	Evening Star	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
17/04/98	Essex & Cammeyer	St James Great Hall	Lloyds weekly	+ Olly Oakley
05/05/98	C E Pierrots	Shire Hall, Chelmsford	Chelmsford Chronicle	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
10/08/98	C E Pierrots	Victoria Hall, Bognor	Chichester Observer	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
13/08/98	Royal Pierrots	Town Hall, Ryde	IoW Observer	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
03/09/98	Royal Pierrots	Town Hall, Folkestone	Folkestone Herald	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
16/09/98	Royal Pierrots	Great Hall, Tunbridge Wells	Kent & Sussex Courier	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
17/09/98	Royal Pierrots	Pavilion Theatre, Broadstairs	Thanet Advertiser	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
02/10/98	C E Pierrots	Grand Hall, Bromley	Bromley & District Times	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
29/10/98	C E Pierrots	Town Hall, Sittingbourne	The Era	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
04/11/98	C E Pierrots	Bromley	Bromley & Dist Times	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
05/11/98	C E Pierrots	St Johns Rooms Winchester	Hampshire Chronicle	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
11/11/98	C E Pierrots	Great Hall, Bp Stortford	Chelmsford Chronicle	+ Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
11/11/98	C E Pierrots	Guildhall, Cambridge	Cambridge Chronicle	+ Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
25/11/98	C E Pierrots	Corn Exchange Bedford	Bedfordshire Mercury	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
03/12/98	C E Pierrots	Assembly Rooms Surbiton	Surrey Comet	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
03/12/98	Essex & Cammeyer	Victoria Hall, Ealing	The Era	+ Dewhurst+Blakeley
10/12/98	Essex & Cammeyer	St James Hall	Sporting Times	+Essex+Dewhurst+Oakley+Cammeyer
21/01/99	Royal Pierrots	Croydon Lt & Sci Inst	Croydon Advertiser	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
13//04/99	C E Pierrots	Marina, Lowestoft	The Stage	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
26/01/99	C E Pierrots	Public Hall Sydenham	The Stage	+Essex+Cammeyer not Morley

24/06/99	C E Pierrots	Drayton Court, Ealing	The Era	+Essex+Dewhurst
27/05/99	Royal Pierrots	Kursaal, Bexhill on sea	Bexhill-on-sea Observer	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
17/06/99	C E Pierrots	Horndon on the Hill	Grays and Tilbury Gazette	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
01/07/99	C E Pierrots	Col. MacKenzie, Bracknell	Berkshire Chronicle	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
24/06/99	C E Pierrots	Drayton Court, Ealing	The Era	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
26/08/99	Royal Pierrots	Royal Pier Southampton	Hampshire Advertiser	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
19/08/99	C E Pierrots	Town Hall, Ryde	IoW Observer	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
15/09/99	C E Pierrots	Gt Hall Tunbridge Wells	Kent & Sussex Courier	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
16/09/99	C E Pierrots	St Margaret's Hall Canterbury	Whitstable Times	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
16/09/99	C E Pierrots	York Hall, Bexhill	Bexhill on sea Observer	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
16/09/99	C E Pierrots	Town Hall, Eastbourne	Sporting Times	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
22/09/99	C E Pierrots	Gt Hall Tunbridge Wells	Kent & Sussex Courier	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
23/09/99	C E Pierrots	York Theatre, Bexhill	Bexhill-on-sea Observer	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
06/10/99	C E Pierrots	Western Gazette	King's House Salisbury	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley
13/10/99	C E Pierrots	Corn Exchange Bedford	Bedfordshire Mercury	+Essex+Dewhurst+Oakley+Cammeyer
20/10/99	C E Pierrots	Public Hall, Reigate	Surrey Mirror	+Essex+Dewhurst+Oakley+Cammeyer
11/11/99	C E Pierrots	Great Hall, Bp Stortford	Essex Newsman	+Essex+Dewhurst+Oakley+Cammeyer
18/11/99	C E Pierrots	Corn Exchange, Colchester	Essex Standard	+Essex+ Dewhurst+Blakeley
23/11/99	C E Pierrots	County Hall Guildford	The Stage	+Essex+Dewhurst+Blakeley+Cammeyer
23/11/99	C E Pierrots	Assembly Rooms, Surbiton	The Stage	+Dewhurst+Cammeyer+Blakeley
02/12/99	C E Pierrots	Victoria Hall, Ealing	The Era	+Essex+Dewhurst+Oakley+Cammeyer
07.07/00	C E Pierrots	RCA, V&A Museum	Conversazione invitation	
23/07/00	C E Pierrots	St George's Langham Place	Globe	+Essex+Negretti+Blakeley
18/08/00	C E Pierrots	Ryde Town Hall	Hampshire Advertiser	+Essex+Negretti+Blakeley
08/09/00	C E Pierrots	Southampton Pier	Hampshire Advertiser	+Ethel Negretti+Blakeley

20/10/00	C E Pierrots	Maidenhead Town Hall	Reading Mercury	+Essex+Negretti+Blakeley
30/10/00	C E Pierrots	Public Hall, Reigate	Surrey Mirror	+Negretti+Blakeley
02/11/00	Royal Pierrots	Assembly rooms, Stamford	Stamford Mercury	+Ethel Negretti
07/11/00	Royal Pierrots	Temperance Hall, Derby	Derbyshire Advertiser	+Essex+Negretti+Blakely+Oakley
19/11/00	C E Pierrots	Temperance Hall, Derby	Derby Mercury	+Oakley+Negretti <u>not Morley</u>
01/12/00	C E Pierrots	Assembly Rooms Surbiton	Surrey Comet	+Essex+Negretti+Blakeley
1901		32 Rosaville St, Fulham		
20/02/01	C E Pierrots	Ditton Hall	Surrey Comet	+Barkley+Margaret Cooper
19/04/01	C E Pierrots	Town Hall Leeds	Yorkshire Post	
18/05/01	C E Pierrots	Town Hall, Reading	Reading Mercury	+Margaret Cooper+Charlie Rogers
22/06/01	C E Pierrots	Ottoline Morrels's Party	Oxford Times	+Cooper+Essex+Wilson James
19/10/01	C E Pierrots	Pear son Hall Sonning	Reading mercury	+Essex+James
30/11/01	C E Pierrots	Assembly Rooms Surbiton	Surrey Comet	+Negretti+Rogers+James
13/12/01	C E Pierrots	Public Hall Preston	Lancashire Evening Post	
08/02/01	C E Pierrots	Drill Hall Basingstoke	Hampshire Chronicle	+Essex+Negretti+James+Rogers
25/01/02	C E Pierrots	Castle Theatre Richmond	Surrey Comet	+Essex+Negritti+James+Rogers
09/05/02	Royal Pierrots	Gt Hall Tunbridge Wells	Kent & Sussex Courier	+Essex+Negretti+James
02/08/02	Royal Pierrots	Pier, Southampton	Hampshire Advertiser	+Negretti+Wilson+Douglas
29/09/02	C E Pierrots	Alexandra Hall, Ilfracombe	Western Daily Press	+Essex+Negretti+Wilson
11/10/02	C E Pierrots	St Leonards pier	Hastings & St L Observer	+Ethel Negretti
14/11/02	C E Pierrots	Corn Exchange, Bedford	Bedfordshire Times	+Negretti+James+Fitzgerald
15/11/02	C E Pierrots	Assembly Rooms Surbiton	Surrey Comet	Negretti+Rogers+Fitzgerald
16/01/03	Ladbroke Banjo Orch	Ladbroke Hall	Mid Surrey Times	+Nassau-Kennedy
10/01/03	C E Pierrots	Lecture Hall Wimbledon	Surrey Comet	+Essex+Barkley+James+Rogers
22/01/03	C E Pierrots	Exchange Hall Banbury	Banbury Guardian	+Essex+Negretti+James+Hemsley

22/01/03	C E Pierrots	Exchange Hall, Banbury	Banbury Advertiser	+Ethel Negretti+Wilson James
09/05/03	C E Pierrots	Town Hall Kensington	Sporting Times	+Essex+Moss+James+Rogers
25/07/03	Royal Pierrots	Oddfellows Hall, Jersey	Jersey Independent	+Essex+Barkley+Fitzgerald+Rogers
08/08/03	Royal Pierrots	Southampton Pier		+Ella Barkley+Fitzgerald
29/09/03	Royal Pierrots	Winter Gardens Bournemouth	Bournemouth Daily Echo	+Essex+Barkley+James+Fitzgerald
23/10/03	C E Pierrots	Woodside Hall, Finchley	Hendon & Finchley Times	+ Essex+Barkley+Fitzgerald+James
22/01/04	C E Pierrots	Gt Hall Tonbridge Wells	Kent & Sussex Courier	+ Essex+Barkley+Fitzgerald+James
22/01/04	C E Pierrots	Childs Hill FC, Barnet	Hendon & Finchley Times	+Ella Barkley+Wilson James
14/03/04	Concert	Montpellier Rotunda, Cheltenham	Gloucestershire Echo	+Antoinette Boissier+Cuthbert Rose
05/04/04	Concert	Cheltenham	Cheltenham Looker-on	+Antoinette Boissier+Cuthbert Rose
05/04/04	Royal Pierrots	Winter Gardens Bournemouth	Bournemouth Daily Echo	
13/08/04	C E Pierrots	St Leonards pier	Hastings & St L Observer	+Ella Barkley+Frances Roscorla
03/12/04	C E Pierrots	Assembly Rooms Surbiton	Surrey Comet	+Essex+Barkley+Newark+Rome
28/02/05		Freemason's Hall Edinburgh	Edinburgh Evening News	org by Benjamin Chilton
17/05/05	C E Pierrots	Oddfellows Hall, Jersey	Jersey Independent	+Essex+Barkley+Fitzgerald
10/08/05	C E Pierrots	Corn Exchange Chichester	Chichester Observer	+Essex+Barkley+Rome+Fitzgerald
19/08/05	C E Pierrots	Grand Pavilion Ventnor	The Era	
26/08/05	Royal Pierrots	Southampton pier	Hampshire Advertiser	+Essex+Barkley++Rome+Fitzgerald
23/09/05	C E Pierrots	Oddfellows Hall, Jersey	Jersey Independent	+Essex+Barkley+Rome
21/10/05	C E Pierrots	Village Hall Esher	Surrey Comet	+Essex+Barkley+Rome+Fitzgerald
07/04/06	C E Pierrots	Royal Pier Southampton	Hampshire Advertiser	+Essex+Barkley+Rome+Roscorla
14/04/06	Concert	Freemason's Hotel	South London Press	
04/07/06	C E Pierrots	Pier Pavilion Eastbourne	Eastbourne Gazette	+Essex+Roscorla+Barkley+Rome+Kirby
14/07/06	C E Pierrots	Oddfellows Hall, Jersey	Jersey Independent	+Ella Barkley
21/07/06	C E Pierrots	Oddfellows Hall, Jersey	Jersey Independent	+Ella Barkley+Roscorla

04/08/06	“Gaieties”	Triangle Park Jersey	Jersey Independent	+Dallow+James+Rogers
10/08/06	C E Pierrots	Institute, Swanage	Western Gazette	
08/09/06	C E Pierrots	St Leonards Pier	Hastings & St Leo. Obs	+Essex+Barkley+Roscorla+Rome+Kirby
13/09/06	C E Pierrots	Mechanics Hall Nottingham	Nottm Evening Post	+Essex+Barkley+Rome+Kirby+Avery
21/12/06	C E Pierrots	Corn Exchange, Bedford	Beds Times & Independent	+Essex+Barkley+Roscorla+Rome+Kirby
30/03/07	The Orchids	Royal Pier, Southampton	Hampshire Advertiser	+Fred Rome+Roscorla
26/07/07	C E Pierrots	Deepdene, Dorking	Surrey Mirror	
31/08/07	C E Pierrots	Ventnor	Sporting Times	+Essex+Kathleen Mayer
07/09/07	C E Pierrots	St Leonard’s Pier	Hastings Observer	+Essex+StHelier+Mayer+Driver
25/10/07	C E Pierrots	Assembly Rooms Stamford	Stamford Mercury	+Essex+StHelier+Driver+Dale
18/01/08	Concert	Droxford Assembly Rooms	Hampshire Chronicle	
29/01/08	Concert	Trocadero	Sporting Life	
15/02/08	Royal Pierrots	Town Hall, Cheltenham	Cheltenham Looker-on	+Turner
27/02/08	C E Pierrots	Town Hall Cheltenham	Gloucester Echo	+Essex+StHelier+Driver+Dale
16/05/08	C E Pierrots	Winchcombe Camp	Cheltenham Chronicle	+Essex+Turner+Barkley+Driver
23/05/08	BMG Festival	Kensington Town Hall	Sporting Times	+Oakley+Driver+Rogers+Turner
11/07/08	Royal Pierrots	Montpellier Gardens, Cheltenham	Cheltenham Looker-on	
30/07/08	C E Pierrots	Sparrows Nest Lowestoft	East Anglian Times	
04/08/08	C E Pierrots	Hamilton Cliff Felixstowe	Ipswich Evening Star	
05/09/08	C E Pierrots	St Leonard’s pier	Hastings Observer	+Essex+Walter+Temple+Driver+Dale
16/10/08	Concert	Stamford Assembly Rooms	Stamford Mercury	+Driver
01/05/09	Cammeyer Concert	Steinway Hall	Sporting Times	+Cammeyer+Rogers+Fiske
01/05/09	Concert	Droxford Fire Brigade	Hampshire Chronicle	
31/05/09	White Coons	Pavilion, Felixtowe	East Anglian Daily Times	Windsor+Dallows+Lawes
29/06/09	White Coons	Felixtowe	Harwich Evening Star	+Will Pepper

29/07/09	White Coons	Pavilion, Felixtowe	Evening Star	+Lawes+Dallow+Adams+Carmen
02.10/09	White Coons	Ipswich Hospital	East Anglian Daily Times	+Lawes+Windsor
30/10/09	White Coons	London Pavilion	Sporting Life	+Lawes+Wood+BTurner+Thomas+Prescott+Adams
02/04/10	White Coons	Pier Pavilion, Clacton	The Era	+Allan Thomas
14/05/10	Concert	Steinway Hall, London	Sporting Times	+Cammeyer+Rogers+Fiske
31/3/1910	White Coons	Pier Pavilion, Clacton	The Stage	+Lawes+Carter+Thomas+Dallow+Windsor
19/05/10	White Coons	Pier Pavilion, Clacton	The Era	+Lawes+Carter+Thomas+Dallow+Windsor
21/07/10	White Coons	Pier Pavilion, Clacton	The Era	+Allan Thomas
04/08/10	White Coons	Pier Pavilion, Clacton	The Era	+Thomas+Windsor+Carter+Stracey
16/10/10	White Coons	Pier Pavilion, Clacton	The Era	+Allan Thomas
1911		11 Burnthwaite Rd, Fulham		
13/06/11	White Coons	Pier Pavilion, Clacton	The Era	+Allan Thomas
12/10/11	White Coons	Pier Pavilion, Clacton	The Stage	+Allan Thomas
11/04/12	White Coons	Pier Pavilion, Clacton	The Era	+Allan Thomas
23/11/12	Palladium Minstrels	The Palladium	Shoreditch Observer	+Alf Woods+Bert Basset+Geo Morris
26/01/12	Concert	Gunnersbury Lodge	West London Observer	+Frank Hook
19/02/12	Concert	Oak Hall, Edinburgh	The Scotsman	Solo performance
02/03/13	Palladium Minstrels	The Palladium	The Era	
22/03/13	Palladium Minstrels	Hippodrome Croydon		
19/04/13	Palladium Minstrels	Hippodrome, Bristol	The Era	
02/04/13	Palladium Minstrels	The Palladium	The Era	
05/05/13	Palladium Minstrels	The Palladium	The Era	
17/05/13	Palladium Minstrels	Lyric Theatre, Liverpool	The Era	
23/12/13	Palladium Minstrels	The Palladium	Pall Mall Gazette	
26/11/13	JAT Concert	Holborn Restaurant		+Oakley+Basset+Jones+Morris

14/02/14	Palladium Minstrels	Hippodrome, Newcastle	Newcastle Journal	+Will Blanche
24/02/14	Palladium Minstrels	Alhambra, Glasgow	Daily Record	+Will Blanche
01/05/14	Concert	Shepherd's Bush Club	West London Observer	
30/01/15		Town Hall, Buckingham	Buckingham Advertiser	Solo performance
12/012/15	Broadwood concert	YMCA Rooms, Diss	Diss Express	Solo performance
14/02/21	Royal Jesters	Belfast	Northern Whig	org by Alfred Hurley
11/08/21	Royal Jesters	Esplanade, Swanage	The Stage	org by Billy Bray
18/05/22	Concert	Salisbury Plain	The Stage	Org by Alfred Hurley
27/07/22	Advert for work		The Stage	Org by Alfred Hurley
02/12/22	Wilts Pigeon club	New Inn, Trowbridge	Wiltshire Times	"Professor Joe Morley"
15/02/23	Conservative Concert	Hanover Park Club	The Stage	+Lawes
29/12/23	Ladbroke Banjo Orch	Kensington Town Hall	The Stage	+Sheaff+de Pietro
28/05/24	De Pietro Concert	King Georges Hall	The Era	
22/10/24	JAT Concert	King Georges Hall	The Era	Org by Sydney Larking
17/05/26	Aston Banjo Club	Kensington Town Hall		+Cammeyer+Sheaff
29/04/27	Coursing Concert	Budworth Hall, Ongar	Chelmsford Chronicle	+Ronald Gourlay
14/10/27	Concert	Radio		+de Pietro+SE Turner
20/10/27	Wounded Fund Concert	Wigmore Hall	The Stage	
29/05/28	Concert	Radio		
15/05/29	Concert Artistes Concert	Palladium	The Era	+Hemsley
08/05/30	Aston Banjo Club	Kensington Town Hall	The Stage	
22/10/30	JAT Concert	Wigmore Hall	The Era	+Cammeyer+Sheaff+Morris+Fairs
11/11/31	JAT concert	Wigmore Hall	The Era	+Edward Fairs+Bernard Sheaff
31/08/32	White Coons	Radio		+Elsie & Doris Waters
12/09/32	White Coons	Radio		+Denier+Pepper+Arnold

14/12/32	JAT Concert	Wigmore Hall	The Era	+Cammeyer (org Max Butler)
06/01/33	White Coons	Radio		+TBJ+Denier
06/01/33	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
05/05/33	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
21/06/33	White Coons	Radio		+Holloway+Ajello+Denier
22/12/33	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
23/01/34	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
08/02/34	Gilbey's Concert	Pantheon, Oxford	The Stage	+Webster Booth+Arthur Askey
16/04/34	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
24/06/34	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
15/10/34	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
30/10/34	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
03/10/34	White Coons	Radio		+Stanley Holloway
14/11/34	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
28/11/34	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
26/12/34	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
09/02/35	JAT Concert	Wigmore Hall	The Era	+Cammeyer+Sheaff+Fairs
08/07/35	White Coons	Radio		+Ajello+Handley+Denier
14/05/35	White Coons	Radio		+Ajello+Holloway+Denier
23/10/35	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+ TBJ+2Peppers+Arnold
19/11/35	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+TBJ+Peppers x2+Arnold
26/12/35	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+2Pepper+Arnold+Fairs
23/01/36	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+2Pepper+Arnold+Fairs
14/02/36	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+2Pepper+Arnold+Fairs
30/10/36	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio		+2Pepper+Arnold+Fairs

06/11/36	White Coons	Radio	+Ajello+Handley+Denier
19/06/36	White Coons	Radio	+Ajello+Handley+Denier
27/11/36	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio	+Edward Fairs+Peppers x 2
21/12/36	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio	+Edward Fairs+Peppers x 2
24/12/36	White Coons	Radio	+Handley+Peppers x 2
23/01/37	White Coons	TV	+Handley+Peppers x2
29/01.37	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio	+Edward Fairs+Peppers x 2
26/02/37	Kentucky Minstrels	Radio	+Edward Fairs+Peppers x 2
13/02.37	White Coons	Radio	+Ajello+Handley+Denier
09/03/37	White Coons	TV	+Handley+Peppers x2
12/03.37	White Coons	Radio	+Ajello+Handley+Denier

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Appendix 2
A Comprehensive listing of Morley's music

Title	Pub	Date	First	Second	Piano	Place	Notes
Violet Mazurka, The	E&C 21	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	1st Perf by Morley Dec 1893
Shanklin Schottische	E&C 22	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Dance of the Imps	E&C 226	1896	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	Also at 97a Jermyn St
In the Moonlight	E&C 23	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	1st Perf by Morley Dec 1893. Rec by Oakley May 1903
Sandown Schottische	E&C 26	1893	1			59, Piccadilly	Banjo world 1893
Favourite Waltz	E&C 27	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Moonbeams Shadow Dance	E&C 28	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Wimbledon Barn Dance	E&C 29	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	1st Perf by Morley Feb 1899
New Jersey Breakdown	E&C 30	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Dreamland Gavotte	E&C 33	1893	1	2		59, Piccadilly	
Pastime Schottische	E&C 34	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Dora Breakdown	E&C 35	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Cowes Schottische	E&C 36	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Royal Osborne Gavotte	E&C 37	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Polka in C	E&C 38	1893	1	2	P	3, Swallow St	1st Perf by Morley Aug 1893. Rec by Oakley May 1903
Sunflower Breakdown	E&C 40	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Scarborough Schottische	E&C 41	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Cannon Jig	E&C 42	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Heel and Toe Polka	E&C 45	1893	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Court Beauties Gavotte	E&C 46	1893	1	2		59, Piccadilly	
Rayon d'or Polka	E&C 49	1893	1			59, Piccadilly	
Varsity Polka	E&C 85	1894	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	1st Perf by Morley Jul 1897
Fairlyland Schottische	E&C 86	1894	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	1st Perf by Morley Nov 1896
Hailstorm Jig	E&C 93	1894	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	

Kentucky Parade	E&C 97	1894	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	1st Perf by Morley Dec 1896 Rec by Oakley May 1903
Parrakeet Polka	E&C 98	1896	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	1st Perf by Morley Feb 1897
Arizona Jig	E&C 101	1896	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
New Year Polka	E&C 103	1896	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Olivia Schottische	E&C 104	1896	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	
Cane Brake Dance	E&C 113	1896	1	2	P	6, Swallow St	
Brooklyn Polka	E&C 146	1896	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	1st Perf by Morley Jun 1898. Rec.by Will C Pepper 1900
Firefly Polka	E&C 152	1896	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	1st Perf by Morley Dec 1898
Festival Dance	E&C 153	1896	1	2	P	59, Piccadilly	Re published 1st Part only in BMG 1975
Slip along Polka	BR1	1900	1	2	P	11, Burnthwaite Rd.	1st Perf by Morley May 1901
Ragtime Jubilee	BR2	1900	1	2	P	11, Burnthwaite Rd.	1st Perf by Morley Jul 1903
Fun in the Cottonfield	BR3	1900	1	2	P	11, Burnthwaite Rd.	Also in American notation at Grafton St
Celebrated Grafton Parade,	BR4	1900	1	2	P	11, Burnthwaite Rd.	1st Perf by Morley May 1901
Coon's Picnic	BR5	1900	1	2	P	11, Burnthwaite Rd.	
La Plus Belle Polka	BR6	1900	1	2	P	11, Burnthwaite Rd.	
Spread Eagle March	BR7	1900	1	2	P	11, Burnthwaite Rd.	
Ashantee March, The	TBB400	1898	1	2	P	33, Bishopsgate	
Malmaison Mazurka	TBB402	1898	1			33, Bishopsgate	
Golden Shadows	TBB404	1898	1	2	P	33, Bishopsgate	
Battledore	TBB406	1898	1	2	P	33, Bishopsgate	
Joe Morley's Minor Jig	TBB408	1898	1	2	P	33, Bishopsgate	
Colwyn Bay Polka	TBB410	1898	1	2		33, Bishopsgate	
Bal Masque	TBB412	1898	1	2		33, Bishopsgate	
Valley of the Rocks	TBB414	1898	1				
Belle of the Pantomime	TBB416	1898	1	2	P	33, Bishopsgate	Also Turner's Banjo Monthly 106
Alabama Barn Dance	TBB418	1898	1		P	33, Bishopsgate	Also Turner's Banjo Monthly 102, 1900
Mountaineer's March	TBB802	1909	1	2	P	28, Store St	
Piece Characteristique	TBB806	1911	1	2	P	28, Store St	
Il Bacio (arr)	TBB816	1911	1			139, Oxford St.	Banjo Arrangement by JM

Popinjay Polka	TBB823	1911	1				Not known to have been published
Palladium March	TBB837	1913	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	1st perf by Morley Jan 1913.
Polka de Concert	TBB798	1909	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Sylvanesque	TBB800	1909	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Mountaineer's March	TBB802	1909	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	1st perf by Morley May 1909.
Water Nymphs	TBB804	1909	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	1st perf by Morley May 1909.
Vaudeville Dance	TBB810	1909	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Black Pearl	TBB826	1914	1		P	139, Oxford St.	Recorded by John Pidoux Jan 1914
Banjo Capers	TBB843	1911	1		P	139, Oxford St.	1st Perf by JM Jan 1915 Rec by Morley & Oakley Jan 1911
Terriers March (arr)	TBB846	1911	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	Sanders Papworth 1st, JM 2nd banjo
RAF's Parade	TBB849	1911	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Banjoland	TBB851	1926	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	Recorded by Oakley 1926
Canadian's Parade	TBB852	1915	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	Recorded by Oakley Jun 1915
Kaffir Walk Round	TBB854	1917	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	Recorded Bath cylinder 1917
Gunner's March	TBB856	1917	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Gavotte de Concert	TBB863	1923	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Georgia Walk Round	TBB864	1923	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	1st perf by Morley Oct 1924. Rec.by TBJnr Oct 1925
Jollity	TBB865	1923	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Minuet	TBB866	1923	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Japanese Patrol	TBB870	1917	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	Also in Keynotes. Bath Cylinder 1917
Nadasia	TBB871	1925	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Mauna Loa	TBB872	1925	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Banjo Diversion, A	TBB875	1925	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Sea Breeze	TBB876	1925	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	Recorded by TBJnr Jun 1925
Danse Arlequin	TBB801	1909	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	1st Perf by Morley Jun 1909. Rec by Oakley Aug 1910
Darkie Chuckle	TBB803	1911	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Recorded by Morley & Oakley Jan 1911
Patrol Eccentrique	TBB805	1911	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Recorded by Berrie & Bertolle Jan 1913
Corn Cob Parade	TBB807	1911	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Clematis	TBB808	1911	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	

Peach Blossom	TBB809	1911	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Recorded by Oakley & Morley Jan 1911
Baridore March	TBB811	1911	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	
Bright Eyes	TBB812	1911	1		P	68, Oxford St.	
Titania	TBB815		1				Not known to have been published
Drum Major	TBB817	1913	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Recorded by Oakley April 1913
Merry and Bright	TBB818	1911	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	
El Contrabandista	TBB819	1908	1		P	68, Oxford St.	1st Perf by Morley Oct 1908
Rustic Belle	TBB820		1				Not known to have been published
Dresden China	TBB821	1915	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	1st perf by Morley Feb 1915
Ambrosia Waltz	TBB824		1				Not known to have been published
Egyptian Princess	TBB825	1915	1		P	68, Oxford St.	1st Perf by Morley Jan 1915
Camptown Carnival	TBB828	1912	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Recorded by Oakley Dec 1912
Electra Polka	TBB830	1912	1				Not known to have been published
Banjo Oddity, A	TBB833	1912	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	1st Perf by JM Jan 1915. Rec by Morley & Oakley Jan 1911
Lady Vanity	TBB835	1912	1				Not known to have been published
Chrysanthemum	TBB836	1912	1		P	68, Oxford St.	1st perf by Morley Jan 1913. Dedicated to Eustace Gray
Merry Minstrel's Two step	TBB838		1				Not known to have been published
Savannah	TBB844		1				Not known to have been published
Banjohemia	TBB845		1				Not known to have been published
Bagpipe Patrol	TBB839	1912	1		P	68, Oxford St.	Bass to A
Jovial Huntsman	TBB847	1917	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Recorded by Oakley Apr 1917
Niggertown	TBB853	1919	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Full banjo orch parts; Rec by Oakley Sept 1915
Old Plantation Melodies No1	TBB861	1923	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Old Plantation Melodies No2	TBB862	1923	1	2	P	139, Oxford St.	
Zarana	TBB868	1923	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	1st perf, Radio Nov 1924
Joy Ride	TBB873	1925	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	First at 139 Oxford St, Rec TBJnr Jun '25
Keynotes Rag	TBB877	1925	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	
Cupid's Serenade	TBB878	1925	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	aka The Mystery Solo
Boston Walk Round	TBB879	1925	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	

Café au Lait	TBB882	1925	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	
Banjo Frolic	TBB886	1932	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Recorded by Oakley Feb 1932
Dimples	TBB887	1932	1	2		68, Oxford St.	
Ad Astra	TBB888	1932	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Bass banjo part
Diana	TBB891	1931	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	
Apple Blossoms	TBB893	1932	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	Bass and 3rd Banjo
Ethiopian Shuffle	TBB899	1932	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	
Desert Trail	TBB902	1933	1	2	P	68, Oxford St.	
Alpine Waltz	MT1	1895	1	2		Morley Tutor	
Bouree	MT2	1900	1	2		Morley Tutor	2nd by AJP
Dancing Bear	MT3	1902	1			Morley Tutor	MM=132 amended to 112
Fortissimo	MT4	1902	1			Morley Tutor	
Hoe-down	MT5	1903	1			Morley Tutor	
Hornpipe	MT6	1903	1			Morley Tutor	
Mandy's Wedding	Mt7	1903	1	2		Morley Tutor	Recorded by Oakley Jan 1912
Mazurka	MT8	1903	1			Morley Tutor	
Morceau	MT9	1903	1			Morley Tutor	
Ottawa March	MT10	1903	1	2		Morley Tutor	
Old Fashioned Breakdown	MT11	1903	1			Morley Tutor	
Refrain	MT12	1903	1			Morley Tutor	
Tarantella	MT13	1903	1			Morley Tutor	MM=152 Recorded Bath Cylinder 1917
Magnolia Waltz	CE203	1903	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st Performed by Morley May 1906
Nigger in a Fit (arr)	CE226	1903	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	Comp. Tommy Glyn Arr JM & Chas Rogers.
Torchlight Parade	CE244	1905	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st Perf by Morley Jul 1905. Rec by Oakley Aug 1910
Mississippi Bubble (arr)	CE239	1905	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	By Chauncey Haines; Rec Ernest Jones Apr 1918
Dream Dance	CE242	1905	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st perf by Morley Feb 1905
Ringmaster	CE243	1905	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st Perf by Morley Sep 1905
Felicita	CE253	1905	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	Use of CE "Expression Stop"
Patricia	CE261	1905	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st Perf by Morley Feb 1905

Moonlight Revels	CE265	1905	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1stt Perf by Morley Feb 1908
Ethiopian Mardi Gras (arr)	CE272	1906	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	Recorded by Ossman June 1900
Palladium Rag	CE381	1908	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	Rec by Spindler & Mamelok Band Jul 1930
Donkey Laugh	CE384	1908	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st perf by Morley Oct 1924. Rec.by Oakley May 1902
Jogging Along	CE389	1908	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Thumbs Up	CE391	1908	1	2	P	8, New Compton St	Recorded by TBJnr 1926
Mixed Grill, A (arr)	CE395	1908	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st Plec and bass
Dig Dag	CE398	1909	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Merriment	CE401	1909	1	2	P	90-92, Shaftesbury Ave	
Sprig of Shillelagh	CE403	1909	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Jacko on Parade	CE405	1910	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Nuts and Wine	CE410	1910	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Butterfly	CE413	1910	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Freckles	CE416	1910	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Kingdom Comin'	CE418	1910	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	Plec 1st & 2nd by Bassett
Blush Rose	CE421	1910	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Shuffle Along	CE428	1912	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	Recorded Bath Cylinder 1917
Monkitrix	CE429	1912	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Sports Parade	CE442	1913	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
International Medley (arr)	CE448	1926	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	Recorded by TBJnr 1930
Darktown Dandies	CE63	1927	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st perf by Morley May 1903. Rec by Oakley Aug 1907
Eli Green's Cakewalk (arr)	CE74	1927	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	Recorded by Charlie Rogers Oct 1905
Celebrated Grafton Parade	CE96	1928	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Sandringham Gavotte		1928	1	2		15a, Grafton St.	Banjo World March 1910
Gold Diggers	CE212	1928	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st Perf by Morley Jul 1905
Senegambian Revels	CE263	1929	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st Perf by Morley Sep 1906. Rec by Ossman June 1901
Pompadour	CE289	1929	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st Perf by Morley Feb 1908. Rec by Ernest Jones Apr 1918
Rose Leaves	CE298	1929	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	

Sylvanesque	CE299	1929	1		P	15a, Grafton St.	Also in A notation
Georgian Breeze	CE303	1929	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	1st perf by Morley Aug 1909. Rec by Bassett Aug 1910
Georgia Medley	CE386	1929	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	Recorded by TBJnr Jun 1925
Crackerjack	CE407	1929	1	2	P	8,New Compton St	1st at 15a Grafton St
London Club Parade	CE411	1929	1	2	P	15a, Grafton St.	
Circus Parade	CE414	1929	1	2	P	8,New Compton St	1st Perf by Morley Jun 1908
Andante & Dance	AVM	1929	1				
Aviator's Parade	AVM	1929	1			Unpublished Mss	Similar to Blackbird
Banjollity	AVM	1929	1			BMG 1971	Also in The Banjo 2001
Banjoiviality	AVM	1929	1			Unpublished Mss	Recorded by Len Fillis Feb 1927
Billet D'Amour	AVM	1929	1			Unpublished Mss	Charles Mansell Ms
Blackbird	AVM	1930	1				Similar to Aviator's Parade and TV Tattoo Bath cyl 1917
Bolero	BMG	1930	1			BMG 1960	Similar to Czardas Ed Geo Morris
Butterfly	AVM	1930	1			Unpublished Mss	
Concert March	AVM	c 1895	1				
Czardas	AVM	c 1907	1			Unpublished Mss	Similar to Bolero
Elfaetha	AVM	c 1907	1	2	P	Unpublished Mss	
Florida Cracker	AVM	c 1912	1			BMG	BMG 1971
Gavotte	AVM	c 1912	1			BMG	
Gladiolus	AVM	c 1916	1			Unpublished Mss	Mss possibly by F C Musselbrook
Graceful Dance No1	AVM	c 1918	1			BMG 1971	
Hoedown	AVM	c 1918	1			Unpublished Mss	
Joette	AVM	c 1937	1	2		BMG 1972	
Kentucky Days	AVM	c1908	1	2		Unpublished Mss	Bury me beneath the Willow
Kiddies Scamper	AVM	c1915	1	2			Published independently of the ABF Ms
Leprechaun, The	AVM	c1918	1			Unpublished Mss	Titled by AVM
Limerick Races	AVM	c1925	1				Published independently of the ABF Ms
Mazeppa	AVM	c1930	1			Keynotes 1926	Piano acc Sheaff; Rec by TBJnr Jun 1925

Mr Punch	AVM		1	2		BMG 1971	2nd part in mss; Rec by Kentucky BT Mar 1939
Mr S	AVM		1	2	P	Unpublished Mss	
Musketeer's March	AVM		1			BMG 1961	Same as Thumb & Fingertricks
Olympian March	AVM		1	2		Unpublished Mss	
Pep	AVM		1			BMG 1937	
Pepper and Salt	AVM		1				Similar to Kentucky Jubilee "Bury me--"
Pepperpot Parade	AVM		1			Unpublished Mss	Charles Mansell Ms
Pierrot's Prade	AVM		1	2		Unpublished Mss	Named by AVM
Pongo's Parade	AVM		1			Unpublished Mss	Similar in parts to Concert March
Popinjay Polka	AVM		1	2		Unpublished Mss	Recorded by TB Jr Jun 1925
Pussy Foot Parade	AVM		1			BMG 1948	
Rosemary	AVM		1			BMG 1971	
Rubiana	AVM		1	2		BMG 1961	ed Geo Morris 2nd Robert White
Skibbereen	AVM		1	2		Unpublished Mss	Similarities to Banjo Frolic
Solo 'A'	AVM		1	2	P	Unpublished Mss	
Sorella (arr)	AVM		1			15a, Grafton St.	also French publisher. Arr by JM
Step Lively	AVM		1	2		Unpublished Mss	
Sunbeam Sand Dance	AVM		1	2		BMG 1975	
Swan Dance	AVM		1			BMG 1971	
Sweet Briar	AVM		1	2		Unpublished Mss	
Sylvan Dance	AVM		1			BMG	
Thumb and Fingertricks	AVM		1				See Musketeer's March
TV Parade	AVM		1			Unpublished Mss	Similar to Blackbird and Aviator's Parade
Twiddley Polka	AVM		1	2	P	BMG 1972	
Waltz	AVM		1			BMG 1976	
Billet Doux	JAT		1			"Unknown" JAT	
Escort March	JAT		1			"Unknown" JAT	
Tomorrow	JAT		1			Unknown JAT No	arr by JM with lyrics by Norman Wrighton
American Jig	Mystery		1			Unpublished Mss	This is Popcorn DAB 384

Banjo Revel	LBB1		1	2	P	18 Berners St	Sydney Larking Music Co
Whistler and his dog, The	Chappell		1		P	50, New Bond St	Arthur Pryor, arr JM
Popcorn	DAB384		1	2		202 High Holborn	Dallas Artistic Banjo aka American Jig
Pimpernel	DAB385		1	2		202 High Holborn	Dallas Artistic Banjo
Radio Jig	DAB 383		1	2		202 High Holborn	Dallas Artistic Banjo; Rec by Geo Morris Jun 1930
Pongo's Parade	DAB		1			202 High Holborn	Dallas Artistic Banjo and Rhythm & AVM
Butterfly	ABF		1				ABF 1989 Not the same as CE 413
Exercise	ABF		1				ABF 1989
Movement in G	ABF		1				
Kentucky Jubilee	ABF2		1				ABF 1995 Similar to Pepper and Salt. "Bury me--"
Snowdrops	ABF3		1				ABF 1996 aka Red and White Blues "Bury Me---"
Walk Round	ABF4		1				ABF 2001
Limerick Races	ABF5		1				ABF 2002
Kiddies Scamper	ABF6		1				ABF 2003
Jig in E Minor	ABF6		1				ABF 2003
Minstrel Maiden's Medley	ABF13		1				ABF 2014
Dance	ABF14		1				ABF 2015
Fly Round	ABF14		1				ABF 2015
Park St Polka	ABF14		1				ABF 2015
Twiddly Bit	ABF14		1				ABF 2015
Tomato Polka	ABF14		1				ABF 2015. aka Rub a dub Polka
Wendy	ABF15		1				ABF 2015
Morleytrix	ABF15		1				ABF 2015
Banjo Frolic II	ABF15		1				ABF 2015
Egyptian Princess	ABF15		1				ABF 2015
Banjollity II	ABF15		1				ABF 2015

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Appendix 3

Discography

Morley's music was heard in concerts, and was played at home. Consequently, there was a demand to hear his music in the home, first on relatively primitive wax cylinder recordings, (Sands 2003), and then on more modern recording methods. Some of the early wax recordings were of Joe Morley himself playing, and some of these pieces have been transcribed and later published by the American Banjo Fraternity.

Morley himself made only one solo recording on disc, *Donkey Laugh*, recorded in 1925. Other artistes however, made several recordings of Morley's pieces, in particular Olly Oakley, who regularly recorded them.

Discography is a complex and specialised area, beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is useful to identify which pieces were being recorded and by whom. It is interesting to see that Cammeyer, Grimshaw, and Mays and Hunter did not record anything composed by Morley, presumably because they were more intent in playing (and promoting) their own performances and compositions.

Title	1st Recording	Artistes	Record	Matrix
A Banjo Oddity	Jan 1911	Morley & Oakley	Pathe 8961	
A Banjo Oddity	Jan 1913	Berrie & Bertolle	Da Capo BD-681	4253
A Banjo Oddity	May 1913	Olly Oakley	Apollo 10069	
Banjo Capers	Jan 1911	Morley & Oakley	Pathe 8962	
Banjo Capers	May 1914	Oakley & Morley	Coliseum 986	
Banjo Frolic	Feb 1932	Tarrant Bailey Jnr	Filmophone 432	2076
Banjoland	Jun 1926	Olly Oakley	Duophone UB-2098	DU-8071
Banjoviality	Feb 1927	Len Fillis	Columbia 4643	WA-4804-1
Black Pearl	Jan 1914	John Pidoux	Cinch 5432	Ak 17716e
Blackbird	1917	Morley	Bath cylinders	
Butterfly	1917	Morley	Bath Cylinders	
Brooklyn Polka	1900	Will C Pepper	Zonophone 46257	6061
Camptown Carnival	Dec 1912	Olly Oakley	Winner 228	
Camptown Carnival	May 1913	Olly Oakley	Apollo 10071	
Camptown Carnival	Jun 1913	Olly Oakley	Homophon 1245	60626
Camptown Carnival	Jan 1914	Copus and Hughes	Besttone-Rifano 195	
Camptown Carnival	Sept 1915	Olly Oakley	Parlophone E5144	
Camptown Carnival	Sept 1915	Olly Oakley	Diamond 0.48	
Camptown Carnival	Mar 1916	Olly Oakley	Scala 946	

Canadian's Parade	Jun 1915	Olly Oakley	Beka 1104	36105
Danse Arlequin	Aug 1910	Olly Oakley	Zonophone rejected	3003abh
Darkie Chuckle	Jan 1911	Morley & Oakley	Pathe 8963	
Darkie Chuckle	1913	Olly Oakley	Phoenix 021	X-21
Darkie Chuckle	May 1914	Oakley & Morley	Coliseum 623	35528
Darkie Chuckle	Jan 1914	Copus and Hughes	Besttone-Rifano 195	
Darkie Chuckle	June 1930	George Morris	Decca F 1867	
Darktown Dandies	Aug1907	Olly Oakley	Gramophone GC-6470	6710
Darktown Dandies	Jan 1909	Olly Oakley	Edison Bell 10393	
Darktown Dandies	Aug 1910	Bert Bassett	Jumbo 541	LXO-1041
Darktown Dandies	June 1912	Olly Oakley	Favourite 483	
Darktown Dandies	Jan 1923	Olly Oakley	HMV B 1507	
Darktown Dandies	1930	Grimshaws 4tet	HMV 3423	
Donkey Laugh	May 1902	Vess Ossman	Zonophone 886	
Donkey Laugh	1925	Joe Morley	Homophone	LO-0783-A
Drum Major	Apr 1913	Olly Oakley	Regal G-6743	
Drum Major	May 1914	Oakley & Morley	Beka 876	35531
Eli Green's Cake Walk	Oct 1905	Charlie Rogers	Zono X 2341	
Ethiopian Mardi Gras	Jul 1900	Vess Ossman	Victor unissued	A-150-1
Kaffirs Walk Round	1917	Morley	Bath Cylinders	

Kentucky Parade	May 1903	Olly Oakley	Gramophone GC-6385	3580b
Kentucky Parade	Oct 1909	SE Turner	Pathe 1531	785555
Georgia Breeze	Aug 1910	Bert Bassett	Jumbo 541	LXO-1043
Georgia Medley	Jun 1925	Tarrant Bailey Jnr	Pathe 1891	N-94774
Georgia Medley	1929	GR Spindler & Band	Decca F-1628	(You Tube)
Georgia Walk Round	Oct 1925	Tarrant Bailey Jnr	Pathe	
International Medley	1930	Tarrant Bailey Jnr	Imperial unissued	
In the Moonlight	May 1903	Olly Oakley	Gramophone GC-639	3566a
Japanese Patrol	1917	Morley	Bath cylinders	
Jovial Huntsman	Apr 1917	Olly Oakley	Winner 3141	5438-1
Jovial Huntsman	1924	Joe Morley	Homochord	LO-0784-A
Jovial Huntsman	Feb 1930	George Morris	Decca F-1789	MB-958-2
Joy Ride	Jun 1925	Tarrant Bailey Jnr	Pathe 1865	N-94772
Mandy's Wedding	Jan 1912	Olly Oakley	Edison Bell 386	2895
Mazeppa	June 1925	Tarrant Bailey Jnr	Pathe 1865	N-94773
Mississippi Bubble	Apr 1918	Ernest Jones		WA-8869-1
Moutaineer's March	Jan 1913	Berrie & Bertolle	Da Capo 489	4254
Mountaineer's March	Apr 1913	Olly Oakley	Regal G 6743	28477
Mr Punch	Mar 1939	Kentucky B T	HMV B D 681	OEB 7376-1
Nigger in a fit	1903	Olly Oakley	Edison Bell	

Nigger in a fit	Apr 1905	John Pidoux	Sterling 1009	
Nigger in a fit	Aug 1906	John Pidoux	Odeon 44272	LX-1489
Nigger in a fit	1908	Olly Oakley	Pathe 5117	
Nigger in a fit	Dec 1912	Olly Oakley	Winner 2282	
Nigger in a fit	June 1913	Olly Oakley	Pathe 122	
Niggertown	Sept 1915	Olly Oakley	Parlophone E5144	
Niggertown	Mar 1916	Olly Oakley	Scala 962	
Niggertown	Sept 1916	Olly Oakley	Guardsman 691	932-X
Niggertown	Apr 1918	Ernest Jones		WA-8869-1
Niggertown	1921	Olly Oakley	Tower 294	
Niggertown	Apr 1929	Ernest Jones	Columbia 5583	
Palladium March	May 1914	Oakley & Morley	Beka 876	35527
Palladium Rag (arr Morley)	Jul 1930	GR Spindler & Band	Decca F-1852	
Patrol Eccentrique	Jan 1913	Berrie & Bertolle	Olympic 561	
Peach Blossoms	Jan 1911	Oakley & Morley	Pathe 8963	
Peach Blossoms	May 1914	Oakley & Morley	Coliseum 986	35530
Peach Blossoms	Oct 1915	Olly Oakley	Bulldog 550	
Peach Blossoms	Mar 1916	Olly Oakley	Scala 946	
Polka in C	May 1903	Olly Oakley	Zonophone X-46552	3578b
Pompadour	April 1918	Ernest Jones		WA-8872

Popinjay Polka	Jun 1925	Tarrant Bailey Jnr	Pathe 1905	N-94775
Radio Jig	Jun 1930	George Morris	Decca F-1867	MB-1513-2
Sea Breeze	Jun 1925	Tarrant Bailey Jnr	Pathe 1891	N-94776
Senegambian Revels	Jun 1901	Vess Ossman	Climax 294	293
Senegambian Revels	Sep 1906	John Pidoux	Neophone 17052	17052
Shuffle along	1917	Morley	Bath cylinders	
Sorella (arr Morley)	Jul 1930	*GR Spindler & Band	Decca F-1852	MB-18642
Tarantella	1917	Morley	Bath Cylinders	
Thumbs Up	1926	Tarrant Bailey Jnr	Pathe 1905	N-94777
Torchlight Parade	Aug 1910	Olly Oakley	Zonophone rejected	3002ab
Torchlight Parade	Oct 1910	Bert Bassett	Jumbo 548	LXO-1128
Torchlight Parade		Olly Oakley	Bell 2627	

*George Spindler and his Mamelok Band

There are no pieces composed by Joe Morley which were recorded by Parke Hunter (and Mays), Grimshaw, or Alfred Cammeyer, although Grimshaw's Quartet played Darktown Dandies.

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